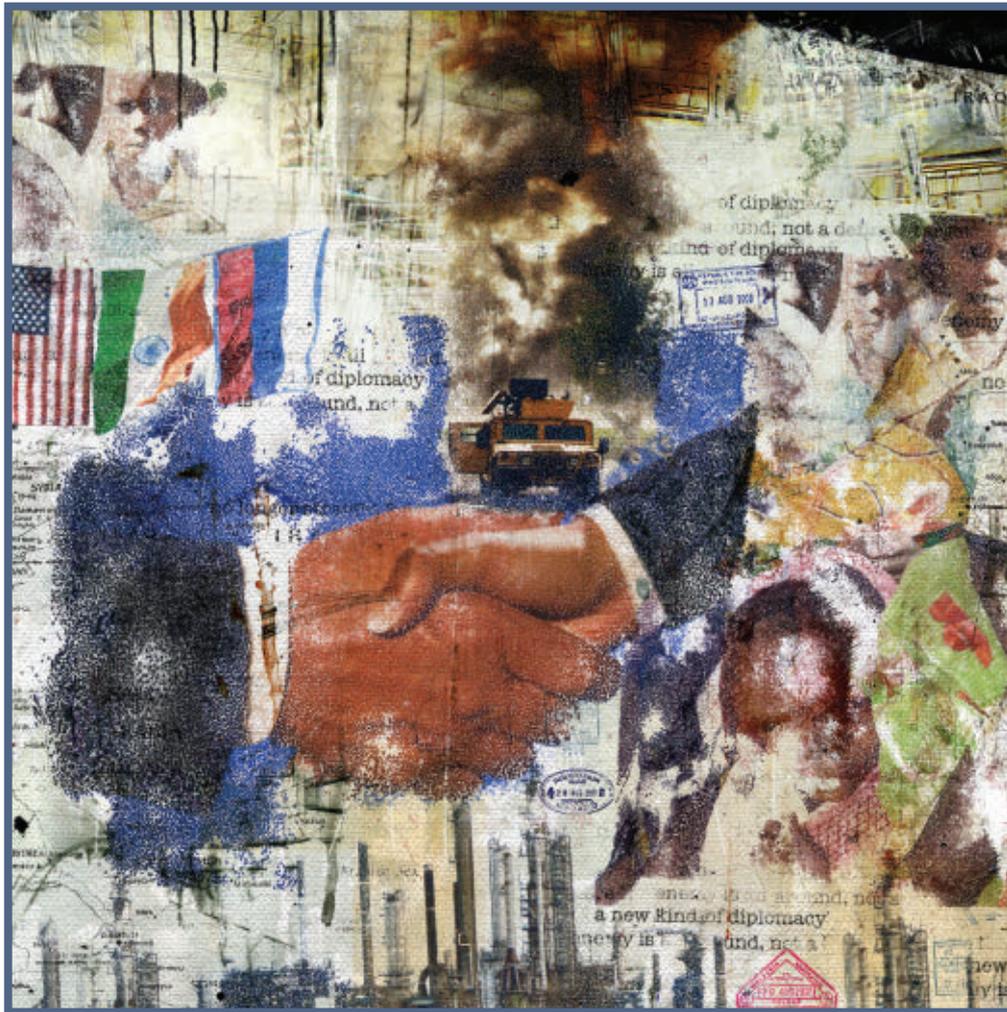


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# FOREIGN SERVICE

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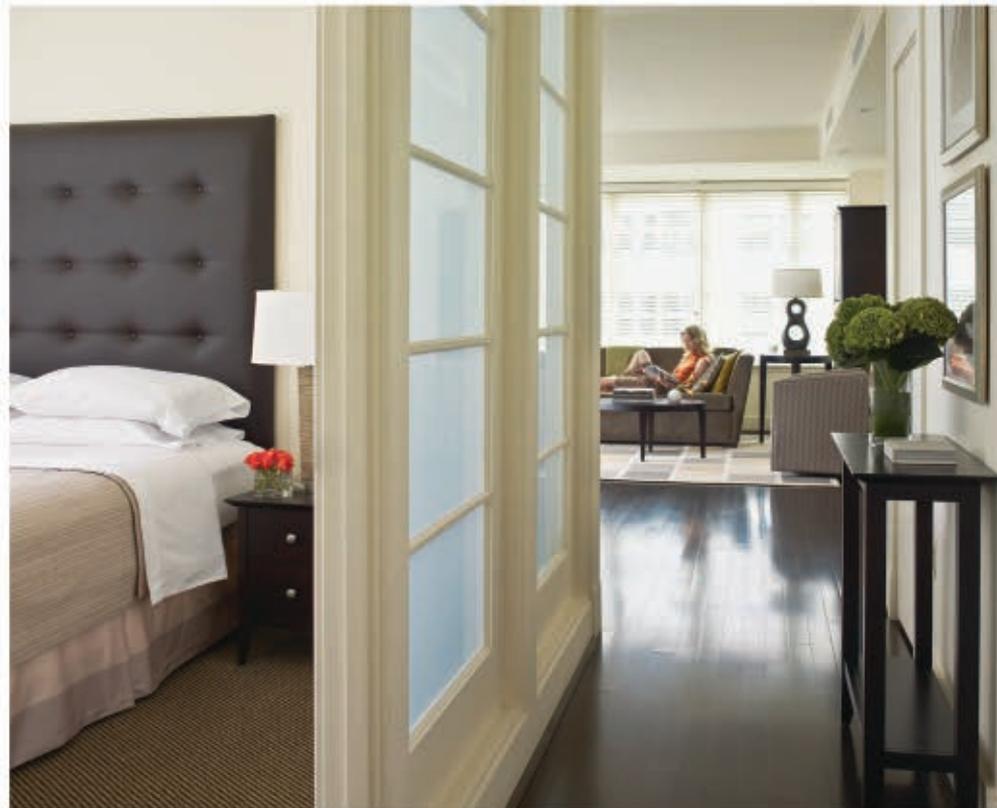
*The Role of U.S. Diplomats in Conflict Zones*

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Challenges and Opportunities*

BY SUSAN R. JOHNSON

This is my first column as AFSA president, and my first opportunity to warmly thank all who reposed trust in me to carry on AFSA's tradition of working together to advance the interests of the Foreign Services of all our member agencies. My thanks, as well, to all voters who participated in the election for their support of AFSA — our collective voice.



Within days of taking office, I sought a meeting with Under Secretary for Management Pat Kennedy to hear what he and his team are doing to implement overseas comparability pay and the expanded definition of Eligible Family Members/Members of Household. I am pleased to report that they have moved expeditiously on both fronts.

By the time this column appears, those of you overseas should soon see the first of three planned annual salary adjustments that should move us toward ending a longstanding inequity. However, we need to keep Congress focused on achieving this final objective. Management is also implementing changes that will make same-sex partners eligible for most of the benefits that they have long sought. Both of these breakthroughs are hard-won, historic achievements, made possible by AFSA's diligent work and Secretary Clinton's

---

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

unequivocal support.

On the broader front, the change in AFSA's leadership coincides with an important time for the Foreign Service. The new administration has taken up its responsibilities at a time of systemic global crisis. Governments and foreign ministries worldwide are trying to adjust to new imperatives of development, which demand diplomacy that delivers visible and measurable results.

An energetic, creative and united AFSA, focused on constructive partnership with the Secretary and her team, will maximize our ability to get the resources and the policies necessary for a high-quality, 21st-century diplomatic service and development program.

My broad goal as president is to make AFSA a stronger, more effective and credible voice of our Foreign Services, better able to represent, protect and advance our professional interests. To get there, we will focus on modernizing the way AFSA does business and improving our communications capacity to make full use of new technologies. State Vice President Daniel Hirsch and I have already met with AFSA staff to establish a working group that will update our online presence to make it a premier site: user-friendly, interactive and relevant to our membership.

I also encourage those of you serv-

ing overseas to work closely with your AFSA post representatives, and hope that all AFSA members will share their ideas and concerns with their respective constituency vice president and representatives — and with me (Johnson@afsa.org). Such engagement will enable us to more fully realize AFSA's potential as a robust professional association and bargaining unit for all our active-duty and retired members. The perspective of our retiree members, reflecting their experience, is especially valuable in helping us identify effective ways to make all of our agencies the premier institutions that they can and should be.

The previous AFSA Governing Board, led by John Naland and Steve Kashkett, has delivered important achievements, with overseas comparability pay, staffing increases and expanded Eligible Family Member benefits at the top of the list. I am sure that I speak for the new board in thanking them — and AFSA's dedicated professional staff — for their sustained work.

As the new AFSA Governing Board begins its term, we need your support, your suggestions and your constructive criticism as we seek to work together to refresh, update and strengthen AFSA to meet the challenges before us. We want to promote transparent and collaborative governance for better results, but we need you to make that happen! ■

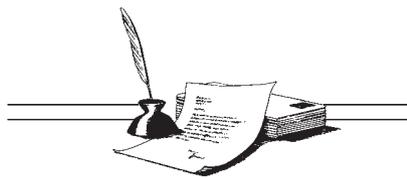


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# LETTERS

## Don't Publish Hate Mail

I am writing to object to your decision to publish the letter from retired FSO Richard Hoover (“Don’t Encourage Them!”) that appeared in your July-August issue.

When Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton took office in January, 2,200 current and former employees of foreign affairs agencies presented her with a letter asking that they be “treated equally and with the same respect,” regardless of sexual orientation. What made this document truly historic was the gay-straight alliance formed in the workplace: 92 percent of the signatories did not have a Member of Household, meaning they were either single or married to someone of the opposite gender.

Wherever U.S. diplomats are posted overseas, we showcase to host communities an example of successful integration: different races, different religions, different ages and different sexual orientations working together effectively. The men and women of our Foreign Service truly believe in the very American value of “E Pluribus Unum.”

Promotion of diversity is not a Republican value or a Democratic value; it is an *American* value. When President Ronald Reagan selected Edward Perkins as ambassador to South Africa, he did not worry that the appointment of an African-American would be “un-

acceptable,” as Mr. Hoover puts it, to the apartheid government. When Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama chose their respective Secretaries of State, they did not fear that sending a woman overseas might “project controversial views.” And last November’s results show that when we elected our first African-American president, most voters did not think that installing a minority candidate as head of state would “serve to undermine our work abroad.”

Today I woke up to my alarm clock, ate some cereal, drove to work, wrote a report and attended some meetings. On my way home, I will purchase milk and fruit. Later, I will make a phone call to my partner, who is unable to join me at this post. It is unclear which of these are the “habits” that Mr. Hoover claims are “unacceptable to most American taxpayers.”

The State Department does not respect host-country biases when it assigns lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender staff to overseas posts, any more than it respects host-country biases concerning gender, race or religion. Today’s Foreign Service shows the diversity of our nation better than ever before. From Khartoum to Kabul, our LGBT staff are proudly volunteering to serve their country. Wherever they are assigned, they — and their straight colleagues — are showing how diverse groups of Amer-

icans work side by side to advance freedom and basic human rights for all.

I cannot imagine that any other minority group would have to open the *Foreign Service Journal* to see letters that call on the department not to hire “greater numbers of those.” I would ask that from this day forward, there should similarly be no room in the *Journal* for such hurtful words towards LGBT staff.

*Selim Ariturk*  
Economic Officer  
Embassy Baku

*Editor’s Note: We respectfully disagree with Mr. Ariturk’s assertion that we published hate mail. When an AFSA member submits a letter responding to an item in the FSJ — in this case, a May Speaking Out column that strongly advocated fair treatment for LGBT Foreign Service employees and their partners — our normal policy is to publish it (subject to editing, of course).*

*Further, as our masthead (p. 4) in each issue states: “Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers, and does not necessarily represent the views of the Journal, the Editorial Board or AFSA.”*

## Through the Looking Glass

Thank you for the criticism of the Employee Evaluation Review process in June’s Speaking Out column,



“EERs: The Forgotten Front in the War for Talent.” Having just witnessed the process for the first time, I feel like Alice in Wonderland.

This spring, I proofread many Employee Evaluation Reports and did not see a single negative statement — even in the one for my office’s former Office Management Specialist, whom I’ll call “Janet.” Janet was assigned to cover the phones in our busy office, but spent half the day in the hall chatting with friends. When she was at her desk, surfing the Web was one of her prime activities. She worked with us until the head of our office told the human resources director at post that he never wanted to see her again. HR moved Janet to another office, where she has continued to be unmotivated and uncaring.

Janet’s EER rater joked to me that he’d had to include her participation in a local 5K race as an achievement because it was so difficult to come up with anything good to say about her work. Apparently, being nice is much more important than being truthful.

After only one year with the Foreign Service, I’ve come to a depressing conclusion: because FS personnel aren’t actually evaluated, we are just like Soviet factory workers — lacking any incentive to excel.

*Name withheld by request  
Foreign Service employee  
A post in Africa*

### On Officers and Specialists

I recently read the June Speaking Out column by Jonathan Fritz. While I certainly agree that there are many shortcomings in the personnel evaluation system, one absolute requirement for the promotion of Foreign Service officers should be the recognition and understanding that not all members of

the Service are officers. A failure to understand the categories of FS personnel should automatically disqualify any generalist or specialist from promotion, regardless of other sterling qualities.

Additionally, Mr. Fritz may not be aware that, at times, FSOs are the subordinates of specialists, and their evaluations are written by the specialist supervisor. Therefore, the term “officer” should not have been universally applied in the article. (In that regard, I’d point out that I was misidentified as an FS officer rather than as an FS specialist in my July-August letter to you.)

*Ken Yeager  
FS Specialist, retired  
Großhansdorf, Germany*

### Stabilizing Afghanistan

Why, in 2009, is the United States, and its NATO allies to a lesser degree, still almost solely responsible for resolving Afghanistan’s political future? We live in a multipolar world, and the Obama administration appears to be committed to the idea that the U.S. will accomplish more by working with other countries and through international organizations to achieve national objectives than going it alone.

Our national security interests in Afghanistan are essentially limited to preventing that country from once again providing a secure base for al-Qaida and its ilk. (The Obama administration once claimed it would not pursue the broader nationbuilding goals of the Bush administration, but its subsequent actions have been more ambiguous.) While our NATO partners share that goal, many of them remain reluctant to become engaged in the (hopefully) short-term military phase.

Contrast that with the interests of

Afghanistan’s neighbors — China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and, by extension, Russia. All of them have concerns about Afghanistan’s potential to become a terrorist base of operations. But they also have a direct interest in keeping it from becoming a destabilizing vacuum in the center of the region. They probably don’t agree on what a stable Afghanistan should look like, but with real national security interests involved, they probably can find a formula that satisfies each of their essential needs.

So I suggest that the time has come for the U.S. and NATO to sit down for a serious discussion with those countries, making clear to them that we share their concern that Afghanistan never again become a safe haven for non-state terrorists. Moreover, given their direct stake in the future of their region, we should also make clear that we intend to turn over responsibility for Afghanistan’s security and political future to local leaders at the earliest possible time. At the same time, we should also commit to playing a supportive role with a reasonable level of financial and human resources.

Such a step would imply abandoning plans for a long-term U.S. military presence in Central Asia. But in light of the concerted opposition of the region’s powers to such a presence, such plans — assuming they exist — are simply not realistic. Given the limited tolerance of the American people for extended military adventures halfway around the globe, the most sensible course is to leave the region’s problems primarily in the hands of those directly involved. What better way to do so than by beginning serious discussions right now on handing over

## LETTERS



responsibility for Afghanistan to its neighbors?

*Michael W. Cotter  
Ambassador, retired  
Farrington Village, N.C.*

### More on Fort Drum

Despite his ordeal of a deep fall into shallow water at Fort Drum, one of the four fortified islands in Manila Bay ("Reprieve on Manila Bay," June), John J. St. John might have encountered greater misfortune had he pushed further into the interior. El Fraile Island, the geographic name for Fort Drum, was recaptured from the Japanese in April 1945 by a unique method.

As was first done at the smaller Fort Hughes on Caballo Island, a Navy landing craft loaded with a mixture of diesel fuel and gasoline, and protected by firepower, pulled up to Fort Drum, which was occupied by Japanese defenders. A landing party went aboard to place a discharge hose in an opening, attached igniters and pumped the fuel into Fort Drum. As the landing craft and protecting party backed away, it appeared the plan had failed. But after a short interval the first explosion occurred, followed by a series of blasts that lasted all afternoon. In fact, it was five days before American forces could enter what was left of Fort Drum.

While a consular officer in Manila from 1981 to 1982, I researched the Manila Bay islands and visited Fort Mills on Corregidor. But I never convinced anyone to take me to Fort Drum as Mr. St. John did. Perhaps I was spared his fate.

*Fred Donner  
Former FSO  
Falls Church, Va.*

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### MED Exams Save Lives

Further to a letter in the June issue by Marie-Elena van Treeck (responding to the March President's Views column, "To Your Health"), I also consider my life saved by the medical exam performed prior to my transfer from Somalia to Rwanda as agricultural development officer.

In January 1983, prior to my departure, the doctor who performed the examination told me that State had begun suggesting a colonoscopy for FS employees 40 years old or older. This was not compulsory but was highly recommended, he said.

My colonoscopy revealed a malignant growth that the doctor removed a few days later. That growth would have had four more years to spread before the exam due on my next home leave. I continue with annual colonoscopies and, 26 years later, still am roaming the hills of West Virginia. Please do not stop these exams.

Warren C. Putman  
ADO, retired  
West Union, W. Va.

### Enough about the Pay Gap

In his May letter, Steven D'Angelo found it "disappointing" that AFSA hadn't succeeded in gaining support for eliminating the "overseas pay gap;" he will presumably be pleased with recent progress on this issue.

Am I the only FSO who finds it obscene that in the current budget climate AFSA, representing many FSOs, presents virtual locality pay as a veritable entitlement?

I have never understood the notion of "virtual" locality pay any more than I understand the notion of "virtual" work (we are not, after all, the UAW). While AFSA has cleverly dressed this up as an "overseas pay gap," in reality

the only gap is between services rendered and those not rendered. Rather than getting hit with a pay cut when we deploy overseas, we receive a pay increase for serving in Washington, based on a formula for the city's expensive housing and cost-of-living basket. The notion of receiving a Washington cost-of-living adjustment while not living there strikes me as a huge stretch, as it apparently is for the many on Capitol Hill who would be hard-pressed to defend this math to their constituents, much less to Lou Dobbs. The recent formula may last for a year, but I hardly see how it will be formalized over the long term.

Rather than continuing to fight the windmill of the "overseas pay gap," I would feel better if AFSA were fighting the simple issue of differential slippage, arguing for larger differentials for difficult posts and for a more nimble system of calculating and initiating differentials. While I cannot justify getting a Washington differential for serving in my current posting of Mexico City, I can easily justify hanging on to our current differential of 15 percent. And in light of the recent two-week school closure over the H1N1 flu scare, two earthquakes and rising nationwide drug violence, I could see edging it up a bit — but certainly not reducing it, as is rumored will soon happen.

Ciudad Juarez is another local case in point. The epicenter of Mexico's drug war, it experienced more than 2,000 drug-related killings last year. Yet it only qualifies for a 15-percent differential, based on the bizarre logic of being across the border from the U.S. ("Gunshots outside, honey? Not a problem; we'll just mosey across to El Paso for the evening.")

Beijing's differential just slipped

from 15 percent to 10. It is a city that may be advancing rapidly in certain creature comforts, but it still poses huge cultural, family and health challenges. One could find dozens of similar cases around the globe.

If AFSA wanted to take this one step further, it could work on getting our pension calculated with differentials included the way locality pay is — thereby increasing the incentive for not only serving overseas, but serving in the most difficult places.

Keith W. Mines  
Director  
Narcotics Affairs Section  
Embassy Mexico City ■

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes brief, focused letters from readers. (In general, 200 to 400 words is a good target.) All submissions are subject to editing, and reflect the opinions of the writers, not necessarily the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Please send your letters to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org).

### CORRECTIONS

In his farewell President's Views column in the July-August issue, John K. Naland referred to "U.S. diplomacy in the world's other 250 nations." Although the State Department does have that many diplomatic posts, they are located in just 194 independent countries.

A July-August Cybernotes item, "Changing Tides for Cuba," incorrectly identified Walter Kendall Myers as a former FSO. While Myers did work for the State Department, he was never a member of the Foreign Service.

We regret the errors.



# CYBERNOTES

## State Historian Replaced

In early June, John Campbell, a former ambassador to Nigeria, replaced Marc Susser as State Department Historian ([www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/07/AR2009060702164.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/07/AR2009060702164.html)).

The decision to reassign Susser resulted from the Office of the Inspector General's May report on the Office of the Historian. As detailed in the February edition of *Cybernotes*, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had ordered a review panel to investigate claims of mismanagement made in December 2008.

At that time, Professor William Roger Louis tendered his resignation as chairman of the Historical Advisory Committee to protest alleged mismanagement of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series. Examples of mismanagement Louis and other employees cited include the forced retirement of series editor Dr. Edward Keefer, and Susser's assumption of the editorial position with no attempts to hire a replacement.

The OIG report acknowledges the claims of Susser, who notably accused the staff of being overly privileged academics with no regard for security or guidelines, but ultimately concludes that the hemorrhage of talent and widespread discontent with Susser warranted his speedy replacement.

Providing the personnel and financial resources to manage our diplomacy and development policies is an urgent matter of national security. ... Some will say that we cannot afford to support the increase, and we recognize the economic crisis facing our country. But the reality is that we cannot afford to fail at this challenge. The costs, which the American Academy of Diplomacy/Stimson Center estimates at \$3.5 billion by the end of a multi-year ramp-up, are less than half of 1 percent of what we spend on the defense budget portion of national security (excluding costs to actually fight two wars).

We, former Secretaries of State of different administrations and different political parties, and with differing views on many other issues, are nevertheless of one mind on this issue of critical importance to our country's national security. We call on Congress to act accordingly and fund this critical need.

— Former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, James Baker, Lawrence Eagleburger, Warren Christopher, Madeleine Albright, Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, [www.politico.com](http://www.politico.com), June 25.

All told, according to the report, at least 21 historians, many senior employees, have left the office since the issue of mismanagement arose. This figure accounts for 20 percent of the office's staff.

The report also recommends filling several vacant spots, including that of the editor, as well as strengthening the roles of the Historical Advisory Committee and Bureau of Public Affairs in personnel and timeline issues and increasing communication between all parties. It also expresses concern at the loss of personnel due to management's

disregard for experience, recommending more focus on employee retention, including a proposal to increase morale by relocating to a better office space. For now, though, the replacement of Susser will have to do.

The OIG's full report may be viewed at <http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/124568.pdf>.

## Ambassadorial Equations

A year ago, during the presidential election campaign, the American Academy of Diplomacy sent a letter to Senator Barack Obama, urging him to



break with the old practice of appointing prominent donors as ambassadors. The letter was not so radical as to demand total elimination of political appointments, but suggested allocating only 10 percent of ambassadorial positions to donors, as opposed to the typical 30 percent ([www.academyofdipplomacy.org/media/Ambassadorial\\_Qualifications\\_Sen\\_Obama\\_6\\_2008.pdf](http://www.academyofdipplomacy.org/media/Ambassadorial_Qualifications_Sen_Obama_6_2008.pdf)).

President Obama acknowledged that he would give some posts to campaign supporters, but he also implied that he might consider following the AAD proposal. However, a recent wave of ambassadorial appointments for campaign financiers has led many to fear that Obama will soon exceed a 30/70 arrangement — a development that has irritated not only Foreign Service personnel, but the nations receiving those ambassadors, as well ([www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jul/10/career-diplomats-save-share-of-postings/](http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jul/10/career-diplomats-save-share-of-postings/)).

Foreign Service officers voiced their concerns to Secretary Clinton's chief of staff, Cheryl Mills; and she, in turn, passed them along to the Secretary and White House. In response, Obama administration officials have indicated that they will at least uphold the 30/70 norm. However, as one French newspaper sarcastically commented, even that result would mean “No ‘change you can believe in’ for Obama.”

With 26 percent of posts given to donors and 11 percent vacant as of this writing, Obama still has time to redeem himself — even if only to shift to a 25/75 ratio. It is worth noting that he has nominated Foreign Service members, former or current, as chiefs of mission for many hot spots, including India, China, Brazil, Kosovo and Mex-

ico. Additionally, despite an unfortunate joke by White House Press Secretary Robert Gibbs that Louis Susman is qualified to be the ambassador to the United Kingdom because “he speaks English,” many of Obama's picks are indeed qualified people.

Still, qualified as donors may be, many worry about the practice of sending them to such prominent nations ([www.nytimes.com/2006/06/15/opinion/15ihtedraleigh.1981739.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/15/opinion/15ihtedraleigh.1981739.html?_r=1)). Former President Bill Clinton, for instance, often relegated even his qualified donor appointees to more backwater locales ([www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/09/AR2009060903304.html?nav=emailpage](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/09/AR2009060903304.html?nav=emailpage)).

