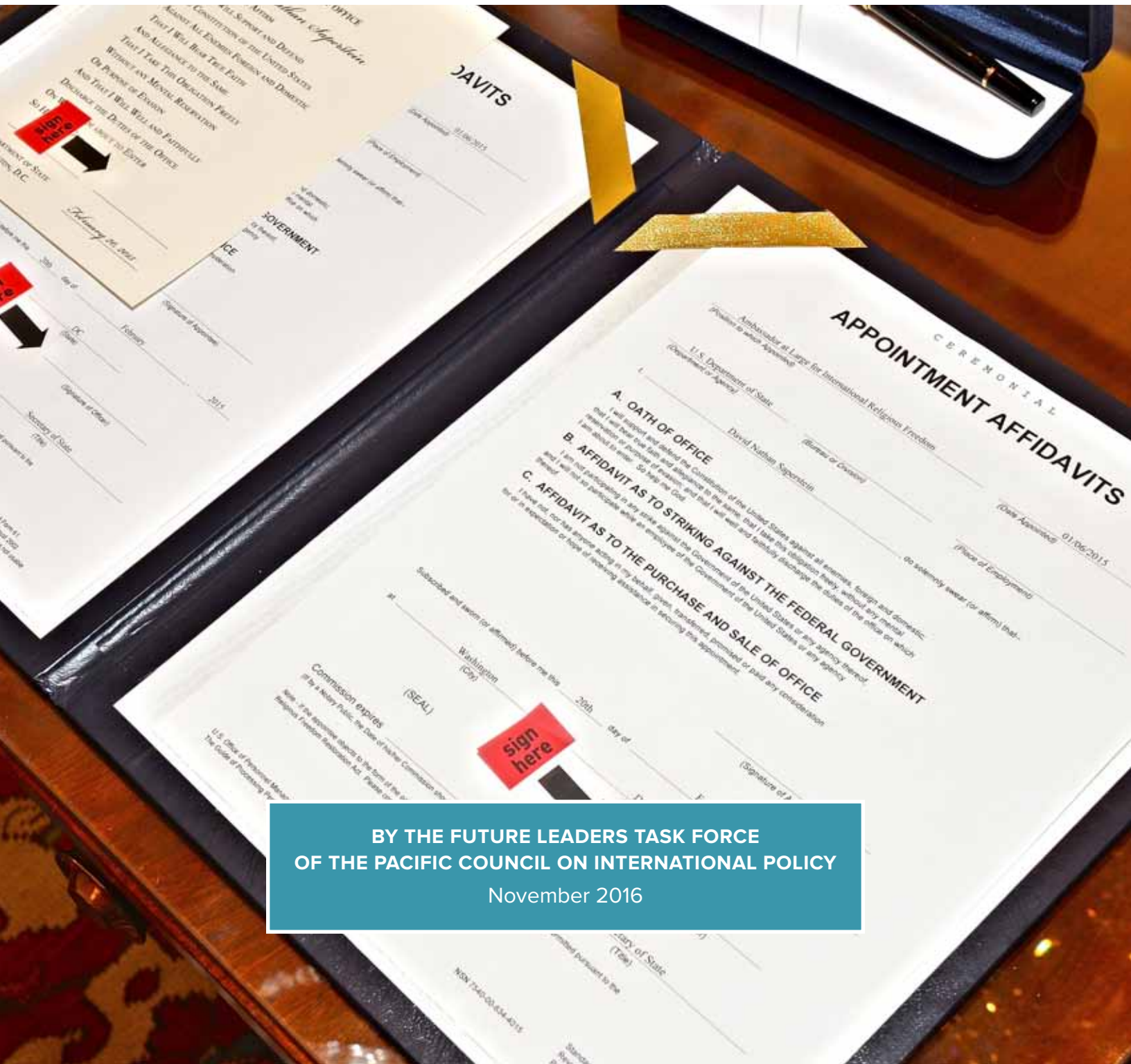


# THE EFFECTIVE AMBASSADOR

A Practical Handbook



BY THE FUTURE LEADERS TASK FORCE  
OF THE PACIFIC COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

November 2016

# FUTURE LEADERS TASK FORCE

The Future Leaders Task Force is comprised of young professionals from the business and legal fields in Los Angeles. All are members of the Pacific Council on International Policy. Their work – which included extensive research and interviews over the course of more than a year – was pursued independently; their views and opinions do not necessarily reflect any official policy or position of the Pacific Council.