But in fact, donors can often capitalize on their fame, networking skills and direct access to the president to the benefit and advantage of their mission ([www.politico.com/news/stories/0609/23362\\_Page2.html](http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0609/23362_Page2.html)). Likewise, the appointment of a Foreign Service professional does not necessarily ensure competency or acceptance, as may be seen in Mexico's resentment at having an expert on failed states assigned as its ambassador ([www.mexidata.info/id2289.html](http://www.mexidata.info/id2289.html)).

Check the American Foreign Service Association's list of ambassadors for periodic updates on appointees ([www.afsa.org/ambassadors.doc](http://www.afsa.org/ambassadors.doc)).

### The U.S. and the Sea of Green

Few doubts remain that the June 13 Iranian elections, which gave two-thirds of the vote to incumbent President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, were rigged to some degree. Despite waves of protest over the election results, there is also little doubt that he will retain his seat for a second term.

The extraordinary show of brutality

that affirmed the stranglehold of authoritarian forces over Iran notwithstanding, recent events have revealed deep cracks within the Iranian state, which may be of diplomatic advantage to Mir-Hossein Mousavi and the United States.

Despite their best efforts to crack down on dissident movements, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps and its hired Basij militias have only pushed street demonstrators toward civil disobedience and cyberwarfare, with no end in sight. Though the government continues to try to limit media exposure of the peacefully subversive acts of protestors, enough coverage reaches the outside world to seriously damage its image of control (<http://schema-root.org/region/middle-east/iran/resistance/>). Even the protesters have been able to overcome the regime's Internet regulations and continue to stream out live accounts of their actions ([www.squidoo.com/iran-election](http://www.squidoo.com/iran-election)).

Granted, these correspondences must be taken with a grain of salt, but their importance cannot be dismissed. Twitter updates, in particular, are implicated in helping the dissident movements survive initial state crackdowns. For this, Iranians give credit to the State Department, which is said to have convinced Twitter staff to delay scheduled maintenance that would have broken lines of internal and external communication in the infancy of the resistance ([www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/16/AR2009061603391.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/06/16/AR2009061603391.html)).

Recognizing both the importance of this medium and its potential to misinform, many Iran watchers have responded by creating filtered sites displaying only substantiated, rep-



## 50 Years Ago...

On the one hand, foreign affairs are judged so important that the Secretary of State is the senior member of the president's Cabinet and was indeed, between 1886 and 1947, second in succession to the presidency. On the other hand, there is recurrent hope that foreign affairs will give so little trouble that the Secretary of State will be free to go fishing and the important United States embassies can be staffed with party spoilsmen.



— H.G. Nicholas, from "The American Secretary of State," *FSJ*, September 1959.

utable Twitter updates (<http://iran.robinsloan.com/>).

Reacting to signs of weakness, high-level clerical leaders, silent through the early stages of the resistance, have started to undermine the position of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. From their seat in the city of Qom, they have issued statements, even outright fatwas, declaring the elections void and the tactics of Khamenei's supporters reprehensible.

Heading up this camp is Grand Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, the man originally intended to hold Khamenei's current position and one of the most powerful leaders of Shi'a Islam. His increasingly frequent condemnations of Khamenei and support of the protesters reveal the continuing and destabilizing presence of splits in Iranian leadership along lines that first appeared during the 1979 revolution ([http://schema-root.org/region/middle\\_east/iran/people/clerics/ayatollahs/montazeri/](http://schema-root.org/region/middle_east/iran/people/clerics/ayatollahs/montazeri/)).

Additionally, Iranian leadership cannot transfer the blame to American incitement as they traditionally have done. The Obama administration's insistence on maintaining a supportive, but clearly uninvolved, relationship with Iranian dissidents deprives Ahmadinejad and Khamenei of the op-

portunity to unite their nation with a dose of nationalist ire. As a result, claims Abbas Milani in the Council on Foreign Relations' continuing analysis of the situation in Iran, "with a badly tarnished domestic and international reputation, and with a sadly failing economy in desperate need of foreign investments, the triumvirate will be, in spite of its bombast, in desperate need of negotiating with the United States" ([www.cfr.org/region/404/iran.html](http://www.cfr.org/region/404/iran.html)).

The potential clearly exists for significant changes in American-Iranian diplomatic relations. Yet the situation in Tehran remains in flux, and the extent to which the Obama administration should seek to interact with a clearly troubled regime remains questionable.

Recognizing this delicate position, the Center for Strategic and International Studies continues to offer detailed background and periodic in-depth analysis on the situation in Iran ([www.csis.org/region/iran](http://www.csis.org/region/iran)). Similarly, the United States Institute of Peace has opened a dialogue with Asieh Mir and Soolmaz Abooli, who reported on the initial election results ([www.facebook.com/pages/United-States-Institute-of-Peace/75608370019#/topic.php?uid=75608370019&topic=9294](http://www.facebook.com/pages/United-States-Institute-of-Peace/75608370019#/topic.php?uid=75608370019&topic=9294)). And to augment the

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limited and confusing information coming from Iranians evading governmental censors, some outlets have daringly established live blog reporters within the nation ([www.huffingtonpost.com/tag/iran-liveblogging](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tag/iran-liveblogging)).

Many aspects of the unrest in Iran have been unexpected, but a steady stream of information and analysis give us the tools needed to better understand and engage further shifts there.

### Static on the Line

The tenuous connections governing the order and cohesion of American intelligence agencies were highlighted on May 19 when Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair issued a directive claiming the right — “in rare circumstances” — for his office to appoint the top American intelligence officials at foreign posts.

A day later, in what Blair has termed an act of insubordination, Central Intelligence Agency Director Leon Panetta responded by ordering his agency to disregard Blair’s memo, reasserting the power of the CIA to manage such appointments ([www.nytimes.com/2009/06/09/us/politics/09intel.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/09/us/politics/09intel.html)).

Bloggers at the conservative Internet broadcast network, *Hot Air*, point to what they term “the lack of logic and law” in the 2004 structural overhaul of U.S. intelligence agencies in response to the 9/11 Commission Report (<http://hotair.com/archives/2009/06/09/predictable-turf-war-in-intelligence/>).

But the issue is complicated, as Philip Zelikow, former State Department counselor, explains in a June 11 blog posting. Although the CIA has traditionally made these appointments, there are good reasons for the Office of the Director of National Intelligence to

### Site of the Month: wikileaks.org

In introducing their site, the mysterious cabal behind *wikileaks.org* asserts that “*Wikileaks* is the strongest way we have of generating the true democracy and good governance on which all mankind’s dreams depend.” As that claim indicates, the assortment of anonymous dissidents, journalists, mathematicians, technologists, refugees, advocates, lawyers and cryptographers behind the site are a cocky bunch, but they have a right to be so.

Since materializing out of thin air in January 2007, *wikileaks.org* has collected more than 1.2 million secret or suppressed documents from around the world and in its mission to create a truly free press, open global dissent and discussion, and combat corruption has released sensitive information, often provoking powerful foes. As a result, *wikileaks.org* has faced censorship by the Chinese government and legal action by the Swiss Bank Julius Baer and the Church of Scientology, among others.

Fortunately, the site simply uses its extraordinary technological know-how of encrypted connections and its array of thousands of cover domains to evade filters. When taken down, it merely shifts or is mirrored until it re-establishes itself. The precautions of the staff ensure that any contributor will have absolute and almost impenetrable anonymity unless the host should choose to give up his/her identity.

As for the authenticity of the leaked documents made available, the staff examines all documents forensically and claims not to have made a mistake thus far. In any case, they maintain that the only way for a document to prove itself is to withstand global public scrutiny — hence the use of an accessible wiki format and comment system allowing anyone the world over to examine the evidence before them.

*Wikileaks.org* is not only a vital tool for the advancement of a free press and for serious investigation. It is also of general interest, allowing everyone to peek into the documents behind breaking headlines, or maybe even to find out if their bosses and banks are really as fishy as they think they are.

take it over, as Executive Order 13470 of July 2008 mandates ([http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/06/11/spy\\_vs\\_spy\\_washington\\_bureaucratic\\_knife\\_fight\\_edition](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/06/11/spy_vs_spy_washington_bureaucratic_knife_fight_edition)).

In late July, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence weighed in. Its report on the Fiscal Year 2010 intelligence authorization bill endorses Blair’s directive and “looks forward to the CIA’s prompt adherence to his decision” (<http://intelligence.senate.gov/090722/11155.pdf>).

The Senate committee concluded that the directive “recognizes the value

of turning to the CIA Chief of Station to be the DNI’s representative in foreign countries, but also recognizes that some locations may give rise to circumstances where that responsibility is best met by an official from another intelligence community element, which in fact is already current practice and is not disputed by anyone.”

Meanwhile, FSOs might wonder just whom their station is reporting to back in D.C., if in fact it’s not Langley.

*This edition of Cybernotes was compiled by Editorial Intern Mark Hay.*



# SPEAKING OUT

## *Strengthen the Process for Middle East Diplomacy*

BY DAVID T. JONES

**T**he U.S. government's repeated diplomatic excursions into the Middle East call to mind the aphorism that second marriages represent the triumph of hope over experience. However, the requirement to keep trying remains extant — along with the obligation to learn from past mistakes.

Toward that end, it should be obvious that a key component of diplomacy is maintaining complete files on past negotiating efforts. Former Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking at the inauguration of the new National Foreign Affairs Training Center on May 29, 2002, made that point clearly when he noted: "The conduct of diplomacy requires a clear understanding of what is happening and the ability to make a clear record of it and report it honestly and in depth. This may seem obvious and easy. It is not. It requires exceptional intellectual skills and qualities of character and discipline."

Or, as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan once observed: "The true diplomatist [is] aware of how much subsequently depends on what clearly can be established to have taken place. If it seems simple in the archives, try it in the maelstrom."

### **Yes, We Have No Records**

Both men could have been speaking about U.S. Middle East policy, as I can attest. Between 2002 and 2004, I was

*A key component of diplomacy is maintaining complete files on past negotiating efforts. Sadly, this has not been consistently done.*



part of a team in the State Department's Office of the Historian that conducted a systematic review of the work done during the final two years of the Clinton administration to advance the Middle East peace process. This study was intended to compile a comprehensive background for the Bush administration, which was considering whether and how to pursue its own initiatives.

To our dismay, we found that there was no negotiating record comparable to those kept for other sensitive diplomatic processes (e.g., the Panama Canal Treaty, U.S. military basing agreements, arms control treaties, etc.). Between 1999 and 2001, many senior members of the Clinton administration's Middle East peace process team wrote neither reporting cables nor memoranda of conversation. Much of the material in the files was undated, had no classification, and lacked draft-

ing and other identifying information — the epitome of the "nonpaper."

This systemic failure was compounded by the absence of negotiators' notebooks in the State Department's retired files. Nor could we locate the notes of key National Security Council officials in the Clinton Presidential Library files.

In a further break with previous practice, the Arabic translators and interpreters apparently kept none of their notes, either. Compare that with the negotiations for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, where the interpreters' notes were invaluable. Indeed, they served as the basis for memcons that became part of the official negotiating record. Those notes were also available for department principals to review as they prepared for subsequent meetings.

The most egregious gap we found was a complete absence of official records from the historic July 2000 Camp David Summit. There was literally nothing in the department's files reporting on individual meetings, agreed results, or the sequencing and status of documents and papers exchanged during those talks.

Instead, we found a hodgepodge of partial notes, sketchy commentary and self-serving recollections that contained more anecdotes than analysis and were, in any case, often quoted in the subsequent memoirs of participants.



### Lessons Not Learned

Ultimately, the intensive effort to keep Middle East peace process planning and activities secret — not only from the media and Congress, but also from other agencies, the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs and regional embassies — was feckless. There were constant leaks, often from foreign government sources; the experience was akin to having a bucket with a tight lid and a dozen holes in the bottom.

Meanwhile, the restrictions generated hostility between those few “in the know” and their colleagues. Even the most senior State Department figures addressing Middle East issues, let alone ambassadors in regional capitals, complained that they were systematically cut out of the talks. Egregiously, the most senior career diplomat at State, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering — an individual with substantial experience in the Middle East — was totally uninvolved in the peace process, even though he was present in the department throughout the 1999 to 2001 time-frame.

The tightly knit nature of the MEPP team meant that it became overextended. While it would, on occasion, reach out for specialized assistance (e.g., to the office of the Legal Adviser or intelligence officials for maps and territorial estimates), it lacked the depth to do generic studies on many special issues. There is also reason to believe that the excessive secrecy kept team members from appreciating identifiable problems that later blindsided them. And as the Clinton administration sputtered to a close, the team slowly dissipated, leaving little residual expertise — and that largely untapped.

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*The most egregious gap we found was a complete absence of official records from the historic July 2000 Camp David Summit.*

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George W. Bush's administration performed no better, though it repeatedly proclaimed its intention to approach the region differently. Yet during its eight years in office, it did not engage there (diplomatically, at least) with anything approaching the intensity of its predecessor. And its much-touted “road map” for Middle East progress proved the diplomatic equivalent of the Alaskan bridge to nowhere.

To the extent that it did engage, Washington continued its highly secretive, keep-no-records approach. For example, one of our ambassadors apparently went alone to meetings with Israelis — and never briefed senior embassy officials on his exchanges. And during the recent round of Gaza fighting, State mounted a desperate (and unsuccessful) effort to find someone who knew details of earlier conflicts, because no records were readily available.

The rationale for this approach is twofold: a fear of leaks in politicized circumstances and a desire to honor requests, often from foreign government officials, that no records be kept. Yet even if our negotiators are blessed with

total recall, such skills are not transferable to a new negotiating team; brain implants are still science fiction, after all. And giving in to the desire for deniability only puts Washington at a severe disadvantage compared to those parties that did keep records, forcing us to relearn where the alligators are in the swamp by being bitten again.

### Improving the Odds of Success

Fortunately, history need not be destiny. The call for change that Barack Obama so effectively issued throughout the campaign should be the hallmark of Middle East envoy George Mitchell and his entire team, and carried out in the following areas.

*Keep complete records.* Accurate, comprehensive, timely reporting should follow every negotiating exchange. Yes, U.S. policymakers should classify and restrict such information as necessary; but they still need a comprehensive diplomatic record. After all, we can be sure that the other parties have one; so why should we stumble about myopically? And even if American brilliance fails to illuminate a solution, at least the next negotiators will know where light has been previously directed.

*Make the Middle East peace process team an integral part of NEA.* This is even more important when the top U.S. negotiators choose not to maintain a direct pipeline to senior department officials. The team should also have a dedicated technical support unit drawn from across the intelligence community to offer advice and trend analyses of issues relevant to the negotiations (e.g., public attitudes, domestic politics, etc.)

*Involve Congress in the process early.* As a former Senate majority leader, George Mitchell could set up a

## SPEAKING OUT



*Giving in to the desire for deniability only puts Washington at a severe disadvantage compared to those parties that did keep records.*

congressional Middle East peace process support group. (After all, various senators have long been part of the U.S. arms control establishment, while others have gone on to prestigious diplomatic posts such as Tokyo.) Trying to hide what is happening — or not happening — from public scrutiny only invites other actors to go directly to Capitol Hill, without coherent executive-branch rebuttal. Moreover, any final agreement will require U.S. funding and hence congressional authorization.

Even if the Obama administration takes all these steps, prospects for a breakthrough are not bright. But fixing the process will surely improve the odds of success in the long run. ■

*David T. Jones, a retired Senior FSO, participated in a State Department study of the last two years of the Clinton administration's Middle East peace process. He is the co-author with David Kilgour of Uneasy Neighbor(s): Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture (Wiley, 2007) and is a frequent contributor to the Journal.*

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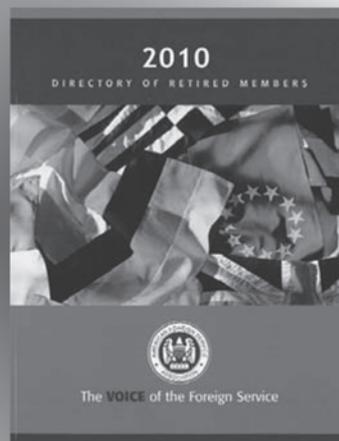
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# FS KNOW-HOW

## *Virtually' There: FS Spouses Build Careers Without Borders*

BY KATHERINE JACOBS AND CAROLYN HO

If there is one thing the Foreign Service community does well, it is adaptation. We are used to exploring new countries, setting up new homes, making new friends, learning new jobs and sending our children to new schools every few years. Successful Foreign Service families enjoy the thrill and the newness of each assignment; but even the most seasoned can find change challenging.

As the makeup of the diplomatic community changes, so, too, do those challenges. Today, more than ever before, highly educated and successful Foreign Service entrants are married to equally high-achieving individuals who want their own careers. While some spouses and partners welcome the opportunity to spend more time raising a family, to volunteer internationally, or pursue a personal avocation full-time, many seek employment opportunities. The Family Liaison Office's current spousal employment statistics show a 37-percent employment rate for Eligible Family Members living overseas, compared to 52 percent for two-career households in the U.S.

Many Foreign Service spouses and partners seeking employment are frustrated by what seem to be limited opportunities. After several years, many of them give up trying to work, while others adjust their expectations and take part-time or embassy roles as they are available. Still others return to the

*More than ever before, Foreign Service spouses and partners are pursuing successful careers in their own right. Here's how.*

United States, with or without their significant others, to try to pick up the pieces of their careers.

Acknowledging the importance of this issue and its impact on retention of outstanding employees, the State Department is taking steps to address it — both by preparing families for the realities they will face overseas and developing programs that can help spouses and partners find employment at post. The Global Employment Initiative and Strategic Networking Assistance Program, the professional associate program, the Community Liaison Office newsletters advertising Eligible Family Member employment opportunities, and the recent initiative to expand EFM status to same-sex domestic partners are all important efforts that go a long way toward helping spouses and partners find work. However, there is clearly more to be done.

Some spouses and partners who

teach; have medical, legal or financial backgrounds; or work for companies with offices abroad find that they can continue in their chosen field just as easily as they do at home. However, those with jobs in U.S.-based organizations, or who want the opportunity to maintain a consistent career from post to post, often find they have few options or resources to draw upon.

The good news is that with new technologies and motivated managers, some Foreign Service spouses and partners are discovering that their U.S.-based careers are not over. In fact, there is a burgeoning work force of FS family members that is "flattening" the world as they know it, enabling them to pursue professional careers while living abroad.

The time for this shift is ripe. Across all sectors in the United States, organizations facing a new economic reality are looking to retain their talent while increasing the efficiency of doing business. Technological advancements, including increased worldwide Internet access, VoIP Telephony and innovations in computer-based information and project management, not only make possible telecommuting from home offices in the States, but also from home offices while stationed overseas. Many Foreign Service spouses and partners are discovering that with some personal initiative, a willing employer and an Internet con-



nection, they can advance their careers while accompanying their diplomatic families around the world.

### Success Stories

Take, for example, Beth Ann Adler, a Foreign Service spouse whose husband, Jeff Adler, was in the 129th A-100 class. Beth Ann completed her Ph.D. biostatistics program in 2006 with high hopes and several offers for a future career. But when she interviewed with the RAND Corporation for a position as a statistician, she was nervous about breaking the news that her husband had just been accepted into the Foreign Service.

Fortunately, RAND agreed to bring Beth Ann on as a full-time employee based in their Washington, D.C., office knowing she would be telecommuting from a home office in Merida, Mexico. Their only condition was that she return to the U.S. once every six weeks for “in-person” office time or conference attendance, travel supported by her project work. After two years and a new baby, Beth Ann has become a model employee who helps other telecommuters learn tools and techniques to make their home offices work well.

Beth Ann is not alone. Stephanie Van Bebber was a researcher with the University of California at San Francisco before her husband entered the Foreign Service in 2007. Stephanie left her job to follow her husband first to Washington, D.C., for training and then to Moscow. One year later, as a new mother and new arrival to post in Moscow, she regretted her decision to leave the familiar challenge of her former position. Opportunities in Russia were not as interesting or as flexible as she had hoped.

After much thought, Stephanie called her previous employer and made

the case for returning to her former job, writing and processing data for the university. Her boss was thrilled at the opportunity to rehire a proven worker and top talent, and took on a reluctant university administration to offer her a promotion and a flexible work schedule. Stephanie now works successfully from Yekaterinburg, Russia.

We could cite many other success stories along these lines, and the numbers are growing. It is true that each situation is different, and there are always specific challenges to work out with employers in advance. Below are a few key suggestions that supervisors and employees can use to structure discussions about virtual work arrangements — whether negotiating a telecommuting relationship from an existing position or entering a new one entirely — so as to ensure a successful working environment for the virtual employee, co-workers, supervisors and the company as a whole.

*Assess your technology.* Whether you are a standalone consultant, altering an existing work arrangement, or a new hire who functions fully or part-time as a virtual worker, it is important to assess your capacity to work virtually. Will you have adequate Internet and telephone connections to complete your work requirements? If technical issues arise, what local or company resources are available to remedy your technical problems?

*Be aware of the blessings and curses of increased autonomy.* While virtual work offers you more autonomy to balance your work and family, you may fall victim to an “out of sight, out of mind” mentality vis-a-vis your U.S.-based colleagues. To mitigate this, set up regular times to connect with your team and supervisor via telephone or videoconference. Utilize instant message, chat

programs or your company’s virtual “water cooler” whenever possible. Clarify your real-time availability, your turnaround time on projects and work product responsibilities. And discuss in advance how performance reviews and supervision need to be adapted to reflect your virtual arrangement.

*Communicate clearly and often.* Understand and follow the communications norms for your company. Utilize instant message and chat functions, Twitter, e-mail, shared workspace or other means to help your co-workers know you are available for consultation and collaboration. Use and interpret information carefully and, when in doubt, pick up the phone or use video conferencing to hash out difficult issues or to help interpret silence. It is critical to be clear and consistent about your real-time availability and office disruptions due to local circumstances in order to head off problems.

*Create a formal workspace.* While virtual work allows you to operate anywhere and anytime, not all locations are optimal. Just as your employer needs to ensure adequate work space if you were physically working together, you should assess your home office space. Set a routine that creates an appropriate separation between work and home life and establishes boundaries with your family to reduce distractions.

*Anticipate problems and design solutions.* In order for this new arrangement to be successful, your employer will need to make some adjustments, as well. These may include evaluating the capacity and readiness to support your home office set-up. Your supervisor should set clear expectations with you and your team about real-time availability, communication structures and work product, creating and fostering opportunities for team-building and

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collaboration. "Gotomeeting," instant messaging, blog spaces, virtual bulletin boards and other online shared spaces can offer managers new and creative tools for overcoming communication barriers and can create spaces to share ideas, brainstorm and build stronger cross-team relationships.

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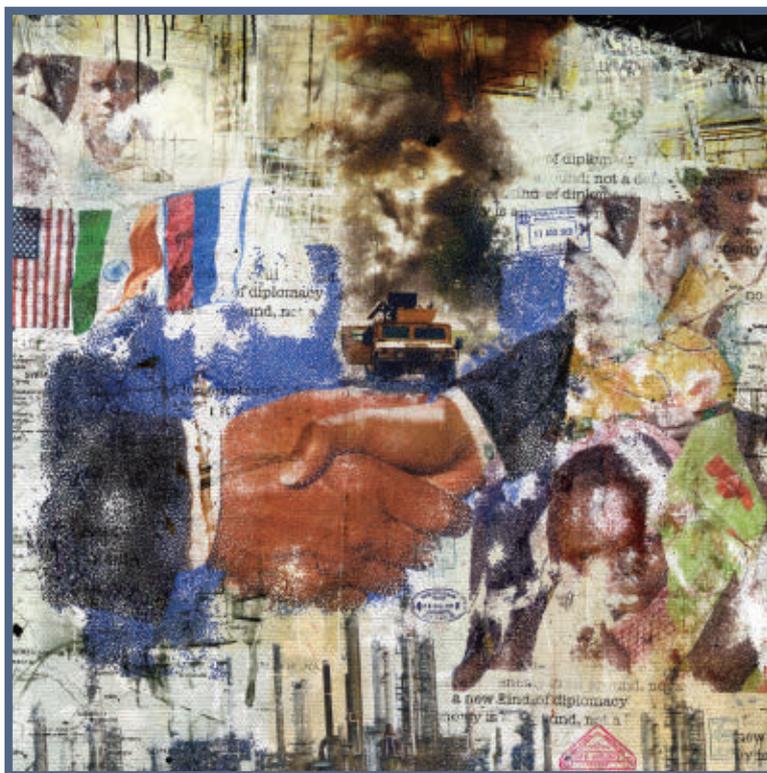
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# THE DIPLOMAT AS COUNTERINSURGENT



Brian Hubble

CIVILIANS MUST BECOME AS CONVERSANT WITH THE  
FUNDAMENTALS OF COUNTERINSURGENCY WARFARE  
AS OUR MILITARY COUNTERPARTS ALREADY ARE.