Learn more about the independent, non-partisan Pacific Council at [www.pacificcouncil.org](http://www.pacificcouncil.org).

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## FOREWORD

# *A United States Ambassador is the ears, the voice, and the face of Washington abroad.*

A successful ambassador is a powerful asset for U.S. diplomacy: the right person can improve a foreign public's perception of America and can establish critical business or trade relationships, or turn a foe into an ally. An unprepared or unfit diplomat, on the other hand, can damage U.S. credibility with international partners.

As Director of Presidential Personnel in the Reagan Administration, I was charged with recommending ambassadorial candidates to the President, always aware that those decisions could affect our national security, diplomatic, and economic objectives.

I later served as U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom, from 2005 to 2009. As I told the authors in an interview during the research phase of this report: While I believe my experience in the federal government and my business expertise were great assets, my service at the Court of St. James was one of the most difficult (and highly rewarding) jobs I have ever had. It was the pinnacle of my career.

Today, seeing the findings and accumulated advice in the pages that follow, I know that this document would have been of great value to me before arriving in London. The report answers the questions: What can prospective ambassadors expect as they move through the nomination and confirmation process? And what qualities and skillsets make an ambassador effective in the field?

Researched and written by a group of young business and legal professionals from the Pacific Council on International Policy, the report is at its core a practical handbook, providing guidance to potential candidates for U.S. ambassadorships and best practices for current ambassadors. The insights come from the authors' interviews with numerous distinguished individuals, all of whom have had experience and carry expertise in politics, international relations, and diplomacy: nine current and former U.S. ambassadors, two foreign ambassadors to the United States, a former Chair of the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a senior-ranking member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a representative of the Office of White House Counsel were among the interviewees.

I believe the handbook is a must-read for every aspiring and current ambassador as well as for those tasked with setting the criteria for the selection and vetting of candidates for these vital positions.

**Ambassador Robert H. Tuttle (ret.)**  
**Co-Chair, Board of Directors**  
**Pacific Council on International Policy**

Robert H. Tuttle, U.S. Ambassador to the UK. Source: United States Embassy in London.



# INTRODUCTION

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U.S. ambassadors carry great responsibility in their roles as chief diplomats. They personally represent the President of the United States and all Americans abroad, overseeing embassy operations in the countries with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations. Their performance can change how foreign governments and their citizens view the United States.

Most ambassadors rise through the ranks of the State Department's Foreign Service and are selected based on years of experience working abroad and developing, over time, expertise in diplomacy, foreign languages, cross-cultural communication, national security matters, embassy operations, and the historical and geopolitical context of their relevant regions. These career diplomats often serve in the most volatile and complicated parts of the world.



Members of the Future Leaders Task Force visit the State Department. Pictured (left to right): Andrew Shulkind, Adam Nathanson, George Nolfi, Brett Johnson.



However, many ambassadors are recruited from outside the Foreign Service: they are directly nominated by the president. These “political appointees” may or may not have relevant experience or knowledge of the region to which they are assigned. Most – though not all – of them are political supporters of the President and of the party in control of the White House, which contributes to occasional controversy about their appointments.

Critics more often than not argue that political appointees are not as competent in the ambassador role as are career diplomats, and assert that U.S. diplomacy is becoming a politicized commodity. The

Furthermore, detailed reports by the U.S. Office of Inspector General (OIG) on the performance reviews of ambassadors reveal that the substantive performance of an ambassador does not correlate to how the individual was originally appointed. All are rated according to the same core standards, and some career diplomats and some political appointees receive very high rankings while some ambassadors from each group receive low rankings. In other words, any ambassador – whether career diplomat or political appointee – has the potential to do well or poorly in the role.

The following handbook seeks to provide a baseline of information for prospective diplomats – particularly political appointees – to improve their future performance and success. The reflections and recommendations herein draw on our wide ranging interviews with both career and appointed ambassadors from different U.S. administrations. We have included details on the process of becoming an ambassador as well as best practices once appointed to maximize effectiveness in the field.

The handbook is the product of research and interviews with more than a dozen high-profile government officials with expertise in politics, international relations,

TABLE 1

ADMINISTRATION	POLITICAL APPOINTEES	CAREER AMBASSADORS
Barack Obama (as of 7/15/16)	30%	70%
George W. Bush	32%	68%
Bill Clinton	28%	72%
George H.W. Bush	31%	69%
Ronald Reagan	38%	62%

Source: American Foreign Service Association

truth is far more nuanced. As of July 15, 2016, politically-appointed ambassadors held less than a third of all posts. This proportion largely has been consistent over time: today’s proportion actually represents a modest decrease relative to the George W. Bush, George H.W. Bush, and Ronald Reagan administrations (see Table 1).

and diplomacy. The interviewees provided firsthand perspectives on public diplomacy, national security, human rights, education, social media and public outreach in host countries, intra-embassy affairs, the advancement of State Department policy, crisis management, and business and trade matters.



Nina Hachigian's swearing in ceremony as U.S. Ambassador to ASEAN on October 3, 2014. [US Mission to ASEAN photo]

## BECOMING AN AMBASSADOR

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**The process for prospective ambassadors to make their way from candidacy to vetting to nomination and finally to confirmation can be long, arduous, and often expensive for political appointees. This general outline flows from our interviewees' experiences and advice.**

### GETTING ON THE RADAR

The first step in the process is for the administration to identify the candidate as a prospective ambassador. All ambassadors are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Among those most likely to recommend candidates for ambassadorial positions are the White House Chief of Staff, the Secretary of State, Congressional leaders, senior advisors to the President, individuals close to presidential campaigns, or those connected to the inner circle of the President, First Lady, or Vice President. One of our interviewees advised: "You need to seek out the decision-makers behind the decision-makers."

An ideal candidate will demonstrate a significant connection with the proposed country. Language skills, in-country business, familial ties, residency, relevant academic expertise, military service, or even

extensive travel in the region can help to create and foster a strong connection. Access to both U.S. and in-country decision-makers in business, government, the military, entertainment, and other fields will make a nomination stronger. It is often incumbent on the candidate to make clear his or her suitability for the position and to highlight the strength and benefit of his or her experience, relationships, or other unique attributes.

## **VETTING**

Once the White House identifies a potential ambassadorial candidate and an embassy opportunity becomes available, internal vetting begins. Because the vetting process is very thorough, complex cases can sometimes take a year or more to complete.

Much of the vetting process takes place behind the scenes. The candidate is directly consulted only if they already meet a number of initial qualifications. The White House and State Department generally vet candidates in four stages: tax review, financial disclosure, White House interview, and security clearance. Vetting often necessitates the hiring of legal and accounting teams at the personal expense of the candidate for a position as an ambassador. This is costly and comes with no guarantees of confirmation.

### **Tax Review**

The White House Office of General Counsel conducts an initial tax review, during which personnel revisit the candidate's last 15 years of taxes to confirm a clean and thorough filing history. Red flags can include excessive amendments to previous filings and penalty payments to the IRS.

### **Financial Disclosure**

Upon successful completion of the tax review, the White House brings in its counterparts at the State Department to perform a financial disclosure review. Here, full records of assets and investments are reviewed in detail and potential conflicts of interests are identified. Should a conflict arise, the candidate could, as a condition to resolve the conflict, face a decision necessitating a divestiture of certain assets or business enterprises or the requirement

to use alternative legal structures. (Upon Senate confirmation, it is possible that more investment assets may need to be liquidated, converted to cash, or placed in special structures or arrangements while the candidate serves as an ambassador.)

### **General Counsel Interview**

The White House Office of General Counsel then conducts an extensive public records search and a candidate interview in order to identify anything potentially embarrassing or otherwise problematic, politically or diplomatically. The candidate should be aware of what information is available about his or herself, his or her business, and his or her other interests. He or she should have practiced sound accounting and transparent and legal hiring practices for employees and outside vendors as a matter of course. During the interview, the candidate will be asked about any litigation, social media interaction, and press and/or speeches that may express viewpoints on government policy.

### **Security Clearance**

The final step to the vetting process is a security clearance. At this point, the candidate may be shortlisted for the position. The background check is exhaustive and involves a highly detailed review of records and the history of the candidate.

Ambassador Anthony L. Gardner, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union, speaking to the Pacific Council on September 7, 2016.