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*By KURT AMEND*

**T**he United States government's responses to the challenges of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the concomitant resurgence of interest in the nature of insurgencies, have led experts to revisit some of the fundamental precepts of classical counterinsurgency theory. Among the most enduring of these is the principle that an insurgency can only be defeated through a combination of political and military means. That is, improving the security of the local population and winning its support for the central government is — at its core — a political process.

The recent proliferation of articles and monographs on this subject in military publications suggests that the Defense Department's playbook overflows with tactical, operational and strategic guidance on how to wage counterinsurgency warfare. No such wealth of doctrine and counsel exists for DOD's civilian counterparts, however. This is surprising, precisely because primary responsibility for achieving political progress in a counterinsurgency rests on civilian shoulders.

The purpose of this article is to help fill this gap. In proposing a set of guiding principles, I confront a fundamental dilemma for the diplomat-counterinsurgent: far outnumbered by the military in the field, lacking adequate amounts of program funds, and dependent upon colleagues in uniform for such basics as mobility and security, how does a diplomat effectively pursue the political track, long seen as the decisive component of a counterinsurgency?

### **Create a Strategic Narrative**

The diplomat's starting point is to craft a strategic narrative; that is, a compelling storyline that is the foundation of all actions taken in pursuit of the strategy. Such a narrative will be short and culturally unassailable. It will explain the purpose of all government plans and programs, and will be used to interpret events throughout a counterinsurgency.

The narrative will appeal directly to the local population. While the emphasis and application may differ ac-

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*This article was adapted from "Counterinsurgency Principles for the Diplomat," which appeared on July 19, 2008, in Small Wars Journal (<http://smallwarsjournal.com/mag/docs-temp/75-amend.pdf>), and is used with permission.*

## ***Improving the security of the local population and winning its support for the central government is — at its core — a political process.***

ording to local circumstances, there will be only one approach governing the broader counterinsurgency campaign.

A strategic narrative for Afghanistan, for example, might read as follows:

*U.S. forces came to Afghanistan to evict foreign extremists and help restore the Afghan way of life. Their goal is to help the Afghan people make their country secure, economically self-sufficient and free from interference by external powers. They will remain in Afghanistan as long as the Afghan people welcome them, and no longer.*

On the basis of the strategic narrative, the diplomat should draw up a political strategy detailing the various political, military and development actions that will help the central government secure, and maintain, the support of the population. This plan should contain long-term objectives, underlying assumptions and specific measures needed to achieve the objectives.

It should be developed in close coordination with the U.S. military, development and intelligence agencies, non-governmental organizations, the host government and multinational partners. Any political strategy lacking the contributions and support of key stakeholders is doomed to failure.

The strategy should be integrated and comprehensive. That is, it should utilize all available tools of power — local, national and international; military, political, economic and informational — to achieve its ends. It should identify objectives at the village, district and provincial levels. Objectives and actions should be placed against a timeline. Measurements of performance should be defined. Periodic reviews of performance should be conducted and the strategy recalibrated accordingly.

### **Develop a Political Strategy to Win Local Support**

This will likely necessitate a systematic analysis, down to the village level, of a host of issues, including the following: What are the local power structures and on what basis (e.g., tribal, ethnic) are they organized? Which groups within the population are supportive of the government? Which groups are supportive of (or, more likely, are unable to challenge) the insurgents? What political, eco-

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conomic or security activities are likely to shift support of “the favorable minority” of the local population to the government’s side? How can contested areas be made secure? Within the various tiers of leadership, who are the fence sitters, and how can they be won over? Who are the spoilers, and what incentives and disincentives can marginalize them?

The diplomat should begin to assemble the principal components of a political strategy while preparing to assume his or her new responsibilities. Once in the field, diplomats should consult extensively with fellow counterinsurgents, move as briskly as possible through the analytical process suggested above, and fill out the strategy in light of ground realities.

In areas where security is not the paramount issue — for example, in Afghanistan’s Panjshir Valley, where a U.S.-led Provincial Reconstruction Team was established

*No action should be undertaken unless it supports the counterinsurgency’s overarching political goals.*

in 2005 — military operations will likely be de-emphasized in the political strategy. Conversely, where security is a principal concern — Afghanistan’s southern Helmand province, for example — the combination of military, political and developmental actions will look quite different.

If a political strategy already exists, the diplomat — upon arrival and with the benefit of fresh insight — should reappraise the plan. Is there a forceful, underlying narrative? Are the working assumptions still valid? Do the guiding principles need to be revisited? Should effort be redirected to reflect a change in resources or the emergence of new challenges? Is performance being accurately measured, and what do the results indicate?

Perhaps most important of all, the diplomat should work to ensure that every activity of every participant in a counterinsurgency — military, diplomatic, development,



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intelligence, NGO, host government — is in some way linked to achieving political progress. In other words, no action should be undertaken in a counterinsurgency if it does not somehow support the campaign's overarching political goals.

For the diplomat, this is the heart of the matter. In Afghanistan back in 2004, for example, U.S. government-funded alternative livelihood programs for poppy farmers employed expatriate consultants in certain southern provinces. Episodic attacks by insurgent groups forced the consultants to return to Kabul where they would remain, still under contract and earning per diem, until conditions in the provinces improved. While the security concerns were real, the negative political implications of this yo-yo-like movement of foreign advisers — as a result of which program funds covered restaurant and hotel bills rather than activities to help Afghan farmers develop licit sources of revenue — were profound.

Similarly, combat operations that inadvertently alienate the local population should be viewed through the prism of the political strategy. If operations do not contribute to the security of the population, they should be reconsidered. This is, to be sure, easier said than done. Bureaucratic lanes tend to be sharply demarcated. It is difficult to imagine any military commander responding warmly to perceived civilian intrusions into his operational planning process. And intelligence officers, nurtured in a need-to-know environment, may reflexively conclude that the diplomat indeed has no need to know.

So it is incumbent upon the diplomat to ensure that military and civilian colleagues understand his or her motives and the broader goals of the political strategy. By stressing the strategic narrative that informs the political action plan, and through a process of close collaboration, fellow counterinsurgents should see the desirability of aligning their activities with the campaign's political goals. The underlying principle of classical counterinsurgency theory still obtains: politics and security (the civil and military pillars) are inextricably linked and must be considered together.

### **Acquire Expertise**

Diplomats' effectiveness in carrying out counterinsurgency work is a direct function of how well they know their area of responsibility, and how much that knowledge in-

*Combat operations that do not contribute to the security of the population should be reconsidered.*

forms their judgment on a range of issues. This cannot be emphasized forcefully enough. If the diplomat is successful in this regard, over time other counterinsurgents — both civilian and military — will view that expertise as indispensable to their efforts. They will want her

along during a patrol in a remote village where, recent intelligence indicates, insurgent recruitment drives are gaining traction. Or they will pull him into the room when concluding a micro-credit financing scheme for local entrepreneurs. But first, the diplomat must learn as much as possible about the people, history, politics and economics of the country.

Possible lines of inquiry to assist in this effort include the following:

1. *People.* What is the population of the province or region, and how is it broken down by gender and age? What are the population growth, birth and death rates? What are the infant mortality and fertility rates? What are the major infectious diseases? What is the literacy rate?

2. *Religious and ethnic groups, major tribes, clans, sub-clans and extended families.* What are the relationships and histories between the groups? What longstanding feuds exist, and why? To what extent have groups intermarried, and what political affiliations have developed as a result? What is the history of support of the various groups for the central government? Which groups have sent their youth to serve in the army or other national security forces?

3. *Geography.* How much land is arable? How much is irrigated? What are the natural fresh water sources and are they disputed? What other natural resources exist in the province or region? Are they capable of extraction for commercial purposes?

4. *Local leadership and governance.* At the village, district and provincial levels, who are the influential leaders — political, religious, tribal or other? Who are their principal constituencies — that is, what are their sources of power? How effective are they in responding to the needs of the local population? How might they become more effective? Are local leaders supportive of the central government? If there is historical antipathy toward the central government, do subnational structures (e.g., tribal councils) exist for the purposes of governance or dispute resolution?

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5. *Local economy.* What are the principal sources of income — legal and illegal — for the local population? What are the main agricultural products grown in the province? Do small-scale industries exist? What is the local unemployment rate? What percentage of the working population goes abroad to find employment? How much do they remit home each year?

6. *Public services.* What percentage of the population has reliable electricity and potable water? Do certain groups receive preferential access to such services? How is garbage picked up? How is sewage removed? Where do people obtain medical services? What is the quality of the health care? What percentages of school-age children, broken down by gender (and ethnicity, if applicable), attend school?

The diplomat's expertise should extend to knowledge about the enemy, as well. A clear understanding of which insurgent groups are operating in a given province — including information about their leadership, goals, power base, means of recruitment, financing sources and foreign

supporters — will help the diplomat-counterinsurgent calibrate a comprehensive political strategy. With this knowledge, it will be possible to identify political actions that will exploit fissures within a group and induce defections to the government. A nuanced appreciation of the enemy should facilitate the disarmament and reconciliation process and, over time, help reduce the violence levels.

By steeping themselves in the history, politics and everyday life of a province, diplomats will develop insights that will contribute positively to the counterinsurgency campaign. In this sense, and to borrow a military term, the diplomat's deep knowledge and sound judgment will become powerful "force multipliers" in the overall effort.

### **Become a Catalyst for Political Progress**

To succeed in counterinsurgency warfare, diplomats will need to undertake a fundamental reappraisal of how to operate and, concurrently, be prepared to assume a variety of new roles, some unlike any they have ever taken on before.

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Consistent with the political strategy, the diplomat will need to mentor host-government officials on ways to enhance the efficiency of their administration. He may be asked about longstanding property disputes between tribes that have delayed agreement on a proposed development scheme. She will review project proposals with development officers and may help negotiate the terms with local contractors. He will assess the strengths and weaknesses of local security and intelligence officials, and make recommendations to senior government figures about personnel changes that are supportive of the overall political strategy. She will receive petitions from villagers seeking the release of a fellow tribesman they feel is being unjustly held by government security forces.

Thus, in a counterinsurgency the diplomat will be called to act as mentor, tribal affairs adviser, program officer, negotiator, analytic reporting officer and, not least, envoy. The challenge of assuming multiple, new roles is elevated to an altogether higher level in counterinsurgency since it occurs in the middle of a live, lethal conflict. Far from pursuing post-conflict reconstruction and stability (a misnomer, to this author's way of thinking, in the context of a counterinsurgency), the diplomat-counterinsurgent will conduct mid-conflict mentoring, program formulation, negotiation, reporting and advocacy. The diplomat's traditional approach to preventing or resolving conflict will necessarily evolve into a focus on securing the population, reducing levels of violence and winning the war.

At no point during an insurgency will the diplomat have the luxury of waiting for security conditions to improve. The need to identify and mobilize the local population against the insurgents will be immediate and constant. To increase chances for success, diplomats must adopt an active approach that empowers provincial administrators and local leaders.

### **Maximize Contact with the Local Population**

Armed with a comprehensive political strategy, fluent in the history and workings of a province, and inclined to help shape desired political outcomes, the diplomat will become even more effective by spending every possible wak-

*The diplomat's starting point is to craft a strategic narrative explaining the purpose of all U.S. government plans and programs in the country.*

ing hour with local leaders, officials and residents. In many traditional societies, personal relationships hold the key to getting business done. Making the effort to build relationships — sitting for long hours drinking green tea or coffee, and simply listening — will make a profound difference in the working relationships that the diplomat will need to succeed.

At the same time, it is a question of numbers. In a given district or province there will likely be thousands of troops, but only a few diplomats. So to make progress on the political track, the diplomat will need to circulate widely and aggressively. He or she will need to be in many places at once.

On occasion, the imperative to maximize contact with the local population will conflict with a bureaucratic predisposition to secure the diplomat in hardened facilities, well away from threats. Yet the diplomat-counterinsurgent who remains ensconced in a small fortress, relying on regularly scheduled meetings “outside the wire,” will never reach his or her full potential within the broader counterinsurgency campaign.

Instead, diplomats should make every effort to take overnight, circuit-riding trips through districts. The goal should be to capitalize on the military presence in remote areas to reach groups important to the political strategy. District administrators, local religious leaders and village elders — whose support is vital to successful counterinsurgency warfare — should know the diplomat and welcome his or her arrival.

### **Time to Build a Cadre**

Some readers may say that this article posits the creation of a hybrid diplomat-warrior, a mythical figure who simply does not exist. Such criticism would fall wide of the mark. Forty years ago, American diplomats were integral members of combined civilian-military teams that pursued rural pacification and development in Vietnam. While historians will continue to dispute the overall success of the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program and its effect on the outcome of the Vietnam War, few contest the proposition that, where effectively implemented, the CORDS program led to a diminution in insurgent violence. So there is precedent for successful

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application of the principles suggested in this article.

The diplomat with a sound strategy, thoroughly versed on the people and politics of a province, and in constant contact with the local population, can make significant contributions to a combined counterinsurgency campaign through linguistic, professional and area-specific expertise acquired over many years. These hard-won skills include the ability to operate effectively in a difficult, foreign environment; powers of persuasion and negotiation; the capacity to decipher the various shadings of meanings conveyed by interlocutors; and a facility for advancing governmental policies and programs.

Systematic development of such a seasoned cadre of diplomat-counterinsurgents will take time and, more importantly, require key policy decisions that fall outside

*Diplomats' effectiveness in carrying out counterinsurgency work is a direct function of how well they know their area of responsibility.*

the scope of this article. The guidelines set forth here are meant as instruments in a toolbox from which the diplomat may choose. They are approaches to enhance a diplomat's effectiveness, approaches that can be embraced now and with little cost.

If the United States is to achieve lasting, durable victories in Afghanistan, Iraq and future conflict zones, it is essential that civilians become as conversant with the fundamentals of counterinsurgency warfare as our military counterparts already are. Failure to undertake this admittedly difficult task will reduce the diplomat's effectiveness as a foreign affairs professional and diminish the likelihood that the United States government will achieve its long-term national security objectives. As diplomats, we can afford neither outcome. ■



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# INTERAGENCY COOPERATION: THE JIATF IN IRAQ



THE EXPERIENCE OF THE JOINT INTERAGENCY TASK FORCE IN IRAQ OFFERS RICH INSIGHTS INTO EFFECTIVE STRATEGIC COOPERATION.

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BY ROBERT M. BIRKENES

Hidden in a classified Strategic Operations Center deep inside Baghdad's Republican Palace, the Joint Interagency Task Force staff strategized to counter an enemy they would never meet. Overhead, TV screens displayed live video feeds of situations on the ground, surveilled by unmanned Predator aircraft miles away. OPSEC [Operational Security] screen-savers reminded users that "The Threat Is Out There — Remain Vigilant" and "In Order to Set the Trap, the Enemy Needs to Know Where the Vulnerability Is — Protect Your Vulnerabilities."

Ambassador Ryan Crocker and General David Petraeus agreed in April 2008 to create the JIATF to counter complex, interrelated strategic threats in Iraq. Initially a targeting cell to capture or kill "bad guys," the arrival of fulltime representatives from USAID, the State Department, the Department of Energy and the Department of Homeland Security allowed the Joint InterAgency Task Force to morph into a hybrid group that — for the first time in Iraq — brought together all elements of the U.S.

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government into a "smart power" planning team to balance the top two threats to Iraq's stability: al-Qaida's operations in Iraq, and Iran.

Similar organizations exist elsewhere. For the past 20 years, JIATF-South has integrated military and civilian counternarcotics operations in the Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico and the Eastern Pacific. JIATF-S is credited with disrupting hundreds of metric tons of cocaine shipments each year, and has been called "the epitome of interagency cooperation." Similarly, JIATF-West has detected, disrupted and dismantled drug-related transnational threats in Asia and the Pacific since 1989, by providing interagency intelligence fusion, supporting U.S. law enforcement and developing partner-nation capacity.

However, JIATF-I is different from these earlier units because of the urgent and complex nature of the threats to Iraq's stability, as well as the level of attention that the United States demonstrated by staffing it from an unprecedentedly wide range of civilian agencies to complement the substantial military cadre.

## **Interagency Cooperation: A Brief History**

The U.S. government had not always taken a holistic approach to solving strategic problems in Iraq. Indeed, with a thousand staff members in Embassy Baghdad, an additional 500 or so on the Provincial Reconstruction

Teams, more than 130,000 troops, and a parallel civilian-military structure where neither the ambassador nor commanding general leads, the organization chart for Iraq is extremely complicated. And before 2008, the government had only limited interagency strategic cooperation mechanisms that it could use there.

Civilian and military experts have worked together for several years on PRTs, but not at a strategic level. The Multinational Force–Iraq and Embassy Baghdad do coordinate at the more senior levels, but strategies and operations are typically designed at the mid-level. Lieutenant colonels and majors needed to work more closely with civilian counterparts on strategy design and implementation.

For years, embassies have drafted mission strategic plans describing strategic, management and performance goals for each country. Different agencies write goal papers to identify their highest-priority goals, set forth how the U.S. will advance these goals, and list performance measures. But none of these plans motivated true interagency strategic planning; rather, they were a collection of inputs from government agencies that had little contact even though their work often overlapped.

Around the world, U.S. interagency cooperation on nationbuilding was minimal until then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice introduced “Transformational Diplomacy” in 2005. The Director of Foreign Assistance position at the State Department was created shortly thereafter to ensure that U.S. foreign assistance is unified and supports foreign policy and national security objectives. The F Bureau’s Operational Plan brought together all aid flows into one document, but it did not bring all actors into one room for strategic or even operational planning.

National Security Presidential Directive 44, promulgated in 2005, authorized the State Department to establish an Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization to lead the interagency response to international crises. S/CRS developed interagency planning procedures; but three years after its creation, it still lacked the resources, credibility and experience to apply the model to real-world scenarios.

Then in May 2008, the State Department and USAID

*Before 2008, the U.S. government had only limited interagency strategic cooperation mechanisms that it could use in Iraq.*

introduced a Country Assistance Strategy approach to unify all U.S. assistance in support of host-country priorities and American foreign policy goals. This program was piloted in 10 countries, and rolled out worldwide in 2009 — with one glaring omission: Iraq. There, the U.S. government did not formulate an operational plan, did not coordinate foreign assistance through F, and

did not apply the S/CRS model or develop an interagency country assistance strategy. As a result, none of these new approaches improved interagency planning in Iraq.

### **Establishing JIATF**

In February 2008, the Defense Department’s Special Investigator General for Iraq Reconstruction assessed U.S. assistance as “characterized by a continuing and disabling lack of coordination among the government agencies, contractors and other organizations involved. As much as any other factor, this lack of coordination — arising from weak integration — has kept the U.S. program from achieving its objectives.” Only by improving collaboration could the United States move toward the “jointness” necessary for successful operations.

An interagency staffing request, endorsed by the commanding general and chief of mission in April 2008, created the task force to synchronize the efforts of the interagency community and military in Iraq. Within weeks, the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council approved the request, with a goal of full operations by August 2008. Even before that deadline, civilian and military representatives were providing expertise on counterinsurgency and stabilization operations, and reaching back to colleagues in Baghdad and Washington. JIATF analyzed the problems, developed a course of action and proposed strategies to be included in the Joint Campaign Plan for approval by the commanding general and the ambassador.

The JCP for Iraq was the first interagency attempt to define all priorities, objectives and approaches to be taken by all U.S. agencies in Iraq, and represented the U.S. government’s holistic strategy for achieving foreign policy and national security goals there. Approved by Amb. Crocker and General Raymond Odierno in December 2008, the JCP represented a landmark agreement on military and

civilian roles and contributions toward an integrated strategy.

Following its approval, the team began to monitor status and ensure actors were fulfilling their tasks during its implementation. With access to intelligence, knowledge of U.S. programs in Iraq and reachback to most American agencies, the JIATF worked with Embassy Baghdad and MNF-I to report on progress in achieving the national security goals expressed in classified annexes of the JCP. The team also provided data from the field that contributed to revision of the strategy.

### **Countering Focused Threats: Al-Qaida–Iraq and Iran**

JIATF-I was assigned the ambitious task of neutralizing strategic threats to Iraq's security, including foreign terrorists and facilitators and Iranian influence. The team analyzed these threats and led the military and civilian agencies to design whole-of-government strategies to meet them.

*Al-Qaida–Iraq.* Gen. Petraeus characterized AQI's threat succinctly in his April 2008 report to Congress on the situation in Iraq: "Al-Qaida's senior leaders, who still view Iraq as the central front in their global strategy, send funding, direction and foreign fighters to Iraq. Actions by neighboring states compound Iraq's challenges. Syria has taken some steps to reduce the flow of foreign fighters through its territory, but not enough to shut down the key network that supports AQI."

Gen. Petraeus' Anaconda Strategy, on which he briefed the Senate Armed Services Committee in the spring of 2008, describes the whole-of-government plan to counter AQI. The image that best describes the strategy can be simply stated: "squeeze and keep squeezing" to cut off AQI from what it needs — money, popular support, safe havens, foreign fighters and weapons — using all dimensions of soft and hard power.

Anaconda identifies six means of countering AQI: kinetics (combat operations); politics (promoting Iraqi political reconciliation and countering ethno-sectarian pressures); intelligence (including air reconnaissance); detainee operations (counterinsurgency in detention facilities); non-kinetics (education, jobs programs); and interagency cooperation.

### *The JCP for Iraq represented a landmark agreement on military and civilian roles and contributions toward an integrated strategy.*

The interagency members of the JIATF helped to turn this strategy into reality by identifying soft-power means and objectives, mainly in the area of diplomatic engagement, border security, Iraqi governance and provision of essential services, jobs and economic growth. Representatives from the State Department, the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Energy and USAID tracked and assessed the progress of their agencies' contributions to the strategy and identified for interagency leadership any obstacles or problems in implementation.

*Iran.* As early as 2006, the Bush administration described Tehran as a "profound threat to U.S. national security" due to its nuclear program and a regional strategy that included lethal aid to militants in Iraq, Lebanon and Israel. Iran provided Iraqi insurgents with training, funds and materiel for improvised explosive devices and armor-piercing, explosively formed penetrators, according to reports from the Congressional Research Service.

Meanwhile, Iran was increasing its own emphasis on legitimate levers of influence, such as trade. JIATF's analysis and tracking of Iranian influence yielded greater understanding that Tehran's actions were evolving away from lethal aid and more toward legitimate soft-power engagement. Yet even some of Iran's investment and charity organizations in Iraq may serve as front organizations for the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Qods Force, used as a foothold to carry out nefarious activities.

As evidence of Tehran's role in Iraq continued to accumulate, the need for a broader approach to countering that influence came into focus. By 2008 there was growing recognition that U.S. strategy should, in the words of a report from the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, "counter Iran's overarching Iraq strategy, not just its support for militias" and "use all forms of national power, including diplomacy, to counter negative Iranian influence in Iraq." These concepts, reinforced by observations on the ground, led the task force to design a new U.S. approach.

The JIATF's new whole-of-government strategy to balance Iranian influence — based on parameters set by the National Security Council and White House, rooted in the actual programs and actors on the ground in Iraq, and expressed in the JCP — describes goals and tasks along five

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lines of operation: diplomatic, economic, security, political and rule of law. Some illustrative tasks in the strategy include:

- Building the Iraqi government's capacity to budget for and provide essential services, in order to increase its responsiveness and accountability to the Iraqi citizens;
- Strengthening indigenous microfinance and small- and medium-size lending institutions, in order to develop the private sector and decrease dependence on imports and aid from Iran;
- Increasing the Iraqi government's ability to track and shut down flows and facilitators of lethal aid; and
- Encouraging and enabling Baghdad to strengthen diplomatic and trade ties with other regional partners.

This last task is particularly exemplary. It is based on the JIATF team's recognition that Tehran posed a threat in part because of Iraq's relatively insignificant relations with other neighbors: Arab countries had limited trade with, and minimal diplomatic representation in, Iraq, mainly due to security concerns. As Iraqi Foreign Minister Hosh-

yar Zebari has acknowledged: "The absence of Arabs from Iraq was a big mistake. It is not right and it is not acceptable." He vowed to increase regional diplomatic ties in order to promote his country's stability.

By mid-2009, Iraq's trade links with Germany, France, Turkey, Kuwait, Qatar, China and many other countries were growing from week to week. Improved security enabled Baghdad to strengthen diplomatic ties with other Arab countries, another element that balances Iran's influence in Iraq. Heads of state and top ministers from several Arab and European countries recently visited Iraq for the first time, each carrying promises to increase trade and investment and to establish embassies and consulates. Many Arab and Western countries have recently designated ambassadors to Iraq.

Today, Iran and Iraq are increasing cooperation on security, transportation, tourism and trade. The maturing relationship reflects Tehran's realization that legitimate ties with a stable and sovereign Iraq are more in Iran's interest than intervention in an unstable and occupied neighbor.