Ambassadorial candidates can, for example, be asked to submit details of every international trip over the past decade, including individuals with whom the candidate recalls meeting, locations and companies visited, and even hotel details. Background check interviews are conducted with neighbors, friends, colleagues, and employees on a range of issues including a candidate's health issues, personal behaviors, and interactions with foreign nationals. Criminal records and other legal or personal behavioral issues can cause delays or put a swift end to a candidacy.

Once all financial, legal, and personal backgrounds have been examined, the Director of Presidential Personnel will hold a meeting with the White House Office of General Counsel, the White House Office of Personnel, and the State Department to solicit final endorsement of the individual's ambassadorial candidacy. If all relevant U.S. officials are in agreement, approval is requested of the potential host country. Once all of these steps have been completed, a formal nomination is presented directly to the President.

## NOMINATION

A candidate's nomination is subject to the President's final approval. If endorsed, a Senate confirmation hearing is scheduled. The span between nomination and confirmation can be as short as two weeks or longer than a year, depending on the perceived priority or political controversy of the appointment, as well as the political climate on Capitol Hill.

Between nomination and confirmation, formal training in connection with the potential appointment begins. Candidates and spouses attend a two-week State Department program informally known as "charm school." In this program, candidates and spouses receive strategic briefings on the relevant country, learn about diplomatic protocol, receive coaching on key skills such as public speaking and media relations, and get to know the Department of State as well as how to work with other government agencies that have a presence within the embassy, including but not limited to the Department of Defense, Peace Corps, USAID, U.S. Trade Office, and many others.



U.S. Senate Committee Hearing on Nomination.

"Charm school" alone is not sufficient training for a high-level diplomatic post. Candidates should plan to do substantial independent preparation and research on their country and region of assignment in addition to familiarizing themselves with the OIG's own periodic assessments of the strengths and weaknesses of ambassadors and embassies. Nominees should review these informative reports to understand what the State Department expects from effective ambassadors. Regional business leaders, previous ambassadors, academics, non-governmental organizations and philanthropists in the host country, and even individuals from the potential host country living in the United States all represent additional sources of information and insight for candidates.





## **CONFIRMATION**

The Senate confirmation hearings – the final step in the ambassadorial appointment process – are designed to test the knowledge, skills, and preparedness of the nominee. Ideally, they will move quickly and smoothly: the continuity of ambassadorships is vital to bilateral relations, and an embassy that sits without an ambassador in a host country for too long reflects negatively on the United States. The hearing will also set the course and establish credibility for the new ambassador’s time abroad. Thus, candidates must be adequately prepared not only to gain the appointment but also to avoid potential embarrassment.

Political appointees are often tested more rigorously by the Senate than career diplomats in order to confirm their appropriateness for the role and, in

many cases, because it presents an opportunity for members of the opposition political party to challenge an appointment made by the White House. Several in-hearing gaffes in recent years contributed to the stigma surrounding political appointees; when tested, candidates were unable to answer basic and general questions about their prospective host country.

Candidates should also understand and be prepared to answer questions about the criteria established by the Department of State for ambassadorial performance, embassy management, and the execution of U.S. policy, all of which are contained in the OIG reports mentioned above.

Final confirmation is achieved by a majority vote in the Senate.

# BEST PRACTICES FOR THE EFFECTIVE AMBASSADOR

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Once a candidate is confirmed as ambassador, the real work begins. Senator John McCain told us: “The American public and members of Congress are not fully aware of how gravely our relationship with foreign countries is influenced by the effectiveness of our ambassadors on the ground.”

The following summarizes the actions and qualities that our research suggests are most important to becoming a successful and effective ambassador.

## RELATING TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT

### Establish credibility with local officials early

The primary objective of an ambassador is to serve as the eyes and ears of the U.S. government while maintaining effective communications with the host government, which is easier if the host government views the ambassador as an individual of influence. A U.S. ambassador is usually regarded, by default, among a small handful of the most important foreigners in a host nation. An effective ambassador must seek to establish personal credibility and a presence with the host government from the outset of his or her tenure.

Political appointees sometimes actually have an advantage over career diplomats in establishing local credibility, as the host country may see the



ambassador as having a direct line or personal relationship with the president of the United States. Indeed, access to relevant decision-makers at the highest levels in the U.S. government or business community, including a through-line to the President or other senior policy-makers, such as the Secretary of State, contribute strongly to the credibility of the ambassador in the eyes of the host nation. This perceived high-level access can offset other concerns that the host country may have about the person not being a career diplomat.