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### Measuring Success

It is hard to measure JIATF-I's success in countering these two complex strategic threats, especially compared with JIATF-W or JIATF-S, where "tons of illicit drug shipments disrupted" might be a realistic indicator of progress. Sister organizations in Baghdad, including the Iraq Threat Finance Cell and the Energy Fusion Cell, also deserve a big share of the credit for countering AQI.

However, after just one year of solid JIATF-I interagency strategy design and implementation, one can already see results. Weakening of violent extremists has led to a 40-percent decrease in weekly attacks against coalition forces. Since JIATF began operations, Iraqis finally feel more upbeat about their future and less concerned about violence and insecurity. Iraqi Interior Minister Jawad Bolani reports less Iranian interference and support to militias than three years ago. And today Iraq is considered more free than at any time in its history.

JIATF representatives created and managed the whole-of-government strategy expressed in the Joint Campaign Plan (and thus supported by all American agencies in Iraq), even without direct authority over resources. And by maintaining communication and tracking agency contributions to U.S. security goals, they identified missing or overlapping pieces and brought them to the attention of the chain of command.

The result has been greater effectiveness, as the following example dramatically illustrates. The Iraqi government's capacity to provide essential services, manage the budget and develop infrastructure is a pillar of the U.S. strategy to counter AQI and balance Iranian influence, according to the JCP. Yet USAID's Local Governance Program, building capacity within Iraqi provincial governments, had closed out in several provinces due to insufficient funds.

JIATF identified the strategic importance of civil capacity and highlighted to senior interagency leaders the impact of the gap in diminished USAID support in that sector. News of the shortfall and reduced footprint reached strategic planners in CENTCOM and the National Security Council, and their support helped gain momentum for a joint USAID/State decision to reallocate \$33

*Ultimately, JIATF's short-term interagency coordination fix will be replaced by the embassy, with the country team overseeing that process.*

million to this program. This mirrors an overall funding concern monitored by the task force: As the U.S. military reduces its footprint, funding on the civilian side should increase to maintain support for Iraq's government and nascent private sector. Interagency teams can identify shortfalls or overlaps and shift resources to meet strategic priorities.

Ultimately, JIATF's short-term interagency coordination fix will be replaced by the embassy, with the country team overseeing that process while its Iran Task Force focuses on balancing the threat posed by Iran.

### The Way Forward: From Coordination to Integration

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton recently launched a Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review to improve the efficiency and level of cooperation among State, USAID and other civilian foreign affairs agencies. Based on the JIATF's experience synchronizing different agencies on focused strategies to counter threats in Iraq, here are some observations from the field on how to improve interagency coordination and integration.

*Collaboration technology is necessary, but not sufficient.* Human relations and behavior — not the technology and organizational mechanics of coordination — are the real barriers to interagency integration. In 2006, Ambassador Randall Tobias, then-USAID Administrator and director of foreign assistance, introduced reforms to centralize decision-making within the F Bureau, which relied on big databases such as the Operational Plan to get civilian agencies to share information. This resulted in parallel pipes of data flowing upward into F, with little substantive interagency cooperation.

USAID's weak communications systems and information management technology continue to constrain our ability to share information with other agency partners. Secure video teleconferencing is still relatively unknown; geographic information systems remain an unfulfilled promise; foreign assistance reporting systems are nascent and awkward; and classified e-mail connectivity with the rest of the government does not exist. These areas need to be strengthened, certainly, but they are less important than

## F O C U S

our training, promotion and assignment policies — which are almost completely agnostic on the issue of interagency cooperation.

Even with more supportive technology, interagency task forces and liaison officers will continue to encounter resistance to their attempts to build bridges between agencies without changes in motivation, training and beliefs. All too often, core agency staff say to their interagency-embedded colleagues: “We don’t want to share that with the military, because their appetite is insatiable and they would only ask for more.” Or, “We don’t see any value coming out of high-level interagency discussions, since nothing is ever decided there.” Or, “That agency should stay out of our lane; if we brief them, then they will just get further into

*Human relations and behavior  
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our business.”

Such fears are based on experience and cost-benefit analysis: the cost of interagency cooperation is clear and tangible, but the benefits are unknown and immeasurable. Clearly, the home agencies have failed to set up incentives to motivate staff to participate, and failed to train staff on how to minimize the costs and maximize the benefits.

*Require interagency assignments and training for promotion to the Senior Foreign Service.* The George W. Bush administration created little pockets of interagency cooperation — including PRTs, JIATF-I and LNOs — scattered here and there within critical nerve centers such as CENTCOM, forward operating bases and USAID/Baghdad. But this tentative ap-

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proach did not change home agency and core staff behavior and attitudes; accordingly, cross-fertilization and whole-of-government solutions remain severely constrained. This stovepipe model, established by Sec. Rice and Amb. Tobias, persists today.

At his presentation to MNF-I in March, Special Investigator General for Iraq Reconstruction Stuart Bowen proposed that “a well-coordinated management structure is necessary to integrate interagency reconstruction efforts.” Bowen described the existing JIATF and PRTs in Iraq as a band-aid approach, and explained that “success in integration comes from doctrine and training. We need a new approach: In order to effect jointness, it must be essential for career growth.”

The Iraq Study Group had recommended in the spring of 2006 that to “improve how [U.S. government] constituent agencies — Defense, State, Agency for International Development, Treasury, Justice, the intelligence community and others — respond to complex stability operations ... they need to train for, and conduct, joint operations across agency boundaries, following the Goldwater-Nichols model that has proved so successful in the U.S. armed services.”

The 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act increased military effectiveness and overcame interservice rivalry and stovepiping by enhancing joint training for officers in the different military branches; ensuring that officers were not disadvantaged by joint service; and requiring that officers serve in joint duty assignments as a prerequisite for promotion beyond O6 (colonels and Navy captains, equivalent to FS-1 and GS-15, respectively).

Out in the field, Goldwater-Nichols produced a military in which members of different branches are motivated and trained to work together to design and execute strategy. Military doctrine has become very joint- and interagency-focused; two excellent recent examples include the field manuals dealing with counterinsurgency and stability operations.

It may not be the perfect solution, but Goldwater-Nichols has largely succeeded. Better training along those lines for senior USAID and State Department officers on how to navigate the challenges of interagency integration would lead to greater understanding, and quite possibly

*The impetus for interagency coordination and integration must come from the top; otherwise, good ideas at the field level will never get off the ground.*

would diminish the perceived costs of interagency cooperation. S/CRS pioneered this approach in 2008, and the cadre of civilian officers trained on interagency planning for reconstruction and crisis response has slowly grown ever since.

With additional training, the downsides and costs of interagency integration can be further reduced. In our experience, targeted presentations with understandable language and appropriate messages

delivered to interagency leaders will satisfy outside requests for information better than an off-the-shelf generic presentation, and may forestall further requests downstream.

*Define the role and identity of each agency.* Another obstacle to interagency cooperation is a lack of clearly defined identities and roles, especially for USAID. In complex environments like Iraq, it is unclear which government agency has the lead on any given objective, such as supporting elections, strengthening the health sector or advancing the rule of law. This promotes competition among agencies more than cooperation, and is counterproductive in such activities as “key leader engagements,” which need to be synchronized.

Achieving unity of command in any multiagency operation is a difficult conundrum. As SIGIR points out: “When unity of command is missing and unity of purpose does not foster unity of effort, a solution can only be implemented at the top.” If USAID is to assume the global leadership role in the delivery of development assistance that Sec. Clinton describes, then agency staff must be allowed to lead in their areas of expertise.

The impetus for interagency coordination and integration must come from the top; otherwise, good ideas at the field level will never get off the ground. With support from above, civilian staff involved in counterinsurgency and reconstruction operations can move beyond the fear of sharing information to engage in joint problem-solving and strategic planning. The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review gives the State Department and USAID a perfect opportunity to plot a course forward that draws from past successes, corrects weaknesses and strengthens our ability to synchronize defense, diplomacy and development. ■

# FROM PINSTripES TO KHAKI: GOVERNANCE UNDER FIRE

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U.S. DIPLOMATS MUST WORK ALONGSIDE OUR  
MILITARY COLLEAGUES AS FULL PARTNERS TO  
IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN CONFLICT ZONES.

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BY PAUL FOLMSBEE

uring my 21-year diplomatic career, I've served in Haiti at its worst moments, led a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Sadr City, Iraq, and worked as a country director for counternarcotics and law enforcement in Pakistan, among many other assignments in the developing world. So I can attest to the fact that there is absolutely nothing new about Foreign Service personnel working in conflict zones.

In recent years, the term "Expeditionary Foreign Service" has come into common usage to describe this role in quasi-military terms. I am not an advocate of that mindset, however. Instead, I believe the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development must be full partners with our uniformed colleagues in these environments. If anything, in a sustained conflict *greater* emphasis must be placed on civilian roles and leadership.

To be successful, U.S. diplomats must work alongside our military colleagues to improve conditions in conflict zones — addressing food and nutrition needs, facilitat-

ing access to education, strengthening the rule of law and instilling economic hope for the future — in addition to addressing security concerns. Resolving those issues is fundamental to a winning strategy.

## **Not Present As Conquerors**

During the initial phase of any conflict, the military role is primary. However, that period is relatively short. Consider Iraq, where the conventional fighting was over within weeks; or Haiti, where a U.S. Marine expeditionary force gained control of Port-au-Prince within days after President Jean-Bertrand Aristide fled the country in 2004. Afghanistan has followed a similar pattern, albeit over a longer period of time. In all three cases, the conflict continued to heat up as soon as the military goal was achieved.

To a large extent, success in conflict zones is defined by promoting successful local governance — not replacing it with American military leadership. Especially when a conflict drags on for years, soldiers are not equipped to provide basic services to the population on a sustainable basis. These crucial tasks can only be performed by the host government and the local population, in conjunction with nongovernmental organizations and donors. Putting the Pentagon in charge of such efforts is a mistake we initially made in Iraq and continue

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*Paul Folmsbee, an FSO since 1987, has served in Geneva, Nairobi, Libreville, Colombo, La Paz, Dar es Salaam, Port-au-Prince, Sadr City, Baghdad and Washington, D.C. He is currently principal officer and consul general in Mumbai.*

to make in Afghanistan, where many Provincial Reconstruction Team leaders are military officers, not civilians.

While building roads, other infrastructure and development projects like hospitals might have military or strategic significance, they are also complicated political decisions. Who gets the contract and employment for building the new road? Who decides in what direction it will go and why? Whose apple orchard is going to be cut down to make room for the road? Who is going to pave and maintain it? Soldiers can't make those decisions, and it is unfair to ask them to. This is not because civilians necessarily know better, but because they can more easily and effectively empower local communities to solve problems. And it is within that context that diplomats must step up and operate.

Two years ago, the Bush administration supplemented the military "surge" in Iraq by expanding the number of Provincial Reconstruction Teams and augmenting their responsibilities. Appropriately, these teams were led by diplomats, with a corresponding emphasis on the civilian role and responsibility to the local population in resolving conflict. This approach helped consolidate the military gains and made a real difference on the ground. Iraq certainly continues to face challenges, but the situation there has improved significantly. And that success comes from putting civilians in positions of authority, which sends a strong message that we are not present as conquerors.

The familiar saying, "all politics is local," has a corollary: Development is localized, too. Imagine you're a Foreign Service officer in Sadr City, with a development goal of reopening Iraqi businesses. If you succeed in partnering with local leadership and achieve economic growth that matches or even exceeds the levels prior to the invasion, that represents tangible success. Moreover, you have given the population a sense that things are improving, that there is hope. In such a situation, civilian leadership has done as much to resolve the larger conflict as military action, and quite possibly more.

I witnessed such efforts succeed in Adhamiya, part of Baghdad, in 2007 and 2008. Yes, I saw plenty of mistakes and failures during my tenure in Iraq. But I also saw a genuine desire to move economic development in

*Success in conflict zones  
comes largely from local  
governance — not American  
military leadership.*

the right direction, and observed many achievements that made a real, lasting difference. So imagine how much more we could have accomplished if only we'd had more qualified civilian personnel with the requisite experience in development.

### **Strengthen Civilian Capacity**

That said, the problem isn't just a lack of people. It is a matter of getting the right people with the proper training to where they are needed. Sadly, that capability does not yet exist within the United States government. So before civilians can step up to bear their share of the responsibility, Washington will need to develop the requisite organizational tools and expertise.

In Iraq, for example, civilian agencies literally had no capacity to keep up with the military surge in 2007. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, a strong public supporter of civilian roles in conflict zones, was reportedly surprised when he discovered that the State Department could not even come up with a few hundred people to staff the embedded Provincial Reconstruction Teams.

To be sure, State and USAID officers are fully engaged all over the world on the diplomatic basics: visa adjudication, HIV/AIDS programs, economic development, trade promotion and countless bilateral and multilateral issues. Yet both agencies are tiny. It is frequently asserted that the Department of Defense has more military musicians than State has diplomats, or that State's budget is smaller than some fraction of the operating cost of one battleship. Whatever the truth of those claims, it is indisputable that both State and USAID are grossly underfunded and understaffed. As it stands, they are simply unable to take on the mandates of a civilian organization that is a partner with the military in a modern conflict zone.

When I took over as PRT leader for Sadr City and Adhamiya, I selected reservist officers to cover various areas. "Regular" civilians came later. The reservists were heroic, highly capable and dedicated; but they had no experience promoting economic development in a foreign country. Even those few who had arguably relevant backgrounds were too mired in the military culture of urgency to be able to give development goals much attention. They often did not realize that establishing the process for building a road was often more central to stabilizing an area

than the actual construction.

Over the longer term, another major problem was finding fully qualified civilians to do the necessary work. The recruitment process was controlled by well-meaning stateside staff with no understanding of what we faced. I was frequently offered good people without any relevant expertise, such as Pentagon contract specialists when what I needed was experts on economic development — individuals with serious civilian business credentials, preferably with some first-hand idea of how to operate in a developing economy. Similarly, I was looking for medical professionals who knew how to set up health care in the developing world, not combat medics (who, in any case, were badly needed down the street to work with my military colleagues).

*We should have all learned  
by now that waiting until  
the army has won the  
day to address the  
need for good governance  
does not work.*

### Take Care of the Basics

In a combat zone, it's easy to forget that not every moment is about military action. If you happen to be a native living in such an environment, then it's home to you. Of course, your thinking is dominated by the possibility of death or serious injury. But you also care deeply about lots of other issues — health care and education for your children, for example — and you are furious that the authorities aren't providing any services. So you probably won't stop picking up a gun until someone alleviates those concerns.

Even in Sadr City, a division of Baghdad and certainly a hot spot by most definitions, most of the time people went quietly about their business instead of shooting in the streets. Babies were born, mothers took children to



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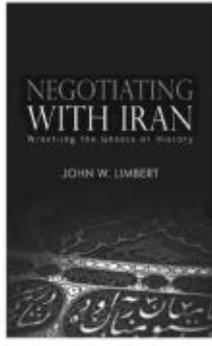
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a dentist or doctor, families purchased groceries. Such daily needs must be addressed within a governance and developmental framework by civilians who are inherently part of the resolution of the conflict.

State, USAID and other U.S. government agencies already have some of this expertise, but not nearly to the extent required. We need many more diplomats with practical experience who also know how to manage programs. How does one get the water system back on in some district in the Congo where people are being killed? How does one administer a microfinance program in central Afghanistan?

Even if we have technical experts on staff, Foreign Service personnel still have to go out into the field. An engineer from Colorado certainly knows how to get a dam to produce electricity. But he probably does not know how to help the local governing body raise money, hire engineers and create a tax base or corporation to make it all sustainable in a cross-cultural environment. That requires a well-trained economic development or governance officer. Most State and USAID employees don't possess the combined skills needed either, so we have to acquire them through training or recruit people who already have them.

Some of this knowledge already exists within USAID, but not exclusively so. In a conflict zone, development is directly tied to governance, so the job descriptions of the political officer at State and of the governance officer at USAID overlap. We need to build up both agencies at the institutional level to take on that role in a cooperative fashion.

To be successful, State and USAID must also build a much stronger institutional partnership, with political officers serving in USAID governance positions and vice versa, as part of each group's career path. This is crucial experience that both sets of employees will need before entering a conflict zone.

We also need mandatory crossover assignments in other cones within both organizations — particularly between economic officers in State and economic development functions of USAID — to expand the practical knowledge and experience of our core diplomatic competencies.

*The problem isn't just a lack of people. It is a matter of getting the right people with the proper training to where they are needed.*

### **Short-Term vs. Long-Term**

Good governance and development are long-term objectives, but they still need to receive priority in U.S. policy. The military is all about making something happen right now — whether that means blowing something up, taking a hill or seizing a port. They focus single-mindedly on accomplishing the objective, so everyone else better get

out of the way.

Development does not work that way at all. It's not about what "we" do, but about strengthening the local government and setting up a cooperative process. The civilian role is one of mentor, trainer and partner, even if that means the local road (or school or dam) gets built on a slower schedule than if we did it ourselves.

Over the last few years, Pakistan and the United States have pursued a joint developmental approach to reducing poppy cultivation in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Local officials built a road up to Tora Bora with help from the State Department's International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau. This was a long, laborious effort but, along with other development projects, it empowered the local government and provided alternative employment for the population.

Local leaders decided who would crush the rock, where the road would go, whose apple orchard would be cut down to make room for the roadbed, who would cut the stone, who would get the contract for paving operations, etc. The success of these kinds of projects helped reduce poppy growth to the point where the United Nations Development Program actually considered declaring the country poppy-free.

### **Expand Civilian Reach**

In Iraq, I often found that my Defense Department colleagues understood the idea of development, but were unable to work patiently with a weak government struggling to find its legs. DOD's emphasis on being operationally effective was so great that local governance was squeezed out. Instead, the military found it easier to do things itself and then give the credit to local officials. However, because most of them either did nothing or actively hindered U.S. efforts, this approach was counterproductive.

## F O C U S

I will concede that there are critical conditions in every conflict zone that always need to be considered, whether military or civilian officials lead the effort. For example, the one area in Iraq on which I wish we had focused more quickly was the electric grid. We needed to get the lights back on, and we failed. True or not, most of the population in my area of Baghdad believed Saddam Hussein was better than the Americans at providing electricity. This failure did more harm to our cause than all the rockets fired by Shia extremists.

Tangible progress on a quality-of-life issue (more hours of electricity, more water, more honest cops on the street) would have made a big difference. Instead, because the U.S. military was in charge, the Iraqi population saw us as failing.

I urge the Foreign Service to make “governance in

*The Foreign Service should make “governance in conflict zones” a new core competency, for both USAID and State officers.*

conflict zones” a new core competency, for both USAID and State officers. In addition to working with each country’s political leadership, we need to figure out how to make local governments work at the micro-level: distributing water and other resources, turning the lights and power back on, and reviving the business sector.

Let me be clear: I am not arguing in favor of abandoning traditional diplomacy or shifting all State and USAID’s energies completely over to conflict resolution. Managing the complex relationships we have with France, Russia, India, China, etc. will always remain a priority. However, there is no denying that development operations in conflict zones constitute a growth industry, one that is increasingly relevant to modern diplomacy. We need our best and brightest in Haiti just as much as in Moscow. ■

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BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

**F**ormer Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, the originator and co-author of the 1991 Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (better known as the Nunn-Lugar Act), has provided American diplomats with an indispensable tool in their efforts to eliminate or secure nuclear and fissile materials in the former Soviet Union. Building on that success, the 2004 Nunn-Lugar Expansion Act has facilitated Defense Department nonproliferation projects in other parts of the world.

In recognition of that enduring achievement, and for his lifetime of public service, on June 18 the American Foreign Service Association conferred its 2009 award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy on Sen. Nunn. (See p. 55 for full coverage of the AFSA awards ceremony.)

A meeting in Moscow with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev shortly after the August 1991 coup attempt inspired the senator to introduce his legislation. Even before the Soviet Union collapsed, he recognized the grave proliferation risk posed by its vast arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Working with the ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committee, Richard Lugar (who also received the lifetime contributions award from AFSA, in 2005), Sen. Nunn persuaded reluctant congressional leaders and the administration of President George H.W. Bush that the need to respond was critical and urgent.

For nearly 20 years now, Nunn-Lugar has provided crucial funding to dismantle a huge array of bombers, missiles,

submarines and other launch vehicles. The program also facilitated the safe removal of all nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, thereby turning the countries with the third-, fourth- and eighth-largest nuclear arsenals, respectively, into nuclear weapons-free nations. And thousands of Soviet scientists formerly engaged in research on weapons of mass destruction have turned to cooperative pursuits.

No less a figure than President Barack Obama has hailed Sen. Nunn for upholding the tradition of a bipartisan foreign policy. Writing in *The Audacity of Hope*, then-Senator Obama describes him and Sen. Lugar as “two men who understood the need to nurture coalitions before crises strike, and who applied this knowledge to the critical problem of nuclear proliferation.”

## **An Early Commitment to Public Service**

Samuel Augustus Nunn was born in Macon, Ga., on Sept. 8, 1938, and raised in nearby Perry. A grandnephew of Representative Carl Vinson, he grew up with a family connection to politics.

Nunn entered Georgia Tech in 1956, transferring to Emory University the next year, where he earned his undergraduate degree in 1960 and a law degree in 1962. After active-duty service in the United States Coast Guard, he spent six years in the Coast Guard Reserve, and also served for a short time as a congressional staffer.

The future senator returned to Perry to practice law and manage the family farm before entering politics as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1968. Four years later, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, serving four consecutive terms. As chairman of the Senate Committee

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*Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.*

on Armed Services, he worked with Sen. Barry Goldwater to draft the landmark Department of Defense Reorganization Act. He also chaired the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and served on the Intelligence and Small Business Committees.

In September 1994, President Bill Clinton dispatched Sen. Nunn, former President Jimmy Carter and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell to Haiti to negotiate the departure of Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras. Days later, American forces escorted the country's elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, into the capital. Afterwards, Pres. Clinton lavished praise on Nunn's delegation: "As all of you know, at my request, President Carter, Gen. Colin Powell and Sen. Sam Nunn went to Haiti to facilitate the dictator's departure. I have been in constant contact with them for the last two days. They have worked tirelessly, almost around the clock, and I want to thank them for undertaking this crucial mission on behalf of all Americans," Clinton said.

Upon his exit from the Senate, Nunn was the recipient of bipartisan praise from his colleagues. Senator John Warner, R-Va., commented: "Senator Nunn quickly established himself as one of the leading experts in the Congress and, indeed, all of the United States on national security and foreign policy. He gained a reputation in our country and, indeed, worldwide as a global thinker, and that is where I think he will make his greatest contribution in the years to come. ... His approach to national security issues has been guided by one fundamental criterion: What Sam Nunn believes is in the best interest of the United States of America."

### **Post-Senate Career**

After retiring from Congress in 1996, Sen. Nunn became co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a charitable organization working to reduce the global threats from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. His work to strengthen global security has resulted in nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000, 2002 and 2005. And in 2008, he received the Hess-

ian Peace Prize for his commitment to promoting nuclear disarmament and combating nuclear terrorism.

As a past chairman of the board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Nunn and his former Senate colleague (and former Defense Secretary) William Cohen joined together in 1999 for a series of public roundtable discussions to focus Americans on the seminal issues that the United States faces around the globe. The Cohen-Nunn Dialogues featured top leaders, public policy experts, prominent journalists and leading scholars.

The former senator is a distinguished professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech, the only professional school of international affairs at a major American technical institution. That institution offers overseas programs in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and hosts the Center for International Strategy, Technology and Policy, as well as the European Union Center of Excellence, a scholarly research and outreach organization. The school also hosts the annual Sam Nunn Policy Forum, a meeting that brings together noted academic, governmental and private-sector experts on technology, public policy and international affairs to address issues of immediate importance to the nation.

In 2005, Nunn teamed up with former Senator Fred Thompson, R-Tenn., to promote "Last Best Chance," a film dramatizing the dangers of unsecured nuclear weapons and materials that aired on Home Box Office in October of that year.

Nunn — along with former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, and former Secretary of Defense William Perry — has repeatedly called upon all governments to embrace the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons. The four leaders have created the Nuclear Security Project to advance this agenda.

Speaking at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government on Oct. 21, 2008, Nunn explained what drives his commitment to the NSP: "I'm much more concerned about a terrorist without a return address that cannot be deterred than I am about deliberate war between nuclear powers. You can't deter a group who is willing to commit




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*President Barack Obama  
has hailed former  
Sen. Nunn for upholding  
the tradition of a  
bipartisan foreign policy.*

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suicide. We are in a different era. You have to understand the world has changed.”

A retired partner in the law firm of King & Spalding, Sen. Nunn is also an advisory board member for the Partnership for a Secure America, a non-profit organization dedicated to recreating the bipartisan center in American national security and foreign policy.

Nunn is married to the former Colleen O'Brien and has two children, Michelle and Brian.

*Foreign Service Journal* Editor Steven Alan Honley interviewed Sen. Nunn by phone on May 28.

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*Even before the Soviet Union collapsed, Sen. Nunn recognized the grave proliferation risk posed by its vast arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.*

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nuclear war and how skillful diplomacy helped prevent it.

So that was the beginning. I also worked a lot during my time on Capitol Hill on the relationship between nuclear issues and other dangers we faced in our NATO and Korean force postures. After the Vietnam War, I came to see how dangerous a demoralized military could be in its impact on critical missions — for example, the deployment of our tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

When I went to the Soviet Union in 1991, I saw the problems they had with safeguarding nuclear weapons and materiel, and biological and chemical weapons, all spread over 11 time zones. It was pretty clear to me that we had to step up to the plate and deal with this huge problem of nuclear weapons potentially falling into the wrong hands. It was something that could have caused catastrophe, both in that area of the world and elsewhere, including the United States.

All of those things combined in my mind, particularly as the Soviet Union began collapsing. In fact, when I met with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev right after he was released from house arrest in August 1991, that was one of the concerns we discussed. I then began working with Sen. Lugar on legislation to address the problem.

**FSJ:** *How have you continued to pursue those efforts since leaving the Senate?*

**SN:** Sen. Lugar is still serving there, of course, but I'm working with a nongovernmental organization called the Nuclear Threat Initiative. In addition to dealing with nuclear matters, NTI focuses on biosecurity and global health threats.

I've also joined with former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Shultz, and former Defense Secretary William Perry, on what we call the Nuclear Security Project. The NSP is taking the lead in getting our



*Sen. Nunn promotes the Nuclear Threat Initiative.*



*Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar leaving the White House in November 1991 after briefing President George H.W. Bush on the Nunn-Lugar legislation.*

**FSJ:** *Your award from AFSA for lifetime contributions to American diplomacy places you in the same company as President George H. W. Bush, Secretaries of State George Shultz, Cyrus Vance and Larry Eagleburger, Senator Richard Lugar and Representative Lee Hamilton, among others. What is it about foreign policy that has held your interest for so long?*

**SN:** I think diplomacy gives our nation, and the world, an opportunity to avoid catastrophes, resolve conflicts and head off wars. We are required to build alliances and coalitions that further American interests and strengthen

both human rights and international law.

**FSJ:** *The Nunn-Lugar Act has been a landmark foreign policy program ever since its passage in 1991. What was its genesis?*

**SN:** Several things combined to make that initiative possible. My interest in this whole subject, and my awareness of nuclear dangers, started with the Cuban Missile Crisis. I was working for the House Armed Services Committee, right out of law school, and was on an Air Force trip to Europe during that whole crisis. I saw firsthand how close we came to

government, and other governments around the world, to understand the importance of the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons and the steps needed to get there. To get international cooperation, people around the world need to perceive that the United States is not only leading on this initiative, but views it as realistic and possible. That is absolutely essential if we're going to achieve the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons.

While NTI has a very specific agenda in terms of concrete steps, the NSP has a much broader vision. Nonetheless, both organizations are very heavily involved in diplomacy and work both inside and outside of governments.

**FSJ:** *Are you hopeful that the news coming out of North Korea about recent nuclear tests and missile launches might give new impetus to these efforts?*

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*Nunn's work to strengthen  
global security has  
resulted in nominations  
for the Nobel Peace Prize  
in 2000, 2002 and 2005.*

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**SN:** Well, I think we're in a short-term, medium-term and long-term race between cooperation and catastrophe. And I believe that both the goal and the vision become even more important in situations like this one. Obviously, we have to deal with the North Koreans and the Iranians on nuclear issues, but we also have to ad-

dress the regional issues that impel countries to believe that they must possess nuclear weapons — whether it's North Korea, India and Pakistan, or others in Northeast Asia, South Asia and the Middle East. Then there is the continuing challenge of securing nuclear weapons and nuclear materials all over the globe. All these things take cooperation.

**FSJ:** *Who are some diplomats you have known and worked with that particularly stand out in your estimation?*

**SN:** I could make a long list, starting with the Secretaries of State I worked with during my time in the Senate and am still working with. Of those, I would single out George Shultz and Henry Kissinger. In addition, while he is not affiliated with State, Bill Perry has been outstanding in his preventive diplomacy.

In terms of career diplomats, I had

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a person working for me by the name of Dick Combs. Dick would not be a household name, but I met him when he was deputy chief of mission in Moscow and got him to join on the Armed Services Committee staff after he left the Foreign Service. Dick, probably more than anyone on my staff, was responsible for creating the linkage between concept and legislation, working closely with Sen. Lugar's staff, that resulted in the Nunn-Lugar program.

I would also list Mort Abramowitz, Mike Armacost, Rich Armitage, Bob Gallucci, Jim Kelly, Don McHenry and Ed Perkins. Though Dean Rusk was before my time, I knew and admired him very much, as well. And going even further back, I was a great admirer of the tremendous historic roles that George Marshall and Ralph Bunche played.

Finally, I'd cite some people who

*“We’re in a short-term,  
medium-term and  
long-term race between  
cooperation and  
catastrophe.”*

weren't professional diplomats but did a superb job representing the United States abroad, such as Mike Mansfield, Howard Baker, Anne Armstrong, Pamela Harriman and James Baker. They weren't Foreign Service members, but they were very skillful diplomatic representatives for our country.

**FSJ:** *What changes do you think*

*are needed to ensure that the Foreign Service has the abilities, outlook and organizational structure to effectively discharge its role in the active promotion of U.S. interests abroad?*

**SN:** I think the Foreign Service does a superb job. These people are out there every day putting their lives on the line. They are exposed to terrorist attacks more than our military is, yet they don't have the defensive mechanisms that the military does. So I salute the Foreign Service members who serve our country every day around the globe.

In terms of support back home, I think we've got a duty to step up to the plate with resources for the Foreign Service, which is woefully underfunded and understaffed. The best spokesman for doing that, for years now, has been Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who is absolutely right. I think that when you realize

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that the increases in the military budget in recent years have been more than the entire State Department budget, that tells you something.

The Foreign Service not only needs more people, but it needs to offer a whole lot more training in foreign languages and in economics and business affairs. In fact, when I asked General John Shalikashvili, who had just retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to identify the biggest problem the military faces, he replied, "We don't have the rest of the government organized and funded in a way where it can deal with the reconstruction of failed countries."

The problem has only grown since then, of course. While we're beginning to put together a corps of people to address it, it's going to take time and resources. And it's going to take specialized skills from a lot of people throughout the government, in Agriculture and Commerce and Health & Human Services and other agencies, under the guidance of our diplomatic corps. That's going to be a huge challenge. Frankly, on a scale from one to 10, we're a long way from 10 in terms of our ability to meet it.

**FSJ:** *What advice would you give the Foreign Service about how it can present itself more effectively, both to Congress and to the American people?*

**SN:** The Foreign Service and the State Department urgently need to build a domestic constituency. Every other federal department I know of has that, but State doesn't. There are foreign policy associations around the country that do a tremendous job, and we've got organizations that support the United Nations. But in terms of gaining public understanding and support, we're a long way from that in this country. And that work will be the key to closing the funding and staffing gaps the Foreign Service faces in its ongoing efforts to head off as many catastrophes as possible and

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*"I think the Foreign Service does a superb job. These people are out there every day putting their lives on the line."*

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prevent as many wars as possible.

Having more businesspeople testify before Congress on how Foreign Service personnel have assisted them would help. Business leaders travel more often than most members of Congress. Having those people who really are spending significant time abroad come back and speak about their experiences to the Congress would be very helpful.

I also think it would be helpful for the combatant commanders all over the world to testify every so often before the Foreign Relations committees in both houses, not just the Armed Services committees. Those people understand the importance of diplomacy, and appreciate the value of a State Department office to assist with the reconstruction of countries that have both security problems and development problems. We've got a number of those now, starting with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq.

It's more important than ever for members of Congress to get out and travel abroad, and to report back to their constituents. And in this connection, the news media have an obligation to distinguish between "junkets" and legitimate congressional trips, but they don't usually do a very good job of that.

Sometimes they do, though: Just this morning, I read an article in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* about a

trip Senator Johnny Isakson, R-Ga., took to Africa. I was happy to see that the reporter treated it as a legitimate and important mission, which it is, of course. We need a lot more of that; but as it is, nearly every time a member of Congress takes an overseas trip, someone in the media takes potshots at them for it. The result is that senators and representatives don't travel as much as they used to — so not only are they not as well informed about foreign policy, but it's harder for them to educate their constituents about those concerns.

This constituency-building is a long-term project. But I hope that Secretary Clinton, who I know recognizes its importance, will take it on. Her staff can come up with innovative ways to involve the American people in understanding the role of diplomacy. Perhaps the current conflicts our country is involved in will remind us of the importance of international cooperation. If you name the major issues we face — terrorism; proliferation; disarmament; the environment; the global economic structure, particularly in the financial sector; and global warming — progress on every one of them requires cooperation, and that requires some form of diplomacy. And that, in turn, has to be based on understanding back home in America, and a sustainable commitment. This is the challenge of the era we're in.

**FSJ:** *It's still early, obviously, but are you encouraged by how the Obama administration has approached U.S. foreign policy so far?*

**SN:** I think the early signs are very good. They've got a good team in place, and the president himself understands the importance of dealing with these issues on an international basis, through the use of diplomacy and cooperation. I believe there will be continuity with some of the policies of the Bush administration that worked reasonably well, such as

relations with China, Japan and India. But I foresee much more outreach to places where diplomacy didn't work well during the past several years, such as Russia and the Middle East.

The perception of the United States around the world is more important than ever, especially when you consider the amount of money we're currently borrowing. If foreign governments don't have confidence in the strength of the U.S. economy and the dollar, then our finances will be in some jeopardy. The reason we're able to undertake these large fiscal stimulus programs, whether or not you agree with them, is because there is still a residual confidence overseas in the U.S. dollar and financial system. And increasing that confidence is part of the charge not only of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve, but also the State Department.

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*"There is a keen appreciation among military leaders — probably more than in any other branch of the government — of the importance of skillful diplomats."*

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I'm also encouraged that the image of President Obama is so positive around the world. That has greatly strengthened U.S. diplomacy.

**FSJ:** Any final thoughts?

**SN:** I'd like to reiterate my appreciation for the professional Foreign Service. For many years they have done a tremendous job; I'd call them the unsung heroes of our federal government, who don't get the credit they deserve.

Dean Acheson was once asked his definition of foreign policy. He thought for awhile before replying, "It's one damn thing after another!" I think that's the challenge we face today: a long agenda of action items.

Our diplomats already work closely with their military colleagues and, speaking as someone who has been close to a lot of military people over the years, I think there is a keen appreciation among military leaders — probably more than in any other branch of the government — of the importance of skillful diplomats.

**FSJ:** Thank you very much. ■



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# USING CLOUD COMPUTING TO CLOSE THE DEVELOPMENT GAP

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A PARADIGM SHIFT NOW OCCURRING IN THE IT INDUSTRY OFFERS THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCELERATING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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BY *KENNETH I. JUSTER*

**D**espite tremendous global growth over the last few decades, social and economic development has eluded huge swaths of the world. In recognition of this imbalance, the United Nations adopted a set of eight Millennium Development Goals — including eradicating extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education and reducing child mortality — at its Millennium Summit in 2000. More than midway through the 15-year timeframe set to realize the MDGs, however, progress continues to be uneven at best. The current financial meltdown and the worldwide economic recession are only exacerbating this situation, as there will be even fewer resources available to close the development gap.

Historically, development agencies and nongovernmental organizations, especially in developing countries, have not been able to take full advantage of information technology, primarily because of the significant cost and complexities in deploying and managing it. Because IT systems have traditionally been run on an “ownership” model, they require investment in all the underlying infrastructure, ongoing maintenance of systems and, every few years, expensive and time-consuming upgrades.

Now, however, a new development in the information technology industry offers the possibility of accelerating social and economic development, even in this time of limited resources. Cloud computing, as it’s called, involves tapping

into computing power over the Internet — that is, over the “cloud.” This creates enormous economies of scale, substantially lowering the cost and eliminating the technical complexities and the long deployment cycles of planning, installing, maintaining and upgrading IT systems.

Although ubiquitous, affordable Internet access — or even reliable electricity — is not yet a reality, there are many pockets of the developing world that are equipped to take advantage of this new approach to delivering and consuming information technology.

## **The Rise of Cloud Computing**

The Internet has made possible a new, “utility” model of information technology. Instead of having to buy and set up IT systems — the servers, the storage devices, the networking, the software and the databases — users can tap into capabilities and solutions over the Internet, regardless of where they are located in the world, simply by going to a Web site and logging in.

The actual computing — the processing and storage of data — does not take place on an individual’s computer or at a company’s own IT facilities. Rather, it is done remotely, often thousands of miles away, in large data centers that process and hold data for thousands of companies or millions of users. This shift in how IT is delivered and consumed is analogous to the evolution in electricity use a century ago, when businesses began purchasing electricity as a service from utility companies, rather than owning and running their own power generators.

Cloud computing was first pioneered in the consumer world by companies such as Google, Yahoo! and Ama-

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*Kenneth I. Juster is executive vice president of Salesforce.com and a former under secretary of Commerce.*

zon.com. More recently, Web sites such as *Facebook*, *MySpace*, *YouTube*, *Wikipedia* and *Twitter* have given rise to the phenomenon of social networking, communities and user-generated content. No technical skill or expertise is required to use these services. They are easy to personalize and, in fact, so simple to use that consumers do not even think of what they are doing as “computing.”

It is no surprise that this model is catching on in the business world. Companies are using Web-based services to manage operations as diverse as finance, logistics, customer relations and human resources. The software for these services resides in remote data centers, not on each employee’s computer or on company servers. Recently, companies have also started using *Facebook*-like social networks on the Web for their customers, business partners and employees.

In addition, companies are changing the way in which they buy and utilize hardware and IT equipment. Instead of purchasing or leasing racks of servers or data-storage equipment, companies can now buy computing power — server and storage capacity — as a service that can be used over the Internet.

In this way, a company pays only for the amount of capacity it uses and can expand or shrink usage, on the fly, as its needs change. Of course, under this “utility” model, companies need to be comfortable with the notion that their data will not reside within their own four walls but on remote infrastructure shared with others. In fact, however, these mega data centers generally have more sophisticated, state-of-the-art security, disaster recovery and service reliability capabilities than any individual company is able to deploy.

As with consumers and businesses, cloud computing holds tremendous potential for development organiza-

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*This new model involves  
simply tapping into  
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over the “cloud.”*

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tions, including agencies and NGOs in developing countries. These organizations already use the Internet by having Web sites that provide information on their activities and programs.

Rural communities are also using the Internet to advance their economic prospects. A case in point is an initiative in India called “e-choupal,” which provides vital information on crop prices, weather conditions and scientific farming practices to 3.5 million farmers across 31,000 villages. It also allows them to use an e-trading service to get the best prices in selling their crops over the Internet.

More recently, the Internet has also become a communication channel to deliver higher-quality social services to people in rural areas. Telemedicine, which allows people to connect over the Internet to receive medical advice from specialists thousands of miles away, is just one example. While laudable, such efforts are still largely rooted in the “ownership” model of information technology.

### **Cloud Computing for Development**

By contrast, cloud computing enables development organizations to deploy sophisticated information technology solutions without the cost and complexities of purchasing and setting up IT systems. In the same way that companies are now using Web-based

services to manage their business operations, development organizations can improve the efficiency of their internal operations by using software solutions offered as a service over the Internet.

In addition to using prebuilt software over the Internet, development agencies and NGOs can use online services to design Web-based software programs for their own specialized needs — ranging from fundraising and grant management to volunteer programs and project management — with little coding or technical resources, similar to the way individuals create personalized Web pages on Google and Yahoo! with point-and-click ease.

Just as mobile phones enabled communities with no access to landline phones to become connected to the rest of the world, cloud computing can enable disadvantaged communities to leapfrog into the next generation of information technology. But in order to fully exploit the benefits of this new IT model, the development sector must invest in training local stakeholders with the skills and expertise to take advantage of it. This will also have a positive impact on the broader knowledge base in developing countries.

**Health Care.** Advancing the quality of health care is a key development objective. In fact, three of the eight MDGs adopted by the U.N. pertain to health care — combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; improving maternal health; and reducing child mortality.

One objective of health-care NGOs in developing countries is to improve the level of expertise among medical professionals serving these communities. While it is common practice for doctors in developing countries and rural areas to refer to health information Web sites, these doctors also require a knowledge-sharing service in order to tap into the expertise of their peers and top medical professionals. This would take the practice of tele-

medicine beyond current one-to-one, patient-to-doctor or doctor-to-doctor interactions.

As an open, global communications network, the Internet provides a mechanism to facilitate such exchanges. But without IT solutions and systems — such as a database of experts categorized by medical specialty, a communication forum to post inquiries and address questions to specific experts, and a searchable repository of previous inquiries — this cannot happen.

These are not trivial tools or solutions to develop. But with cloud computing services, a development agency can put together all the pieces necessary to get a system of this nature up and running in relatively short order and with a relatively modest initial investment. In this way, a medical professional in a village in Bangladesh with a patient suffering from an infectious

wound could instantly correspond with other doctors within the region and beyond who may have more experience with such a case.

Another challenge in the health-care sphere in rural areas is ongoing patient services. This was a major roadblock in South Africa in 2004, when the government decided to administer antiretroviral drugs to all HIV patients who had developed AIDS. Implementing this policy required health authorities to be able to track drug regimens and monitor the effect of the drugs on each patient.

To do this, the International Development Research Center, in partnership with local organizations, funded the deployment of an information technology system. Using this system, clinic staff can now enter patient data on computers or hand-held devices. These electronic medical records are sent daily, over the Internet, to a cen-

tral location where patients are monitored for resistance to the drugs. The system also gives clinicians reminders for patient care.

With cloud computing, it is possible to set up patient care systems similar to the one funded by the International Development Research Center in South Africa in rural areas throughout the developing world — without requiring clinics to buy and manage all the hardware and software.

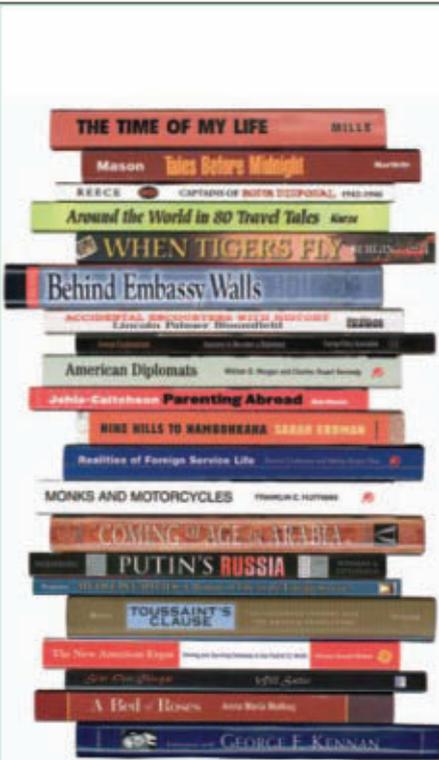
**Microfinance.** Development organizations have long recognized that an effective way to help alleviate extreme poverty — another one of the goals adopted by the United Nations — is to inject a business mindset into local communities. Over the last decade, microfinance has proven to be a great catalyst for small-business entrepreneurs in developing countries.

Yet despite the buzz, there are significant challenges in scaling this fi-



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ancing model. Given the nature of lending small amounts, the administrative cost relative to the size of each loan is often quite high. And the process of screening potential clients and processing loans is a cumbersome task. Moreover, it is difficult for microfinance institutions to follow consistent standards in granting loans, which has a direct impact on the success of their programs. And once loans are made, microfinance institutions have a hard time managing their portfolio — tracking collections, monitoring overdue accounts and making sure loans are used appropriately.

Though microfinance works largely on personal connections and relationships in local communities, loan officers still need a way to administer their operations and report back to their sponsors, such as NGOs, credit unions and financial institutions. Currently, the technology employed by many microfinance institutions, especially smaller ones, is limited primarily to spreadsheet programs. Again, cloud computing can enable microfinance institutions to utilize more sophisticated, yet easy-to-deploy, IT solutions that create efficiencies and lend transparency to their financial management and performance.

Imagine, for example, a loan officer at a small microfinance agency in Africa simply going to the Internet and logging onto a Web site to screen loan applications, manage existing loans and track collections. And imagine the executive director or sponsor of the microfinance agency going to the same Web site and logging into his or her own account to view the agency's aggregate loan performance, as well as the performance of each region, office or loan officer. A few microfinance institutions in Ecuador, Nicaragua, Honduras and India have already begun to experiment with some of these IT concepts in their day-to-day operations with encouraging results.

Though microfinance is largely a

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*What were scattered,  
grassroots efforts  
following Hurricane  
Katrina should become a  
regular and routine part  
of evacuation and disaster  
recovery operations.*

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private undertaking, not controlled by any one organization, it would be in the interest of microfinance associations and development agencies to build and promote IT solutions based on cloud computing that could be adopted more broadly.

**Disaster recovery.** While disaster response is not explicitly one of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals or even a development objective, hurricanes, earthquakes, wildfires, floods and other disasters continue to displace communities and cause tremendous damage throughout the world. The aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in the United States four years ago was a reminder that no community, even those in wealthy nations with substantial resources at their disposal, is immune to the logistical nightmare of major evacuation and recovery operations. Information technology can serve as a critical tool, but there is little time to develop and deploy systems in the wake of a disaster.

Cloud computing can make a significant difference in mobilizing resources in emergencies. In fact, when the official response to Hurricane Katrina proved sorely insufficient, a number of grassroots and community-organized initiatives sprang up. These

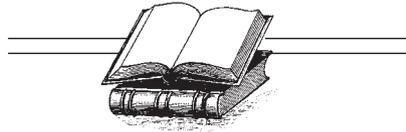
efforts were able to leverage the power of Web-based services to get up and running quickly and with minimal resources.

One such initiative was the creation of an online database, KatrinaList — running entirely on shared infrastructure — for evacuee and survivor tracking. Another grassroots initiative, the Broadmoor Project, was initiated by the neighborhood association of the low-lying Broadmoor section of New Orleans.

The Broadmoor Project set up a database of more than 2,400 homes located in the neighborhood, with the purpose of matching available resources and volunteers to houses that needed repair. Using this service, the community was able to effectively tap into the thousands of volunteers who came to New Orleans with a commitment to help rebuild the city.

These initiatives were extremely effective. What were scattered, grassroots efforts following Hurricane Katrina should become a regular and routine part of evacuation and disaster recovery operations — not just in the United States, but wherever natural disasters hit. A number of NGOs involved in disaster recovery, including the Red Cross and the United Nations World Food Program, are already piloting IT solutions running on cloud-computing infrastructure to help with mission-critical activities, such as procurement and distribution of food and supplies during natural disasters.

As cloud computing takes shape, this new Internet-based IT model should be an important lever in accelerating social and economic development. Governments, development agencies and NGOs — in partnership with the private sector — should all seize the opportunity to promote innovation in the developing sector by utilizing this new approach to the delivery and consumption of information technology. ■



# BOOKS

## It's the People, Stupid!

### The Accidental Guerrilla

David Kilcullen, Oxford University Press, 2009, \$27.95, hardcover, 301 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID PASSAGE

Although *The Accidental Guerrilla* is not an attack on American engagement in Iraq or Afghanistan, it is a devastating litany of mistakes the United States initially made in both of these countries and in Pakistan. It is also the best book on contemporary insurgent warfare I have ever read.

David Kilcullen is a former Australian Army officer with wide-ranging experience with insurgent conflicts in Southeast and Southwest Asia. He was initially seconded to the U.S. Defense Department in 2005, to General David Petraeus in Iraq in 2007, and later to Defense and State as a strategic adviser on counterterrorism. He now serves as a consultant and adviser in strategic approaches to “lawlessness” (whether committed by insurgents or terrorists) around the world.

Kilcullen convincingly argues that most of the people the United States government has chosen to describe as “enemies” are, in fact, accidental —

*Kilcullen emphasizes the lesson Washington keeps forgetting: for a government we back to be successful, it has to have the support of its own people.*

even unwilling — participants in conflicts against us. As he points out, they fight us “because we are in [their] space, not because [they] wish to invade us.” Many are villagers whose sole preoccupation is with survival — their own and that of their families, communities and clans. Their misfortune is to live where conflict is perpetrated by a very small number of people who are our enemies, and who use the larger uninvolved population as “the sea” in which they swim — to cite Chairman Mao Tse-Tung’s famous metaphor.