### **Build relationships with the public**

U.S. ambassadors are tasked with conveying American interests and “telling its story” to relevant constituencies in the host country, which means connecting to local leaders and the public at-large. To do so successfully, an ambassador must first understand the nuances of the host country’s political perceptions and sensitivities, including the host country’s attitudes toward the United States. Second, the ambassador must take advantage of all of the primary channels of communication: in-person interaction, whether at the ambassador’s residence, at the embassy, or in public spaces; traditional media, including press interactions for television and newspapers; and social media – not only Twitter, where ambassadors should cultivate an active following, but also local, country-specific social media outlets as applicable. An ambassador should work in close cooperation with embassy staff to carefully manage the messages conveyed through media interviews and other media tools, particularly in the early days of service before the ambassador has been on the ground long enough to fully understand the cultural and political landscape.

Effective ambassadors should also seek to capitalize on the embassy’s preexisting network of local contacts and to expand those contacts. As the top-ranking U.S. representative in the country, the ambassador has regular access to host country leaders. Socializing with high-level local officials, developing relationships with the media, establishing access and visibility in the business and commercial sectors, and promoting U.S. cultural exchanges can enhance influence within the host country on key aspects of the U.S. economic and foreign policy agendas. Ambassadors to smaller or less prominent countries

Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Roberta Jacobson delivers remarks on re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba at the Foreign Press Center in Washington, DC on May 22, 2015. Jacobson is now U.S. Ambassador to Mexico.



may have even more meaningful opportunities to influence the U.S. relationship with the host country: for example, the ambassador may be in a position to establish foundational relationships within the host country’s government and business sectors, thus ensuring better opportunities for cooperation in trade, economics, and other strategic areas of interest as the country grows.

The ambassador should make clear Washington’s genuine interest in the host country, its people, and its culture. Actions speak louder than words: traveling within host countries and touring cities as part of community outreach will go a long way toward winning favor with the public and building lasting, meaningful connections with local leaders. One especially effective ambassador with whom we spoke hosted “wise men and wise women lunches” as a way to promote direct engagement and relationship-building with local thought and opinion leaders early in the ambassador’s tenure.

Effective ambassadors should also recognize and anticipate that the host country’s culture and attitudes shape the public’s view in ways that might clash with U.S. policy or business interests. For example, when an American technology company provides a free service to a local community – something that is

often perceived favorably in the United States – a foreign country may see it as intrusive or a violation of privacy. Google Maps Street View imaging was received this way in several countries. A skilled diplomat will recognize these variances and find ways to nourish positive relations while bridging the two (or more) distinct sets of interests.

## **RELATING TO THE AMBASSADOR POSITION**

### **Articulate embassy goals early**

Our interviewees recommended that incoming ambassadors establish goals and articulate a clear vision to staff based on the ambassador's own advance research as well as State Department mandates and directives. Providing staff with a clear mandate that melds well with current operations and acknowledges existing embassy goals will enhance credibility with the embassy team. The effective ambassador must also adapt goals and objectives based on new insights about the evolving state of U.S. relations with the host country and region.

### **Be prepared to balance diverse interests within the embassy**

In-country, the embassy team is the effective ambassador's most important resource, but it can also be the biggest challenge: the embassy is comprised of a diversity of government agencies with agendas that may overlap or contradict each other. More than 27 U.S. government agencies – including the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, Defense, Homeland Security, Justice, and the Treasury; USAID; the Center for Disease Control (CDC), and the Library of Congress, among others – work overseas under the authority of the U.S. ambassador of the country in which they work. An ambassador will apply management lessons on a daily basis to manage the multi-agency operations of an embassy.

At the top, the ambassador will benefit from a close relationship with the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM), who is always a career Foreign Service Officer with extensive State Department experience. The DCM effectively functions as the embassy's Chief Operating Officer and can assist the ambassador in



balancing the interests of all of the working agencies of the embassy to best achieve U.S. goals.

### **Establish networks in the region and beyond**

The effective ambassador can learn a great deal by cooperating and coordinating with other U.S. ambassadors in the region to which he or she is assigned. Together, ambassadors can share best practices, pursue common trade, business, or other interests, and further build on connections in the region, collectively leveraging these synergies to the more effective pursuit of U.S. interests.