Chief among the book’s many insights is the fact that in wartorn countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, “It’s the people, stupid!” (my phrase, not his). In traditional societies, choices are usu-

ally made collectively, by families, clans, tribes or key traditional leaders — not by individuals. The way to prevail over insurgents operating among them is to win over traditional leaders and protect them and their people. That is precisely what (then-Major General) David Petraeus did while commanding the 101st Division during his first tour in Iraq between 2003 and 2005, and what the Marines did to turn the tide in al-Anbar province from 2006 to 2008.

Kilcullen emphasizes the lesson the United States learned too late in Vietnam, only to forget it by the time we began planning for what he describes as our “catastrophically unnecessary” invasion of Iraq: In order for a government Washington backs to be successful, it has to have the active — not merely passive — support of its own people.

Insurgents have it easy. Their task is to attack an easily identifiable, even if much more powerful, enemy: the government. Counterinsurgents (government forces) have a much more difficult task: to find and identify their enemies among the people. Destroying insurgents is far easier than finding them.

To be successful in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and similar environments, Washington needs to focus on

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## BOOKS

providing security and basic services to “the people,” largely through civilian development programs. We also need to press host governments and our allies to do likewise.

In that regard, Kilcullen describes a telling meeting between American advisers and Iraqi national security officials. The U.S. PowerPoint presentation focused almost exclusively on identifying and destroying “the enemy.” The Iraqi officials’ eyes glazed over until their turn came to speak; when they focused their briefing on “the people,” the Americans’ minds then wandered off into the ether.

Given that state-on-state conflict is decreasing, non-state actors are increasingly likely to provide the most important challenges to our national security for the foreseeable future. We “got that” by the end of the Vietnam War and used those lessons to turn around a losing situation in El Salvador. We are still using them successfully today in Colombia. And although it took several catastrophic years to relearn those insights in Iraq and Afghanistan, they will be the secret to any success we may be able to achieve there.

*The Accidental Guerrilla* is a book that every American diplomat, military officer, legislator and person concerned with our national security needs to read and comprehend. We simply cannot afford to continue reinventing the wheel.

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*David Passage, a former ambassador, served with the CORDS program in Vietnam and dealt with insurgencies in Latin America and Africa for much of his career. Since retiring from the Foreign Service in 1998, he has been a lecturer and mentor at U.S. military schools and training facilities.*

## The Three E's

### The Global Deal: Climate Change and the Creation of a New Era of Progress and Prosperity

Nicholas Stern, *Public Affairs*, 2009,  
\$26.95, hardcover, 256 pages.

REVIEWED BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

This volume is likely to be among the most important books of the 21st century, both for its trenchant analysis of the impact of climate change on our planet and for its outline of the best way to address this tremendous threat. Following up on his previous study, *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Report* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), Stern marshals an impressive body of new data to calculate what it would take to reach atmospheric carbon dioxide levels that might be sustainable without catastrophic consequences to the planet.

The book's middle section focuses on how national and local governments, individuals, companies and communities can address the issue. As Stern explains, energy conservation, higher efficiency levels, and new approaches to buildings and infrastructure are among the most cost-effective policies we can adopt. The key here is the power of example, which can reinforce willingness to move forward on a global scale.

In the final part of the book, Stern advocates new and strengthened international structures to cope with this threat and other global challenges. As he acknowledges, this will require collaboration between developed and developing nations on an unprecedented scale.

Speaking as someone who once



worked on the similarly complex and difficult issues posed by the Law of the Sea Treaty, I concur in the three principles Stern identifies as crucial to his titular “global deal”: effectiveness, efficiency and equity.

*Targets and trade:* There must be at least a 50-percent cut in global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 2050 from 1990 levels, with developed countries taking on a larger share of the burden. The developing world would participate in the necessary reductions at a somewhat slower pace as part of a cap-and-trade system, which Stern advocates as a way to finance and induce their early participation.

Integral to Stern’s trading system are strong initiatives with public funding to halt deforestation — an early,

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***Stern identifies three principles as crucial to his titular “global deal”: effectiveness, efficiency and equity.***

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low-cost, carbon-saving mechanism. By spending \$15 billion a year, we could halve deforestation worldwide. Many observers may doubt that developed countries will accept this burden,

but Stern believes that they will. In his view, global targets, country-specific ceilings and trading regimens are all intimately linked and necessary.

*Funding:* Resources would come from cap-and-trade and added development assistance, while private/public investments would finance research and development of new technologies. Governments would provide initial “deployment support” to speed the flow of technologies to the developing world, at a cost Stern estimates at about \$60 billion per year for 20 years; consumers would ultimately cover most of this. (By comparison, the projection for annual new investment in the traditional energy sector is roughly \$1 trillion.) Stern also calls on rich countries to deliver on their develop-

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## BOOKS

ment commitments.

Even without the current economic downturn, the unprecedented additional commitments required would be difficult, but they are still less costly than the alternative. There is also a chicken-and-egg aspect: Stern doubts that poorer nations will agree to binding actions without firm early commitments from the richer countries, whereas some critics in developed countries say the developing world must step up at the same time in order to bring the major industrial nations on board.

Here the moral issues and the practical necessities of an agreement collide. The rich countries have up until now caused most of the problem and have the most means to cut back on

their emissions. But developing nations (especially China and India) are rapidly catching up on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and thus need to make major changes as early as possible. They are also likely to pay the largest cost for inaction.

*Technology sharing:* Early sharing of advanced energy technologies is advantageous to all parties and will act as an accelerator toward a low-carbon world.

As the global community prepares for the next climate change conference, which will be held in Copenhagen in December, Stern's path toward agreement and all its integral parts constitutes the most persuasive outline yet of a lasting "grand bargain." This book should be in the hands of every delegate to that meeting and

read by every U.S. decision-maker. ■

*Harry C. Blaney III, a retired FSO, is currently a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy. He spent six years on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff covering global issues, and also worked on international environmental policy as a special assistant to the chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.*

*Watch for the November FSJ's annual round-up of books by current and former members of the Foreign Service and their families.*

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# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • September 2009

## SENATOR SAM NUNN ACCEPTS LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS AWARD

### AFSA Presents Awards for Dissent and Performance

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

The annual AFSA awards ceremony took place on June 18 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the State Department. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton was slated to take part, but fractured her elbow on the eve of the event, forcing the cancellation of her schedule the following day and beyond. It took two people to replace Sec. Clinton: Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., who stepped in to confer the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award in her stead, and Deputy Secretary Jacob Lew, who took her place in welcoming the guests and awardees. Director General Harry K. Thomas Jr. was also on hand as official co-host with AFSA leadership.

Although all of AFSA's awards are given to outstanding individuals, it is the constructive dissent awards that are unique in the U.S. government. Under portraits of Franklin, George Washington and others who comprised America's original constructive dissenters, the awardees took their seats in front of a capacity crowd that included current and former ambassadors,



Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., right, presents the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award to Senator Samuel Nunn.



Tex Harris Award winner Baron Rosen addresses the audience at the annual AFSA awards ceremony at the State Department, June 18.

as well as leaders from all branches of government, academia, nongovernmental organizations and private industry.

AFSA Interim President Steve Kashkett welcomed the awardees, their families and other audience members, and

Continued on page 62

## 2009 ELECTION RESULTS

### AFSA Members Elect New Governing Board

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

After an intense election season in which two slates of candidates, as well as numerous independents, competed for spots on the Governing Board, AFSA staff gathered at headquarters on June 12 to count ballots. Bolstered by a handful of college student hires, it was "all hands on deck" as employees seated themselves in the main conference room. The protocol was as it has always been: sitting in groups of three, one person read names off each individual ballot, while two other peo-



AFSA staff sorting ballots.

ple recorded the votes. After each ballot was recorded, the totals were cross-checked.

AFSA ballot counting is and always has been a transparent procedure, open to all candidates and their representatives, and this year we were privileged to have many visitors observing the process.

Workers took a quick break for pizza at noon. The election process is taken very seriously at AFSA, so after just enough time to down a slice and a soda, and exchange a few friendly words with fellow workers, the ballot counters diligently resumed their work.

By close of business, unofficial results were available. Within a few days, the outcome was officially posted on the AFSA Web site and sent out to all members via AFSAnet.

Continued on page 66

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## AFSA Scores Legal Victory on Behalf of Senior FSOs

In an unequivocal, strongly worded decision, the Foreign Service Grievance Board has determined that the director general of the Foreign Service was in error in denying a large number of Senior Foreign Service employees consideration for senior performance pay in 2007. The board has ordered the department to undertake a review of the files of all those affected and to set up a reconstituted SFS Performance Pay Board within 60 days, using the same standards as would have applied in 2007.

This important determination is a firm rebuke to recent decision-making at the department. It means that, based on the statistical average, some 60 percent of the affected group should be getting the performance-pay salary increase; a smaller percentage might also be eligible for lump-sum performance pay bonuses. For those who get the salary adjustment, it will be paid retroactively to cover the past two years. The basis for the Grievance Board's decision is applicable to those Senior Foreign Service employees who were not considered for senior performance pay in 2008. AFSA therefore expects the department to hold reconstituted promotion boards for this group of employees, as well.

The State Department has six months to appeal the board's decision, but is not expected to do so. "Given the strength of the grievants' case and the soundness of the board's decision," explains AFSA General Counsel Sharon Papp, who represented the grievants, "we would be surprised if the government agrees to appeal the case."

For more information, take a look at the FSGB Web site at [www.fsgb.org](http://www.fsgb.org) and reference the Record of Proceedings number, which is FSGB Case No. 2008-040.

## AFSA Makes Internal Staff Changes

AFSA has made some internal changes designed to optimize operations. AFSA staff members Barbara Berger, Tom Switzer and Asgeir Sigfusson have linked into a new team structure called Communications, Marketing and Outreach. "AFSA is placing greater emphasis on forging deeper links with the private sector, public policy decision-makers and the media, and this team was created to advance these goals," says Executive Director Ian Houston. Additionally, Alicia Campi, previously of the *FSJ* staff, has joined the accounting department to enhance this critical AFSA function.

## AFSA Welcomes New Legislative Director

Casey Frary, AFSA's new legislative director, arrives with a wealth of Hill experience. She has worked as a senior legislative assistant for Representatives Phil Hare, D-Ill., and Steve Kagen, D-Wis., and as a legislative correspondent and systems administrator for Representative Jan Schakowsky, D-Ill. In addition, she was the campaign manager for Rep. Kagen's successful re-election campaign in 2008. Originally from Rockford, Ill., and holding dual Irish-U.S. citizenship, Ms. Frary graduated from Marquette University in 2004 with a degree in communications. Her hobbies include golf, music, rock climbing, travel and cheering for the Marquette basketball team.

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Teresa Yata

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**FAS REP:** Melinda Sallarys

**IBB REP:** Al Pessin

### RETIREE REPS:

Janice Bay, Robert (Bill) Farrand,

David Passage, Molly Williamson



## Toward a More Perfect Union

AFSA has a new board, and the dramatic recent successes regarding overseas comparability pay and domestic partner benefits remind us that the State Department, and our nation, have a new, more supportive leadership. That leadership has made it clear that it values our mission, and has demonstrated its willingness to increase support for the people essential to perform that mission. The air is pregnant with potential.

Our task is to realize that potential and develop it into a relationship with management that will serve the Foreign Service not only in the good times, but in the bad. As in strengthening any relationship, this requires us to look hard at who we are, what we want and what we bring to the table.

The Foreign Service is a selfless group. Ours is a profession of national service. We serve our country, and in serving one's country, one does not think of oneself. So when a matter arises that we perceive as unfair to our interests, we tend to suffer in silence.

That is as it should be in our relationship to our nation. But it is not the basis for a healthy relationship with management. Our willingness to subjugate our needs, in an effort to stress our readiness to serve, allowed the past administration to develop procedures and practices prejudicial to the members of the Service, and even to make political hay at our expense.

It is therefore important to redefine our relationship with management: to abandon old taboos, to establish better patterns of communication and to make it clear that we know the value of our own skills. We must build a relationship with management in which both sides, including our own, understand the one thing that we must understand in order to interact on a more equal basis:

The State Department is not the Foreign Service. *We are.*

We, the people of the Foreign Service (and our colleagues in the Civil Service), are not merely the State Department's greatest resource; but in a very real sense, we are its only unique resource. Our abilities, our skills and our experiences are what the State Department brings to the table, whether that table is in the ministry of foreign affairs

of an overseas nation, in another agency, in Congress or in the White House.

And if we are distracted — if beneath our outward and legitimate pride of service there is an inner nagging sense that somehow, in some way, we are being wronged — then we, the tools through which the State Department's mission is performed, will not operate as we should. A happier, more effective Foreign Service will be better able to represent our country to the world, and our agency to the American people and to Congress.

This does not mean that we should be coddled, or that we should expect the department to give in to every individual desire. But it does mean that we should insist that the department follow its own rules and procedures, hold itself as accountable as it holds us,

and review or revise procedures that yield biased or unfair results.

AFSA should hold itself accountable, as well, and make itself more responsive to its membership. We are perceived by some as elitist, unresponsive and irrelevant. My immediate goal as State VP is to make AFSA more responsive to you: to make our activities and decisions more transparent. I intend to provide you with a greater opportunity to communicate directly to me and to the State representatives on the board, to place agenda items before AFSA's board, and to serve (by e-mail if necessary) on advisory committees dealing with issues of interest to you.

Toward this end, I have redesigned the State vice president's page on AFSA's Web site. It is a work-in-progress that will be updated continually; but I want it to serve as a means of two-way communication, as a resource for information and as a bulletin board for AFSA members. On it you will find ways to contact your State representatives, links to useful information and even a space to post messages to other AFSA members.

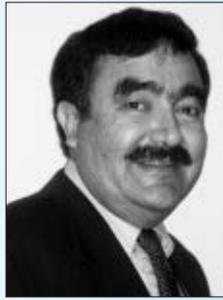
In the coming weeks and months, I will be reaching out to you to ask for your thoughts and your participation as we work on issues important to you.

Together, we will make AFSA a more responsive, more effective representative of the State Foreign Service. □

The State Department is not the Foreign Service. *We are.*

V.P. VOICE: USAID ■ BY FRANCISCO ZAMORA

## USAID: A Rudderless Ship



I am honored that you have re-elected me to represent you and your interests for an additional term. Thank you for your confidence in me and support for the work that AFSA is doing on your behalf.

We are proud of recent victories, such as the successful passage of overseas comparability pay, benefits for same-sex couples, better starting salaries for untenured officers and numerous successful interventions in personnel matters for our members. However, the work never ends, and we cannot rest on our laurels. There are still many goals that we need to accomplish during the next two years. Two that come to mind are increased telecommuting opportunities and comparability with State on benefits and incentives overseas.

There are also other issues of considerable concern. As of this writing, USAID still has no Administrator and likely will not have one in place until sometime in the fall. The situation is made worse because we are facing enormous challenges in staffing our critical priority countries. That sucking sound you hear is primarily from Afghanistan, where hundreds of all types of employees are needed every year, more than 200 of which are a mix of Foreign Service and Foreign Service Limited officers.

Afghanistan represents a prime case of “nationbuilding,” so we have little choice but to support this national priority. And although in three years we are poised to double the number of USAID FSOs, from about 1,000 to 2,000, that is not enough to meet the needs of Afghanistan and other critical priority countries, in addition to the 80 regular missions we must staff worldwide. It is a constant game of catch-up.

**The agency is in crisis mode, and we need a permanent leader to help us navigate through this period — sooner rather than later.**

Nearly half of our cadre of FSOs has already served in a critical-priority country. A certain number of on-staff FSOs are not medically cleared for these countries, and others are single parents or caretakers who cannot serve at this time. Furthermore, it would be unwise to indiscriminately assign brand-new officers to CPCs as their first posting.

What to do? USAID is running out of options. Already we have incentives for CPC service such as “priority consideration” for onward assignments, time-in-class extensions and generous financial inducements, now including overseas comparability pay. On the other side of the coin, there are also new requirements, such as mandatory CPC bids and restrictions on tour extensions in Washington and the field. However, you can’t squeeze blood out of a turnip.

The agency is in crisis mode, and we need a permanent leader to help us navigate through this period — sooner rather than later. AFSA is a partner in this journey, and I hope that we can continue to be an instrument to better serve our country and our members. □

Briefs • Continued from page 56

## Seeking AFSA Post Reps

Help serve your community by volunteering to be the AFSA representative for your post. Post reps help keep headquarters connected to the 70 percent of AFSA membership who are overseas. The authority and responsibilities of a post rep are spelled out in the AFSA Chapter Manual ([www.afsa.org/postreps/manual.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/postreps/manual.cfm)). For more information, or if you’d like to know if your post currently has an AFSA rep, check with the AFSA Membership Department at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org).



## AAFSW Art & Book Fair

The 49th annual Art & Book Fair of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will open its doors on Friday, Oct. 16, from 2 to 5 p.m. for employees, spouses and escorted guests. The fair continues from Oct. 19 through 23 for this same group. During two weekends, Oct. 17-18 and 24-25, the sale is open to the general public from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. The event takes place in the Exhibit Hall of the Harry S Truman Building. Access is through the C Street entrance. Visa, Mastercard and personal checks are accepted. Please call (202) 223-5796 with any questions.

## AFSA Confers Nearly \$160,000 in College Scholarship Aid

AFSA has awarded need-based undergraduate scholarships for the 2009-2010 school year, totaling \$158,800, to 73 children of Foreign Service employees. Of this amount, \$78,900 was sent to colleges in August to cover students' 2009 fall semester expenses.



Nineteen of these scholarships, totaling \$40,000, were funded by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation; and four, totaling \$8,000, were funded by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. A complete listing of students and their awards will be posted on AFSA's Web site at [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) and in the January 2010 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. AFSA also thanks many other individuals and organizations for their scholarship support under this program.

Awards range from \$1,000 to \$3,500, depending on the family's financial situation. Tax-dependent children of active duty, retired and/or deceased Foreign Service parents are eligible. Beginning Nov. 15, you may visit [www.afsa.org/scholar](http://www.afsa.org/scholar) to download the application instructions and forms to apply for an AFSA merit award and/or financial aid scholarship for the 2010-2011 school year. Applications are due by Feb. 6, 2010. For more details, contact Scholarship Director Lori Dec at [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org).

V.P. VOICE: RETIREE ■ BY ROBERT HOUDEK

## Our Stake in AFSA

My participation in the recently concluded AFSA Governing Board election was an eye-opener. I was dumbfounded by the low voter turnout among active, dues-paying members in the State constituency, despite a lively campaign by two slates and a number of independent candidates. A similarly anemic retiree vote was less surprising; but what did shock me was the number of distinguished retired colleagues and friends who did not vote. Why not? When I asked, they sheepishly explained that they were no longer members of AFSA. With all due respect, they need to re-engage not only in their own self-interest, but for the sake of the career in which they spent their working lives and in recognition of the importance of diplomacy in the pursuit of our national security.



Today we are, incontestably, a hybrid organization, simultaneously pursuing bread-and-butter issues along with professional concerns.

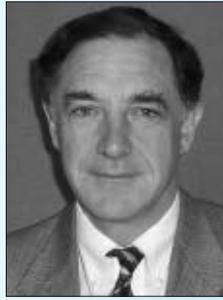
As your new vice president for retired members, let me tell you where I am coming from. A little more than 40 years ago, during my first tour in Washington, I joined the AFSA Governing Board. At that time we made the decision to seek exclusive recognition for AFSA as the bargaining agent for our membership with management. Some termed it unionization. I prefer to think of it as the broadening of our professional association to incorporate powers requiring management to work with us on issues and policies essential to the health of the Foreign Service.

Today we are, incontestably, a hybrid organization, simultaneously pursuing bread-and-butter issues along with professional concerns. The recent policy changes on locality pay and equity for same-sex partners are testaments to the importance of the union role and the tenacity and skill of the outgoing board. More work will be needed in the months ahead to solidify these achievements. Healthcare reform — and the need for additional resources to finance it — will more than likely present challenges to existing benefits. For retirees, this includes increases in Medicare payments.

The surge of political appointees as ambassadors in the new administration underlines the dubious regard of many for the Foreign Service as a profession. AFSA today needs to be more vigorously engaged in strengthening and promoting the Service. The American Academy for Diplomacy has done exemplary work in making the case for more resources for the Department of State and the Foreign Service, in particular. Changing attitudes in Congress and the realization of our Defense Department brethren — uniformed and civilian — that they need us more than ever, require immediate exploitation.

I and the other board members representing the retired community want your feedback. My e-mail address is [rghoudek@aol.com](mailto:rghoudek@aol.com). I look forward to hearing from you. □

## Looking Forward



This column should probably be about all the exciting new things we will do this year, but we are still pretty much where we have been over the last six months — stuck in a budget crisis. Here's the bad news: The House actually cut the president's request for our Fiscal Year 2010 budget by about \$5 million. The good news, however, is that the Senate was more generous and allocated \$6 million over the president's request. As of this writing, we are awaiting the decision of the conference committee scheduled for September. If we can somehow manage to persuade the House of the wisdom of the Senate's judgment and not end up with the usual split baby, we may have a little extra money to hobble through the coming fiscal year. At least there is more hope for FY 2011, if we can just hold on.

However, a more interesting question has recently been circulating unofficially in the rumor and policy mills: "Will there be some movement to bring the Commercial Service back into the State Department?" How would we feel about it? It seems that our priorities and the larger role we play might receive more resources and attention if we were back in the main foreign policy fold, rather than lost in the belly of the \$7 billion Commerce Department behemoth. The two biggest concerns for officers would be the adjustment between the "can do" business culture of the FCS and the think-tank/cable-ridden culture of State, and the prioritization of commercial issues within that culture.

This is a problem that deserves close examination. After all, it was because commercial issues did not get proper attention that FCS was moved out in the first place. Still, I heard someone say this week that the State Department is currently in such flux between new priorities, war-zone staffing and the biggest influx of officers ever, that the culture is "up for grabs." Maybe that means there is a chance for something really new and interesting: a truly integrated foreign operations establishment. Isn't this the time of "Yes, we can"?

Speaking of rumors, probably you already know that the latest AFSA Governing Board elections may have been the most contentious ever. Fortunately I've been largely above the fray because of the dubious distinction of having run completely unopposed. It is therefore doubly ironic that I received the highest percentage of votes among the VP constituencies. Thank you for supporting me. I believe there is a strong will on both sides to have an active and productive board. This may well be one of the good direct benefits of the controversial nature of the election.

I am pleased and impressed with new Governing Board President Susan Johnson's attention, activity and determination to give all agencies equal voice in AFSA issues. We have already met with her several times and briefed her fully on our issues; and she has already taken action to help us with lobbying on the Hill. We also met at length with Daniel Hirsch, the new AFSA State vice president, and he has expressed his strong commitment to the priorities of the smaller agencies. He also has laid out a number of good ideas for improving the openness and transparency of the organization. These meetings have left me with the feeling that the combination of these two slates may, in the end, be the best thing for AFSA. Who knows? Maybe there really *is* change in the air. □

Briefs • Continued from page 58

## Historic Consulates in Ireland

Embassy Dublin is seeking information on former consulates in Ireland, located in towns such as Cobh and Foynes, for a project commemorating the U.S. presence in Ireland. If you have any information on these consulates, or know of someone who does, please send an e-mail to Asgeir Sigfusson at [sigfusson@afsa.org](mailto:sigfusson@afsa.org).

## AFSA and Ambassadorial Statistics

AFSA has kept a close eye on ambassadorial appointments for a number of years. With a new administration taking the reins in Washington, we have updated our statistics on these appointments, which you may find at [www.afsa.org/ambassadors.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/ambassadors.cfm). That page includes a link to our running tally, which is updated on the first day of each month. Please send nomination news to Marketing and Outreach Manager Asgeir Sigfusson at [sigfusson@afsa.org](mailto:sigfusson@afsa.org).

## TRANSITION CENTER SCHEDULE OF COURSES FOR SEPTEMBER 2009

- Sept. 9 MQ704 Targeting the Job Market
- Sept. 11 MQ950 High Stress Assignment Out-Brief
- Sept. 12 MQ116 Protocol
- Sept. 19 MQ115 Explaining America
- Sept. 24-25 MQ104 Regulations, Allowances and Finances in FS Context
- Sept. 26 MQ302 Transition to Washington for Foreign-Born Spouses
- Sept. 30 MQ803 Realities of Foreign Service Life

To register or for further information, please e-mail the FSI Transition Center at [FSITCTraining@state.gov](mailto:FSITCTraining@state.gov). □



## Mission Cleavage

In the midst of our current “re-envisioning” exercise, it is useful to reflect on the mission adjustments FAS has made over the past 80 years. While it is normal for different mission objectives to be highlighted at different times, it now appears we are going “forward to the past” to highlight mission areas that were important to FAS decades ago, but haven’t been too prominent in recent years.