Although it may be somewhat unconventional, many successful ambassadors have also found it valuable to establish working relationships with their ambassadorial counterparts: one current ambassador told us that he speaks with his counterpart in Washington on a daily basis. As ambassador, one is positioned as a liaison between the U.S. State Department and the host country's Foreign Ministry or its equivalent. The host country's ambassador serving in the United States is, of course, in the same position. As the main conduits for bilateral communication between the two nations, a productive relationship between the U.S. ambassador and the host country's ambassador to the United States can enhance cross-cultural communication, build trust as part of a bilateral dialogue, and serve as another resource for



U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul participates in a Twitter Q and A at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, Russia, September 26, 2012.

Communicating the U.S. government's intent to the leadership of the host country and vice versa is one of the most valuable roles of the effective ambassador. Having the support and insight of the host country's counterpart can help.

## RELATING TO WASHINGTON

### **Act as a public spokesperson for U.S. policies first**

As one former ambassador reported to us, former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz would summon newly confirmed ambassadors to his office. First, he would point to a globe and ask, "Which country is

President Barack Obama meets with Sudan Special Envoy Ambassador Princeton Lyman in the Oval Office, April 1, 2011. [Office White House Photo by Pete Souza]



yours?" The fresh-faced ambassador would eagerly point to their new host country. "No," Secretary Shultz would reply. He would then point at the United States and say, "This is your country."

A newly-appointed ambassador will be immersed in the culture, values, and attitudes of a host country for several years, but his or her primary responsibility must always be to represent the values and interests of the United States. Face-to-face contact with counterparts in the host country's Foreign Ministry will help the ambassador understand how to best communicate State Department policy and other messages with the nuance and non-verbal fluency that fits each country.

### **Put politics aside**

Ambassadors do not formulate U.S. policy. Foreign policy is formulated at the highest levels in Washington; ambassadors are instead charged with communicating – and sometimes explaining or defending – that policy to foreign governments and their citizens. Successful ambassadors do not let personal views undermine the policies they are tasked with representing and effectively communicating. The State Department will provide specific talking points on what to say publicly, though an ambassador may choose to speak more candidly when communicating privately with staff or even with representatives of the host government, to help build trust. Effective ambassadors can also capitalize on their high level relationships within the U.S. government structure (Secretary of State, all Senate-confirmed officials, the President) to provide a feedback loop on U.S. policies as they play out from the perspective of the host country.

Beyond representing U.S. policy, the ambassador also carries the important responsibility of broader public diplomacy – helping to shape the foreign public's attitudes. As one former ambassador put it, "Most diplomats come to the job focused on policy, but come to realize that much of the job is essentially community organizing." This role is equally vital, as it contributes to longer term goals of shaping positive public attitudes toward the United States.

### **Expect to manage crises**

Good political appointee ambassadors have



Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs Charles Rivkin speaks with investors, entrepreneurs, and government officials at the T-Hub Hyderabad technology incubator in Hyderabad, India, on March 18, 2016.

extensive experience managing organizations and leading people. That makes it easier to manage any crises that arise, as the ambassador carries his or her management skills – namely the ability to keep calm under pressure, communicate clearly, and act decisively – into the new role. During a crisis, the ambassador must communicate urgent and complicated matters directly to the embassy team, to Washington, and to the host government. He or she must also anticipate potential concerns from Washington, whether that means filing the necessary paperwork or advancing the appropriate protocols in an emergency situation.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry delivers remarks before swearing in Paul Jones as the new U.S. Ambassador to Poland at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2015.