Our semi-resident historian, Allan Mustard, has identified several FAS subcultures, each one tied to a point in our history. Each has been cleaved (in the sense of split) into other agencies, while FAS retains some of the policy initiatives — and baggage — from each.

• **Analysis & Trade Policy.** FAS was established in 1930 to “acquire information regarding world competition and demand.” However, detailed analysis was shifted to the Department of Agriculture’s World Board and Economic Research Service, so FAS now focuses on real-time analysis of current market conditions. In 1934, to undo the damage caused by the Smoot-Hawley tariffs, USDA Secretary Henry A. Wallace directed FAS to negotiate reciprocal agricultural tariff reductions with key trading partners. But while FAS still provides the work force for agricultural negotiations, the chief agricultural negotiator is housed within the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

• **Surplus Disposal (Food Aid and Export Credits).** During World War II, FAS ran bilateral food-aid programs and worked on the creation of the International Wheat Council to coordinate multilateral donations. Currently, FAS coordinates the Food for Progress and McGovern-Dole food-aid programs, as well as the GSM-102 short-term credit guarantee program. Since the formal creation of USAID in 1961, emergency food-aid programs have been coordinated outside of USDA, although the department handles the commodity procurement.

• **Development & National Security Issues.** While indirectly supporting national security issues since 1930, FAS

directly contributed to food-related analysis during World War II and the recovery period. In the 1930s and 1940s, FAS followed Sec. Wallace into more involvement in global agricultural development by working to create the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Science, supporting the Rockefeller Foundation’s “green revolution” projects with Norman Borlaug in Mexico, and helping to create the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. To quote the Wikipedia article that Allan Mustard penned on FAS, “By 1953, [FAS] had roughly 400 agricultural specialists working on development programs in 27 foreign countries.”

With the creation of the International Cooperation Administration (now USAID) in 1954, the role of USDA changed from being the lead agency to being a source of technical assistance. However, since 2003, when we began coordinating agricultural reconstruction and stabilization activities in Iraq, and later Afghanistan and Pakistan, that role is again mutating.

• **Agricultural Export Promotion.** In 1954, Congress directed FAS to undertake agricultural export development activities, which led to the market promotion programs that we administer today. However, our role vis-a-vis the commodity cooperators (nonprofit commodity or region-specific groups) has greatly changed. In the early days of the programs, FAS approved every expenditure at a very detailed level; now the cooperators receive their funds and provide a results report at the end of the fiscal year. That independence has also eroded support for FAS in Congress.

Cleave is a very interesting word, one with two completely opposite meanings. Cleave can mean “to split or separate,” but it can also mean “to adhere or cling.”

Over the years, FAS has clung to some central missions, while it has also been separated from other missions. Buckle up as we re-envision another set of FAS core missions — hopefully with full funding to support them. □

Cleave can mean  
“to split or separate,”  
but it can also mean  
“to adhere or cling.”

**AFSA Awards • Continued from page 55**

introduced Deputy Secretary Lew, who, in turn, introduced Sen. Lugar. Together with Senator Sam Nunn, Sen. Lugar drafted the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program in the early 1990s. He spoke of his high regard for Sen. Nunn before conferring on him the AFSA Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award.

### Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy

In accepting the award, Sen. Nunn made clear his high regard for America's diplomats, pointing to "the patience, perseverance, courage, skill, experience and wisdom required to be a successful member of our Foreign Service." Humorously citing possible "suspicion in the diplomatic community to see this lifetime diplomacy award go to the former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee," he reassured the audience that he does not share Will Rogers' definition of diplomacy as "the art of saying 'nice doggie' until you can find a rock." Quick-witted, self-deprecating and, one might even say, disarming, Sen. Nunn received a warm ovation. (Please see p. 40 for an interview and profile of Sen. Nunn.)

### AFSA Post Representative of the Year

Mr. Kashkett then introduced **Kenneth Kero-Mentz**, who was named the AFSA Post Representative of the Year for his intensive role in supporting AFSA members on a wide variety of issues at Embassy Berlin. Mr. Kero-Mentz took the opportunity to introduce his husband, David, and to express his elation on the breaking news that same-sex domestic partners of Foreign Service employees posted abroad would now be receiving tangible benefits. (Please see p. 65 for more on this topic.)

### Awards for Outstanding Performance

**Erica Krug** (Embassy Harare) won the **Avis Bohlen Award**, bestowed on an eligible family member of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities



The awardees get to know each other before the ceremony. Left to right: Ken Kero-Mentz, Lily Hightower, Megan Gallardo, Barron Rosen, Jeff Collins and Michael Gonzales.



Kenneth Kero-Mentz, right, receives the AFSA Rep of the Year Award from Interim President Steve Kashkett.



Megan Gallardo (right), winner of the Delavan Award, with AFSA's Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger.



Guess Award winner Lily Hightower displays her award, accompanied by her sons Khalil (left) and Robert.

at post have done the most to advance American interests. Ms. Krug was unable to attend the ceremony, but Ambassador Avis T. Bohlen, daughter of Avis Bohlen, read a statement from Ms. Krug in which she spoke of her work

helping displaced and traumatized Zimbabweans in the wake of government-sanctioned attacks on members of the opposition party.

Jon B. Clements, president of Clements International and son of M. Juanita Guess, presented the award in his mother's name to **Juliana G. (Lily) Hightower** of Embassy Addis Ababa. The **M. Juanita Guess Award** recognizes a community liaison officer who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post. Ms. Hightower's focus has been not only on supporting Americans at post, but also in encouraging a deeper understanding between local employees and the FS community.

The **Delavan Award** was established to honor a Foreign Service office management specialist who has made extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale. This year's winner, **Megan Gallardo**, is the first front-office OMS assigned to Em-

bassy Podgorica. Ms. Gallardo has taken her responsibilities at post far beyond her job description, revamping operating systems, arranging for staff training, creating a new financial system for the ambassadorial residence and even teaching English to the local guard force. Caldwell Harrop, representing members of the Harrop family, who administer both the Delavan and the Harris awards, presented the award to Ms. Gallardo.

### Awards for Constructive Dissent

**Barron I. Rosen** strenuously objected to a liability waiver that Miami-based couriers were forced to sign before taking flights on old cargo planes. His persistence in questioning the legality of the waiver continued even after it was met with fierce resistance from management. Ultimately the waiver practice was discontinued, the U.S. government replaced travel on old cargo planes with commercial airliners and the situation was vastly improved for Miami couriers. The **Tex Harris Award** (established with the support of the Delavan Foundation) honors FS specialists like Mr. Rosen for speaking out and challenging the status quo at risk to their career.

After receiving the award from Mr. Harrop, Mr. Rosen spoke eloquently on the merits of dissent, quoting Senator J. William Fulbright: "In a democracy, dissent is an act of faith." Rosen went on to explain, "After all, at the time that we dissent, we cannot know the outcome. That is why I'm pleased that AFSA and the Delavan Foundation find it worthy to recognize those who have the courage to speak out and the moral clarity to be right."

The **William R. Rivkin Award**, named for the late ambassador to Luxembourg, Senegal and The Gambia, is awarded to a mid-level Foreign Service officer who has exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent. This year, the Rivkin family and other members of the award committee felt there were two highly qualified candidates for this recognition. Charles and Robert Rivkin, sons of William R. Rivkin, presented the awards.



Rivkin Award winner Jeffrey Collins is flanked by Robert Rivkin (left) and Charles Rivkin (right) at the AFSA annual awards ceremony, June 18.



DCM Addis Ababa Deborah Malac, right, congratulates Rivkin Award winner Michael Gonzales after the ceremony, June 18.

**Jeffrey Collins** (Embassy Ankara) immersed himself in human rights issues during his tour in Turkey, creating a large and effective network of human rights activists, embassy colleagues, government officials, local citizens and counterparts from other diplomatic missions. Through interaction with this network, Mr. Collins was able to raise awareness of human rights deficiencies and even successfully urge the government to provide police protection for at-risk activists following the assassination of human rights defender Hrant Dink.

Mr. Collins also worked hard to change the way the U.S. government reports on human rights. He pointed out the weaknesses and redundancies in the current process of producing an array of congressionally mandated human rights reports, made concrete proposals to streamline the process, and then lobbied the State Department at various levels to adopt his proposals. During his acceptance speech, Mr. Collins highlighted the declining amount of dissent in the department during recent times, and urged senior leaders to take steps to reinvigorate the culture of dissent that Ambassa-

dor Rivkin valued and nurtured.

Like many who ultimately choose to voice their dissent, **Michael C. Gonzales** (Embassy Addis Ababa) found himself between a rock and a hard place when the U.S. administration was willing to overlook human rights violations in Ethiopia because of that country's role as a peacekeeper in the region. Mr. Gonzales doggedly reported on the stifling of political dissent as well as a growing economic instability that was leading to hyperinflation and food shortages, and urged the State Department to rethink its policy toward Ethiopia. He was also instrumental in opening the way for humanitarian assistance in Ethiopia's Ogaden region. Despite his concern and dedication to this issue, or perhaps because of it, Mr. Gonzales encountered opposition from some senior U.S. officials, to the point of risking his career.

In accepting the award, Mr. Gonzales pulled no punches in addressing the importance of dissent, and objective reporting, declaring that the Rivkin Award "highlights a vulnerability that our foreign policymaking institutions face." He continued, "Throughout my decade in the department, I have observed officials with an agenda attempt to suppress information to perpetuate a particular narrative within the U.S. government. These practices undermine U.S. interests by denying the interagency access to complete information upon which to make decisions." Mr. Gonzales concluded his remarks with his belief "that American diplomacy should be mythic — demonstrating U.S. values, integrity and leadership — not mythical."

For individual profiles of each award winner, please see the July-August issue of *AFSA News*, available in print or online at [www.fsjournal.org](http://www.fsjournal.org).

The AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee will soon begin soliciting nominations for the 2010 year. For more information on the awards, including how to submit a nomination, please contact Barbara Berger at [berger@afsa.org](mailto:berger@afsa.org), or visit the Web site at [www.afsa.org/awards/index.cfm](http://www.afsa.org/awards/index.cfm). □

## Open House Marks Official Reopening of HQ

With tables swathed in moss-green embroidered Chinese silk and paper lanterns hanging over a bountiful buffet, AFSA officially reopened its doors on May 28 for an afternoon reception for its members, friends and supporters. The décor, set off by tea-light candles around the room, transformed what is usually a utilitarian space into a decidedly luxurious environment with an Asian feel.

AFSA staff and board were on hand to welcome guests at 4 p.m., and within minutes the large reception room was filled with people enjoying conversation, drinks and hors d'oeuvres. The guests included former and current AFSA board members and staff, as well as many retired ambassadors. AFSA was also pleased to welcome Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy and other top department officials.

The renovation of AFSA headquarters took about 17 months to complete. Staff were relocated to temporary quarters in Rosslyn, only to lose their temporary space there in December 2008 when the renovation took longer than expected. After several months of telecommuting, AFSA employees are glad to be back in a revamped building with comfortable meeting rooms and convenient kitchens and bathrooms.

Executive Director Ian Houston warmly welcomed guests, hailing the many people who made the renovation a success: the governing board, architects, designers and contractors, staff and members. He saluted Catering Solutions, which not only provided the afternoon's tasty repast, but also decorated the reception room.

AFSA Secretary Tex Harris stood up



Left to right: AFSA President John Naland, former President Tony Holmes, Executive Director Ian Houston, Treasurer Andrew Winter and former President John Limbert cut the ribbon to officially mark AFSA Headquarters' reopening, May 28.

CHRISTINE WARREN

and organized an impromptu cheer for outgoing AFSA President John Naland, who would soon depart for Iraq. Naland's farewell remarks focused on the hard work that the board and staff had put in over recent months, citing Houston, in particular, not only for handling the last part of the renovation, but also for his tireless legislative work.

The event succeeded on all fronts and officially affirmed that AFSA folks were home again. □

## AFSA Honors Writing Award Winner

BY ASGEIR SIGFUSSON

On the morning of June 5, the National War College awarded its annual writing awards to a small group of graduating students. Of these awards, AFSA sponsors the

George Kennan Writing Award, given each year in honor of the best paper by a State Department employee. This year, AFSA President John Naland was on hand in the War College's Lincoln Auditorium to present a \$250 check to the 2009 winner, Patricia Mahoney.

Ms. Mahoney wrote a paper titled "The Serbian Orthodox Church and Serb Identity." She was nominated for the award by Professor Roy Stafford, a faculty member.

The George Kennan Writing Award was first

given in 1992, when AFSA agreed to sponsor an Excellence in Writing Award at the National War College. The prize money is specifically designated for the purchase of professional books. The college determines the criteria for the award and selects the winner. The winning essay is chosen without regard to the particular service or department of the student author, and without regard to a particular theme. AFSA is proud to participate in a ceremony that recognizes outstanding effort and accomplishment in writing, research and academic endeavors.

AFSA also congratulates the eight other students who were recognized at the ceremony, in addition to Ms. Mahoney. □



NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

AFSA President John Naland (left) presents check to Patricia Mahoney, the George Kennan Writing Award winner. Major General Robert Steel, USAF (at right), the commandant of the National War College, officiated at the ceremony.

## AFSA Plays Key Role in Legislative Successes

New administration, new priorities? AFSA recently helped move forward three key issues that have plagued FSOs for years. Legislative Director Casey Frary explains:

### Pay Gap Issue

In March of this year, Congress passed the Fiscal Year 2009 Omnibus Appropriations bill, appropriating \$41 million to close the pay disparity currently affecting Foreign Service officers. However, it lacked language that actually authorized the State Department to use the monies for that purpose.

This problem was solved when the FY 09 Supplemental Appropriations bill was passed by the House and Senate in mid-June and signed by President Obama on June 24. This version of the bill included the necessary authorization language to allow State to actually spend the money to close the pay gap. This is historic and unprecedented. As of this writing, AFSA understands that State will move swiftly to close approximately one-third of the current 23.1-percent gap, most likely beginning in August.

While this an extremely positive development, this slight closure of the pay gap is only for FY 09, and thus ends on Sept. 30. The House Foreign Affairs Committee recently passed H.R. 2410, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, which includes language that would permanently close the pay gap in increments over the next two years. This bill still has a long way to travel through the legislative process, but is a strong start to resolving this issue.

### Domestic Partner Benefits

After President Obama signed a presidential memo granting certain benefits to domestic partners of federal employees, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton was quick to point to the meaning this memo will have for members of the Foreign Service: "I am

pleased to announce that the Department of State is extending the full range of legally available benefits and allowances to same-sex domestic partners of members of the Foreign Service sent to serve abroad."

Because FSOs have particularly unique demands being stationed abroad, the State Department will be extending some key benefits to their domestic

**This bill is a great step in the right direction to bring the federal work force up to the same standard as 75 percent of the Forbes 500 companies, when it comes to family-friendliness and parental leave.**

partners and children of domestic partners.

Secretary Clinton's release on this topic includes the following:

"To qualify for these benefits and allowances on behalf of a same-sex domestic partner, an employee must file an affidavit identifying his or her same-sex domestic partner and certifying to certain eligibility requirements that will be set forth in the Foreign Affairs Manual.

"The Department of State intends to provide the following additional benefits and allowances for declared same-sex domestic partners of eligible employees serving overseas:

- Diplomatic passports
- Inclusion on employee travel orders to and from posts abroad
- Shipment of household effects
- Inclusion in family-size calculations for the purpose of making housing allocations
- Family member preference for em-

ployment at posts abroad

- Use of medical facilities at posts abroad
- Medical evacuation from posts abroad
- Emergency travel for partners to visit gravely ill or injured employees and relatives
- Inclusion as family members for emergency evacuation from posts abroad
- Subsistence payments related to emergency evacuation from posts abroad
- Inclusion in calculations of payments of overseas allowances (e.g., payment for quarters, cost of living and other allowances)
- Representation expenses
- Training at the Foreign Service Institute.

"The department also will work with foreign governments to provide same-sex domestic partners, to the extent possible, with diplomatic visas, privileges and immunities, and authorization to work in the local economy."

### Parental Leave for Federal Employees

The House of Representatives has passed H.R. 626, the Federal Employees Paid Parental Leave Act of 2009. The legislation provides that of the 12 weeks of unpaid leave guaranteed by the Family and Medical Leave Act, federal employees be allowed to substitute four weeks of paid leave, as well as any accrued annual or sick leave, for the birth or adoption of a child.

AFSA joins with other organizations, such as the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association, that have hailed this bill as a great step in the right direction to bring the federal work force up to the same standard as 75 percent of the Forbes 500 companies, as well as most Western societies, when it comes to family-friendliness and parental leave. □

## AFSA Election • Continued from page 55

The new board formally took office on July 15, after a transitional, “ice-breaking” luncheon the day before for all AFSA Governing Board members, both old and new. At this event, outgoing Interim President Steve Kashkett looked back over the hurdles and victories of the past two years and paid tribute to former President John Naland, currently posted to Iraq. Incoming President Susan Johnson spoke of the importance of communication, not only among board and staff but also in reaching out to AFSA current and potential membership. She urged the board to move forward as a “united team.”

This year, 3,326 regular ballots were cast in the election. A comprehensive breakdown of the election results can be viewed online at [www.afsa.org/elections/results.pdf](http://www.afsa.org/elections/results.pdf). The Elections Committee thanks all of the candidates and members who participated in this important process. Likewise, AFSA thanks the Elections Committee members for their hard work in a challenging election year.

## Your New AFSA Governing Board, 2009-2011

(\* denotes incumbent who has retained a position on the new board)

### President: Susan R. Johnson

Susan R. Johnson has served in a broad range of bilateral and multilateral posts and has extensive interagency, policy and program implementation experience. She most recently served as deputy high representative and supervisor of Brcko District with the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Prior to that, she was a senior adviser to the Iraqi Foreign Ministry with the Coalition Provisional Authority, deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Bucharest and director of the Ambassador's Assistance Coordination Unit in Moscow. She has



Above: July 14 luncheon. Below: Incoming AFSA President Susan R. Johnson addresses attendees.



served outside the department as a Pearson Fellow and foreign policy legislative assistant to Senator Bill Bradley, D-N.J.; on detail to the National Endowment for Democracy as senior program officer for the Islamic world; and as regional director of the International Executive Service Corps in Central Asia.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1979 (continuing a family tradition), she worked in the private sector as a consultant in joint venture negotiations and strategic planning. Ms. Johnson holds an M.A. in international relations from the Johns Hopkins School of International Studies.

### Secretary: Tex Harris\*

Tex Harris, once the youngest of the “Young Turks,” is now AFSA’s institutional memory and sounding board. He took leave without pay to work full-time for AFSA in the 1970s, drafting and negotiating unique labor-management and grievance systems for the Foreign Service and guiding the legal transition of AFSA into a union. Mr. Harris is a re-

tired Senior FSO who served twice as AFSA president, twice as State VP and as secretary since 2001. In 1984, he received the Rivkin Constructive Dissent Award for his reporting on “the disappeared” in Argentina. He is most proud to have had the AFSA constructive dissent award for an FS specialist named for him.

### Treasurer: Andrew Winter\*

Andrew Winter has served as AFSA treasurer for the past four years. During his 30 years in the Foreign Service, he served as ambassador to The Gambia; deputy assistant secretary for Information Resource Management; executive director of Western Hemisphere Affairs and the Africa Bureaus; management chief in Pretoria, Taipei, Helsinki, New York (USUN) and Rio de Janeiro; and has managed budgets in excess of \$300 million. Mr. Winter is now retired and working as an IT consultant. He holds an MBA in finance from Columbia University.

### State VP: Daniel Hirsch

As a Foreign Service “brat” who became an FSO in 1985, FS-1 management officer Daniel Hirsch has been associated with the Foreign Service for nearly 50 years. In 10 overseas postings (Mali, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Uzbekistan, Nigeria, India, Kyrgyzstan, Serbia and Turkmenistan), he helped open, close and move embassies and established new employee associations, schools and medical clinics. He is currently in the A Bureau, where he directs the depart-

ment's overseas motor vehicle program. He has been an active AFSA member since 1985. Mr. Hirsch is married to Rolanda de Fatima Spencer Hirsch and is a proud father to Aleks (26) and Hannah (13).

#### **USAID VP: Francisco Zamora\***

Francisco Zamora began his career with USAID in December 1980 as an international development intern and was assigned in 1982 to Bamako. Other overseas assignments were in Liberia, Honduras and Egypt. Upon his return to Washington, he worked as an assignment and performance counselor in the Human Resources Office, as a health officer in the Infectious Disease division of the Global Health Bureau and as chief of the Maternal and Child Health Division. Mr. Zamora was appointed USAID representative in 2006 and elected AFSA vice president for USAID in July 2007.

#### **FAS VP: Henry Schmick\***

Henry Schmick, after many long and tedious summers working on the family farm, fled the production side of agriculture to teach math in the Peace Corps (working in Zaire, which doesn't exist any longer). He then taught about software for a computer company (DEC, which also doesn't exist any longer) and is now a member of the Foreign Agricultural Service (which, he notes thankfully, does still exist — albeit with a budget crunch). During his 25-year career with FAS, Mr. Schmick has been assigned to Argentina, Kenya, Vietnam and the World Trade Organization in Switzerland (also known as “Virtual Switzerland” or WTO-Land).

#### **FCS VP: Keith Curtis\***

Keith Curtis, a Senior FSO, has served with the Foreign Commercial Service for 20 years, working in Japan, Washington, Brazil and Sweden. Previously he was employed for 10 years with the McDonnell Douglas Corporation. Mr. Curtis is an expert in energy issues and is currently serving as an adviser to the deputy assistant secretary for international operations.

#### **Retiree VP: Robert Houdek**

During a 35-year Foreign Service career, Bob Houdek served as chief of mission in Uganda, Ethiopia and Eritrea; as deputy chief of mission in Kenya and Sierra Leone; and in Washington, D.C., as deputy assistant secretary in the Africa Bureau and as special assistant to National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger. He is a native Chicagoan, a graduate of Beloit College and The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and was a midcareer fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University.

## **State Reps:**

#### **Carleton Bulkin**

A Foreign Service officer since 1998 and formerly a Fasel Fellow, Carleton Bulkin is a political officer who has served in Prague, Havana, Moscow, Budapest and Kabul. He is currently the deputy director for NATO operations in the Office of European Security and Political Affairs. Mr. Bulkin was an AFSA representative in Moscow and Budapest.

#### **Jorge Delfin**

As a security technical specialist with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Jorge Delfin has served in Tunis, Mexico City and Washington. He is a member of the Security Technology/Computer Maintenance Management System Steering Committee. Mr. Delfin is firmly committed to providing community service, as evidenced by his involvement with the Miner Elementary-Department of State initiative. As a State representative, he is particularly interested in supporting Foreign Service specialists.

#### **Mary Glantz**

Mary Glantz, a political officer, joined the Foreign Service in 2002. Since then she has served in Baku, Jerusalem and Washington, D.C. She is currently the Poland desk officer. Ms. Glantz has served as an AFSA post representative in Baku and in Jerusalem. She holds a doctorate in diplomatic history from Temple University.

#### **Les Hickman**

Les Hickman has more than 25 years of Foreign Service experience with consular tours in Manila, Bombay (Mumbai), Dharhan, Washington and Amman, as well as other assignments in the Multinational Force and Observers-Sinai, and the Bureaus of Near Eastern Affairs, Intelligence and Research, and Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. An AFSA member since 1982, Mr. Hickman was an AFSA post representative in India and Saudi Arabia.

#### **Joyce Namde**

A consular officer by cone, Joyce Winchel Namde has served as post representative in two locations and on the AFSA Governing and Editorial Boards from 2005-2007. Her overseas tours include London, Lagos, Manila, Ciudad Juarez and Port-au-Prince. In Washington, Ms. Namde served in the Bureaus of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs and International Organization Affairs, and is currently in the Africa Bureau. She will use her understanding of both professional and personal FS challenges to serve all AFSA members.

#### **Julia (Julie) Stewart**

A human resources expert with prior experience in government contracting and information technology companies, as well as with adult ESL/EFL training in the U.S. and Italy, Julie Stewart is currently a post management officer in the Joint Executive Office, supporting both the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs and the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. She also served as a financial management officer in Kabul, GSO in Brussels and a consular officer in Islamabad. Ms. Stewart is a strong advocate of matching resources to responsibilities and will endeavor to secure the attention needed to focus on our goals.

#### **Mike Unglesbee**

A general services officer specialist, Mike Unglesbee has served as GSO in Taipei and Beijing, management officer in the Central African Republic, and

senior State Department representative to the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Asadabad, Afghanistan. Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 2001, Mr. Unglesbee served as an architect for Overseas Buildings Operations, where he is currently an area management officer. He is a recipient of the department's Post Occupational Safety Health Officer of the Year Award. Mr. Unglesbee holds a master's degree in architecture from Virginia Tech.

### Sharon White

A Foreign Service officer since 1983, Sharon White has served as deputy chief of mission in Tashkent; deputy principal officer in Ho Chi Minh City; and in political, public diplomacy and consular positions in Washington, Abidjan, Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Mexico City, and Washington, D.C. Ms. White holds a doctorate in American history from Yale University.

### Teresa Yata

Teresa Yata is an FS office management specialist with nearly seven years in the department. She served as AFSA representative at each of her overseas posts (Morocco, Senegal and Pakistan) prior to her current assignment in the Bureau of Consular Affairs. Originally from Oregon, Ms. Yata holds a B.S. in criminology from Southern Oregon University and an MBA from Golden Gate University. Her entire work history has been in the public sector, including a career in the U.S. Air Force and several years as a police officer.

### USAID Rep: Michael Henning\*

Michael Henning joined USAID in 1994. He has been chief of the Elections & Political Processes Division in the Office of Democracy and Governance since August 2007. Previously, he served as director of the Democracy Office in Bosnia from 2002 to 2006 and in the Philippines from 1997 to 2000. Mr. Henning has an M.A. in international relations from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and a B.A. from Georgetown University.

### FAS Rep: Melinda Sallyards

Melinda Sallyards is a 22-year veteran of the Foreign Agricultural Service. Raised in Ohio, she attended college and graduate school in Ohio and North Carolina. A two-year stint out of college with the Peace Corps in Costa Rica gave her the international "ag" bug. Ms. Sallyards has served in Mexico City, Brussels and Lima, and is currently director of the Office of Negotiations and Agreements, Regional and Bilateral Division.

### FCS Rep: Rebecca Balogh\*

Rebecca Balogh is the U.S. commercial service liaison to the National Association of Manufacturers. She has previously served as a senior commercial officer in West Africa, a commercial officer in Mexico, an FSO with USAID and as an associate Peace Corps director. Ms. Balogh has worked as an agricultural economist for USDA and as a firefighter with the U.S. Forest Service. In addition, she was director of a USAID-funded development program in Albania for Land O'Lakes, where she taught small business management and dairy techniques to 5,000 rural women.

### IBB Rep: Al Pessin\*

Al Pessin has been the International Broadcasting Bureau representative on the AFSA Governing Board for three years. For the last two years, he has also served as the Governing Board's liaison to the FSJ Editorial Board. Mr. Pessin is a career Voice of America foreign correspondent who has served in Hong Kong, Islamabad, Beijing, Jerusalem and London, as well as in Washington, D.C., and New York. He is currently at the Pentagon. Expelled from China under martial law regulations after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre, he went on to win a Gold Medal at the International Radio Festival of New York and numerous other awards. Mr. Pessin also teaches "Covering Conflicts, Terrorism and National Security," a graduate course at the Washington campus of Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, his alma mater.

## Retiree Reps:

### Janice Bay

Janice Friesen Bay entered the Foreign Service in 1967 and has served in Cape Town, Pretoria, Berlin, Tel Aviv, Jeddah, Cairo, Paris and Bonn. In Washington, her assignments included principal deputy assistant secretary in the Office of the Director General of the Foreign Service and deputy assistant secretary for international finance and development. A native of California, Ms. Bay received a B.A. in social science from Fresno State University and an M.A. in international relations from UCLA.

### Robert (Bill) Farrand\*

Bill Farrand retired in 1998 after serving 34 years in the Foreign Service. His overseas postings included Kuala Lumpur, Moscow (twice), Prague (twice), Port Moresby and Brcko (Bosnia-Herzegovina). He was chief of mission in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Ambassador Farrand was AFSA's Retiree VP from 2007-2009.

### David Passage\*

A 33-year veteran of the Foreign Service, David Passage served in Europe, Africa, Central and South America and the Far East, as well as on the National Security Council staff, as political adviser to the Special Operations Command and ambassador to Botswana. He now lectures in U.S. military schools and is a senior mentor in military training exercises.

### Molly Williamson

Molly Williamson retired from the Foreign Service with the rank of career minister. She has served as deputy assistant secretary in the departments of State, Defense and Commerce, and was the senior foreign policy adviser to the Secretary of Energy. She has had several postings in the Middle East and was chief of mission in Jerusalem during the Madrid peace process. Ms. Williamson is a lifetime member of AFSA.

*Note: Due to her recent retirement, candidate Anne Aguilera is ineligible to serve as a State representative. □*

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## DACOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE

DACOR Bacon House Foundation's Annual Conference will be held on Friday, Oct. 9, at 1801 F Street NW, Washington, D.C. The topic is "The International Financial Crisis." Speakers include Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post* and the Honorable Alan Larson of Covington & Burling. Contact: [prog.coord@dacorbacon.org](mailto:prog.coord@dacorbacon.org).

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**THE 49TH ANNUAL ART & BOOKFAIR** of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will open its doors on Friday, Oct. 16, from 2 to 5 p.m., for employees, spouses and escorted guests. It continues from Oct. 19-23 for this same group.

During two weekends, Oct. 17-18 and Oct. 24-25, the sale is open to everyone, the public included, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. The event takes place in the Exhibit Hall of the Harry S. Truman Building. Access is via the C Street Entrance. VISA, MASTERCARD and personal checks accepted. Please call (202) 223-5796 with questions.

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## IN MEMORY

**James J. Blake**, 87, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died on April 25 at The Washington Home in Washington, D.C., from complications following a broken hip.

Mr. Blake was a cum laude graduate of Queens College in New York, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1946 with departmental honors in history. He was also the recipient of the Rachel Pinsen Award for Excellence in History. He graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 1961 and earned a master's degree from The George Washington University in 1963.

Prior to graduating from Queens College, Mr. Blake had served for three years in the Army, participating as a combat infantryman in the Rhineland and Ruhr campaigns, for which he was awarded the Bronze Star.

In 1947, Mr. Blake joined the Foreign Service. His overseas assignments included Brussels, Calcutta and Tripoli, as well as Reykjavik, where he served as ambassador. In Washington, he served as director for North African affairs and was later appointed deputy assistant secretary for African affairs. He also served on the Army staff in the Pentagon as a political military officer concerned with strategic planning.

While deputy chief of mission in Tripoli, during the Arab-Israeli June

War in 1967, Mr. Blake coordinated the evacuation of approximately 4,000 American citizens by air due to the widespread Libyan hostility toward American policies in the Middle East. As ambassador in Iceland, his primary responsibility was to ensure continued use of a large U.S.-NATO Air Force base outside Reykjavik. When he left, Iceland conferred on him the Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon.

Amb. Blake retired from the Foreign Service in 1981, after serving as coordinator of the Senior Seminar. Following retirement, he volunteered for more than 19 years at The Washington Home. He served as a Eucharistic minister for 20 years at St. Ann's Parish in Tenleytown, Md., where he was also a chief usher. He was a life member of the New York Historical Society, a member of the Arimathea Society and a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

Amb. Blake's first wife, Dolores A. Quaid, died in 1977, while they were assigned to Iceland. He is survived by their four children: Stephen, a career FSO currently assigned to Washington, D.C.; Kathleen, a cardiologist in Albuquerque, N.M.; David, a trade union representative in New York, N.Y.; and Robert, a financial services director in New York, N.Y. Amb. Blake is also survived by his second

wife, of 22 years, Brenda M. Dawson of Glamorgan, Wales, and four stepchildren from her former marriage: Anthony, Gillian, Sarah and Catherine, all of whom reside in Great Britain.



**Camilla "Memo" Copenhaver**, 92, mother of retired FSO Barry Copenhaver, died on Jan. 17 in Cuero, Texas, her home since the early 1950s.

"Memo," as she was known to her many Foreign Service friends, had visited her son and daughter-in-law in Panama, Bonn, Lahore, Mexico, Monrovia, Islamabad, Kinshasa and Brazzaville. She also visited her granddaughter Jill Copenhaver, then working for the State Department in Conakry.

Born in Corpus Christi, Texas, on Jan. 27, 1917, Mrs. Copenhaver was adventurous throughout her life. She rode the Eurorail with her grandchildren and relearned how to ride a bike in Germany at the age of 72. Later, she hailed rickshaws in Lahore to go shopping, saw the Khyber Pass and rode the train to Peshawar. And on her 80th birthday, she was honored with a celebration in the Marine House garden in Monrovia, Liberia.

Her last trip was to Kinshasa, at the age of 88, where she traveled into the hinterlands to see the bonobos and

## IN MEMORY



crossed the Congo River to visit Brazzaville. Her foreign travels stopped then only because her son Barry retired from the Foreign Service.

Mrs. Copenhaver was preceded in death by a son, Mickey Copenhaver, and, in 1988, by her husband of 53 years, Walter E. Copenhaver. She is survived by her son Barry, a retired FSO, and retired Foreign Service daughter-in-law, Judy, both of Cuero, Texas; her son Walter of Crockett, Texas; several grandchildren, including granddaughter Jill Copenhaver, with the State Department, and grandson Scott of Washington, D.C.; and several great-grandchildren, nieces and nephews.



**Samuel A. Keller**, 78, a retired FSO, died on Sept. 27, 2008, in Arlington, Va., of pneumonia.

Born in Sioux Falls, S.D., Mr. Keller attended Iowa State College and then went to work at the Boeing Corp. He enlisted in the Navy during the Korean War and served on active duty until 1957. After graduating from Thunderbird Graduate School of Management, he went into international banking in San Francisco and remained in the Naval Reserves, achieving the rank of lieutenant commander before joining the Foreign Service in 1972.

During a 20-year diplomatic career, Mr. Keller served in Kinshasa, Madras, New Delhi and Washington, D.C., retiring in 1991.

Mr. Keller's wife, Flora Canales Keller, died in 2006. He is survived by his daughter, Beverly Kilmer; son-in-law, Jerome; and grandchildren Samuel, Elizabeth and Joseph, of Arlington, Va.; and a sister, Elisabeth Keller of San Francisco, Calif.

**Benjamin M. Lowe**, 52, a former Foreign Service officer, died on May 12 in Atlanta, Ga.

Born on Jan. 14, 1957, into an Army chaplain's family at Fort Jackson, S.C., Mr. Lowe graduated from Bordentown Military Institute College Prep School in Bordentown, N.J., in 1972. In 1977, he graduated with honors in both history and political science from Washington and Lee University, where he was a member of Sigma Phi Epsilon and the campus Republican Party.

After college, Mr. Lowe took a commission in the Army, serving as a Nike Hercules officer and an Air Defense Artillery officer at Stuttgart and Rodenkirchen in Germany and at Fort Bliss in El Paso, Texas. He continued in the Army Reserves for 16 years, serving in Texas and Japan (Camp Zama), at the U.S. Southern Command in Panama and in the Washington, D.C., area, including at Bowling Air Force Base, Fort Belvoir and the Defense Intelligence Agency, where he also served as a language instructor. He retired in 1988 as a major.

Mr. Lowe joined the Foreign Service in 1982 as a consular officer. His first overseas posting was to Ciudad Juarez (1982-1984). He was then sent to Cape Town (1984-1986) where, in addition to serving as the consular officer, he was a part-time political officer and foreign aid officer, as well as a representative to the American International School Board. In Kuala Lumpur (1986-1989) he was one of the last deputy assistant refugee program officers for Vietnamese and Filipino refugees in northern Borneo. And in Santo Domingo (1993-1995) he served as the anti-fraud officer, with partial duty in Puerto Rico.

Stateside tours included service as a

human rights officer in the Bureau of African Affairs and as a deputy division chief of coordination, as well as a political analyst for El Salvador and Nicaragua in the Visa Office.

Because of the diversity of his career, he transferred from the consular cone to the multifunctionality cone, which came into existence in the 1980s. He assisted with many projects in the political, administration and economic sections at each posting. Everywhere he served, he was assigned to write biographies for the State Department of the dignitaries he met during his posting. Mr. Lowe was fluent in German and Spanish, spoke and read Afrikaans and Bahasa Malaysia, and dabbled in Vietnamese.

Upon leaving the Foreign Service in 1996, Mr. Lowe pursued a lifelong dream to get a law degree. He graduated *summa cum laude* from the Florida Coastal School of Law, where he also edited the Law Review, in 2004 and became a member of the Florida State Bar in 2006. He spent time with the International Foundation for Election Systems in Monrovia, founding the Liberian Democracy Resource Center, and worked with various law firms in Jacksonville, Fla., Chicago, Ill., and Atlanta, Ga.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Lowe opened his own firm, the Immigration Law Firm of Benjamin M. Lowe, serving northeastern Florida and the greater metropolitan area of Atlanta, Ga.

In his free time, Mr. Lowe enjoyed American Motors antique cars, model railroading, collecting old coins and travel (he was also a pilot). He sang with several barbershop groups, including "The Big Orange" in Jacksonville, Fla., and English-language choruses overseas. He was a member of the Church of Christ and the Asso-

## IN MEMORY



ciation of Christian Lawyers.

Mr. Lowe is survived by his first wife, Debbie, and their daughter, Melissa, of Vienna, Va.; his wife Teresa, and his stepdaughters and their families of Jacksonville, Fla.; and his sister, Sally Mangham, and her family of Jacksonville. His mother, Nell Lowe, preceded him in death in 2008.



**Earl H. Lubensky**, 88, a retired FSO, died of a heart attack at his home in Columbia, Mo., on May 1.

Mr. Lubensky was born in Marshall, Mo., on March 31, 1921. After graduating from Marshall High School in 1937, he worked for several years as manager of the Tavern Supply Com-

pany in Marshall, Mo.

In 1942, he married Anita Ruth Price and was drafted into the U.S. Army that same year; he subsequently served in the U.S. Army Reserve until his retirement in 1972 as a lieutenant colonel.

Mr. Lubensky received bachelor's degrees from Missouri Valley College in 1948 and the Georgetown School of Foreign Service in 1949. He later received a master's degree from The George Washington University and a diploma from the National War College in 1967.

In 1949, Mr. Lubensky joined the Foreign Service. He was first posted, along with 26 others in what became known as the Group of 27, as a resident officer in the program to rede-

mocratize Germany (1950-1952). He then served in Manila (1952-1954), Madrid (1954-1956) and Washington, D.C. (1956-1961), where he worked on Latin American affairs and the Antarctic Treaty.

From then on, all of his foreign postings were in Latin America. He served as political officer in Quito (1961-1966) and in Bogotá (1967-1971); as consul general in Guayaquil (1971-1973); and as deputy chief of mission in San Salvador (1976-1978). He attended the National War College from 1966 to 1967; was a diplomat-in-residence at Olivet, Albion and Adrian Colleges in Michigan (1973-1974); and served as a senior staff member of the International Council on Environmental Quality (1974-1976).

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## IN MEMORY



Upon retiring from the Foreign Service in 1978, Mr. Lubensky settled in Columbia, Mo. A charter member of the Missouri Archeological Society, he had an abiding interest in archeology, running amateur digs in Ecuador and El Salvador. In retirement, he enrolled in the graduate program in the anthropology department at the University of Missouri, receiving a doctorate degree in 1991.

He was an active member of the Columbia community, serving as treasurer of the Missouri Archeology Society (1983-1991), as a member (1980-2009) and president (1995) of the Muleskinners (Columbia booster club for the Democratic Party), and as treasurer (1983-1999) of The Theatre Society of Columbia Entertainment Company.

Mr. Lubensky's wife of 50 years, Anita, died in 1992. In 1994, he married Margot Truman Patterson, who died in 2008. He then married Marian Reed, of Columbia, Mo., who survives him.

He is also survived by his three sons: Tom of Philadelphia, Pa., Jerry of Lawrence, Kan., and Chris of Quito, Ecuador; six grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.



**Terence James Spencer**, 79, a playwright, professor and former FSO with USIA, died on April 1, 2008, in Pultneyville, N.Y., after a long illness.

Mr. Spencer was born on Oct. 10, 1928, in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the only child of James Allen Spencer and Kathryn (Duffey) Spencer.

He received his B.A. in English from Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa, in 1950, a master's degree in speech and drama from Catholic Uni-

versity in 1954, and a doctorate in English from Stanford University in 1957. Mr. Spencer then taught at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), University of Notre Dame, The Catholic University of America, Rochester Institute of Technology, The National University of Zaire and King Saud University.

A World War II and Korean War Army veteran, he also served the government as an independent consultant for Project Upward Bound, as a Peace Corps Volunteer and as a Foreign Service officer, living and working around the world.

From 1979 through 1981, Mr. Spencer was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Zaire. As a Foreign Service officer with USIA from 1986 to 1992, he was posted to Canberra, Port Moresby and Seoul. He also visited China, Antarctica and the Galapagos Islands and traveled extensively in Europe, Canada and the United States.

As part of a lifelong interest in theater and the arts, Mr. Spencer served in 1970 as the executive producer of Saint Albans Repertory Theatre in Washington, D.C. His own play, "Jonah," was produced off-Broadway in 1967.

After retirement, he served as trustee/executive director of the Wayne County Historical Society and trustee/president of the Pultneyville Historical Society. He contributed social-political, drama and travel columns to the *Wayne Weekly*, the *Newark Courier-Gazette* and the *Williamson Sun and Record*.

Most recently, he served as a trustee for the Williamson Public Library. He was also active in local politics and a member of the Williamson American Legion Post 394 and the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 6778 in Palmyra, N.Y.

Mr. Spencer's wife, Elois (Wiren) Spencer, died in 1971. He is survived by his son Geoffrey of Ironwood, Mich., daughter Katherine (Dell) Hodges of Webster, N.Y., and granddaughter Sarah Hodges of Delmar, N.Y.



**David Leander Stratmon Sr.**, 84, a retired FSO, died on May 1 in Holly Springs, Miss.

Mr. Stratmon was educated in the public schools of North Carolina and at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University. He received a bachelor's degree from Howard University, a master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, and an LLD from Georgetown University Law Center. During World War II, Mr. Stratmon served in Europe with the 3128th Quartermaster Service Company.

After a two-year assignment with the U.S. Public Health Service in Liberia, Mr. Stratmon joined the Foreign Service in 1956, accepting an offer from the U.S. Information Agency that allowed him to serve in the Gold Coast, as Ghana was then known, when independence from Great Britain was celebrated in 1957. Other postings included Morocco, Chad, Congo, Jordan, France, Tunisia and Washington, D.C.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, Mr. Stratmon became chair of the department of political science at Rust College in Holly Springs. Besides working with charitable groups and writing his memoirs (*From a Small Town to the World*, Xlibris, 2008), he served as a lector, Eucharistic minister and choir member at St. Joseph Catholic Church for 23 years.

## IN MEMORY



Mr. Stratmon was predeceased by his first wife, of 50 years, Freddie Mae Stratmon. He is survived by his wife, Lillian, whom he married in 1999, of Holly Springs; two daughters, Rev. Laurice Stewart and Wisilla Jordan of Washington, D.C.; two sons, David Stratmon of Atwater, Calif., and James Stratmon of Durham, N.C.; two stepchildren, Lorenzo Guerrero of Memphis, Tenn., and Jeanne Gerrero of Louisville, Ky.; eight grandchildren and six great-grandchildren.



**Kingdon W. Swayne**, 88, a teacher, mayor and former FSO, died on April 22 at Sunrise at Flora Vale, an assisted living community in Yardley, Pa., of

Alzheimer's disease.

Mr. Swayne was born in 1920 on the campus of the Quaker George School in Newtown Township, Pa., the son of two teachers there. He graduated from the school in 1937 and earned his bachelor's degree cum laude at Harvard University in 1941. He then served in the Army during World War II, rising to infantry captain with the Third Army of Gen. George Patton and earning a Bronze Star.

In 1946, Mr. Swayne began a 20-year career with the Foreign Service. His first assignment was in London, issuing "immigration visas to the thousands of GI brides waiting to join their husbands," he later wrote. From 1949 to 1951, he served in China as a consular officer.

After studying Japanese at Yale University, he worked in Washington and in Japan from 1953 to 1963. As Walter F. Naedele reported in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the high point of this period was a Kennedy White House luncheon at which Mr. Swayne was translator for the Japanese prime minister and, he wrote, for "the two ladies he sat between — Jackie Kennedy and Mamie Eisenhower."

Mr. Swayne left the Foreign Service in 1966 after serving as head of the political-economic section of Embassy Rangoon.

In 1967, he settled in his hometown of Newtown, Pa., earned a master's degree from Lehigh University and began a second 20-year career as a history and political science teacher



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## IN MEMORY

at Bucks County Community College. In 1969, he was elected the first Democratic mayor of Newtown and served until 1972. He then served as Bucks County treasurer until 1976.

He also served on the George School's governing board from 1974 to 1988 and as presiding officer of that board from 1976 to 1984. He was the school's historian from 1988 to 1992 and its archivist from 1992 to 2006, during which time he wrote the school's history for its 1993 centennial.

Mr. Swayne also wrote the centennial history (1897-1997) of Friends Home, the retirement community in Newtown where he lived, as well as the 50-year history of Newtown Friends School, where his mother was founding principal in 1948. He was a

board member of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia from 1973 to 1980 and presiding clerk of the annual assembly of Quakers (known as the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) from 1984 to 1986, according to the *Inquirer's* obituary.

Mr. Swayne is survived by 10 nieces and nephews. ■

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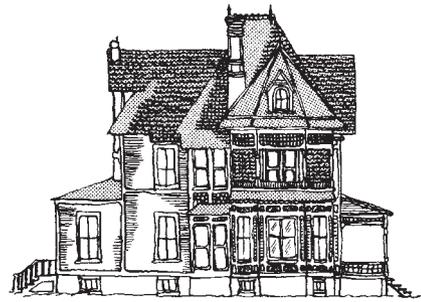


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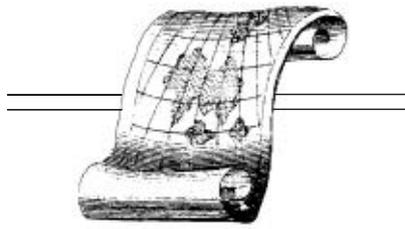
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# REFLECTIONS

## *The Spirituality of Living Abroad*

BY DOUGLAS E. MORRIS

Life overseas has a reputation for being libidinous, debauched and bacchanalian. Certainly it can be all of those things, and in my many years as an expatriate I have pursued all those possibilities.

However, life abroad can also be a path to spiritual enlightenment. Being in another culture removes us from the familiar, expands our comfort zone and pushes us toward our growing edge, while offering a mirror in which to gaze upon our true selves.

Take the most basic experience: talking with someone. If you are in a country where English is not the official language, communication is an intense activity. Your mind cannot wander; you cannot think about what you are going to say next or listen with half your brain and plan your day with the other. You have to focus intently on the person talking, so that you can understand the accented English they are speaking or decipher their native language.

Active listening, the cornerstone of any spiritual practice, can get rather tiring, which is probably why we don't do it as often as we should at home. In our native tongue, it is easy to pick up the thread of the conversation and ease back into the flow. In fact, many of us have developed exterior manifestations of good listening skills — gazing intently into someone's eyes, nodding our heads periodically, making appreciative noises, etc. — but in reality, we are somewhere else, not really listening at all.

Expatriates, however, without the help of gurus or swamis, spending

*All of these new experiences push us beyond our comfort zone, knock us off whatever pedestal we created for ourselves.*



months in retreat, bending themselves into pretzels on the yoga mat or sitting for hours in meditation — just by the process of living overseas — learn to listen in the present moment, intently aware of what is going on around them. They learn to be mindful.

As they navigate the uncharted waters of a different culture, expats also tend to acquire patience. For only by moving slowly, without expectations, can they achieve their goals.

Being humble is also a bedrock of most spiritual practices, and living overseas is a perfect way to acquire that discipline. Everything is different there — unusual foods, unfamiliar ways to get from one place to another, diverse types of stores and unfamiliar social mores, values and cultural expressions.

Moreover, we suddenly find that we are functionally illiterate: people talk to us, but we do not understand them; we open our mouths, but no one can decipher what we are saying.

All of these new experiences push us beyond our comfort zone, knock us off whatever pedestal we created for our-

selves and bring us crashing back down to earth.

Immense strength can come from this position of vulnerability. It removes the defenses that have built up over the years, giving us the opportunity to view the world and ourselves from a different perspective, allowing us to develop the confidence to grow, evolve and change.

Living overseas is also about letting go. Being in another country can help us learn to accept what is and discard unrealistic expectations. Being able to live contentedly in any country is about accepting whatever happens for what it is, and not judging it or getting frustrated with it for what it is not — in short, letting go of preconceived notions about how things should be done.

Though a life overseas does not guarantee the development of an open-minded spirituality, the potential is infinitely increased simply by virtue of being in new and interesting places on a more frequent basis.

Managed properly, approached thoughtfully, explored meaningfully, living overseas is probably the most mind-expanding and soul-enriching experience to be found outside of an ashram. ■

---

*Douglas E. Morris is the author of Open Road's Best of Italy and other books. He has lived in Italy for more than 10 years, currently residing in Viterbo, where he awaits the end of his FSO partner's yearlong assignment in Afghanistan in September.*



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