### **Look for ways to promote U.S. business and trade interests**

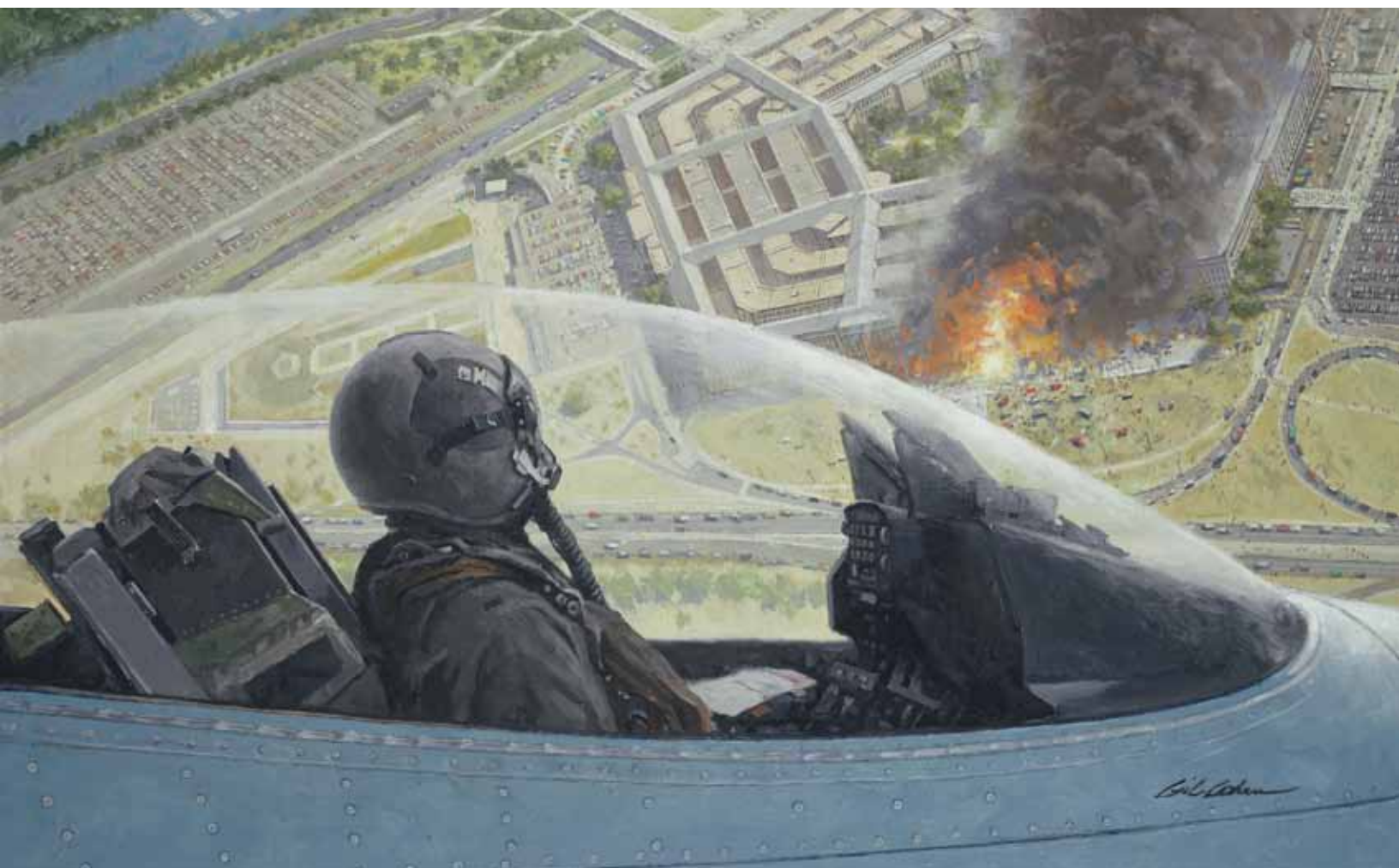
Experience in international relations and geopolitical matters is key, but it is also increasingly important for ambassadors to understand U.S. business interests, as the ambassador is part of the “sales team” for American enterprises overseas and for encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI) at home. In fact, the Obama administration’s global economic strategy claims to grade ambassadors in part on their ability to solicit foreign trade partnerships, promote American exports, and solidify outbound investments. The role of the ambassador is also to get countries to invest in the United States and generate American jobs – that’s advocacy.

As the United States increasingly derives its influence from the strength of its economy, the ambassador needs to be an effective, expert advocate for American business interests. Not only should they seek out prospects for the sale of goods and services, but when problems arise, the effective ambassador must bring leadership, diplomacy, and negotiating skills to bear in helping corporations, stakeholders, and even political rivals resolve their differences. The Commerce and Economic Sections at the embassy can even leverage the reputation of the ambassador to effectively close important trade and business deals.

## RELATING TO NATIONAL SECURITY

Political appointees might find themselves in unfamiliar territory when dealing with sensitive issues of national security. One ambassador serving in the U.S. embassy of a close foreign ally told us he was surprised by how much of his job involved national security matters. This portion of the portfolio will vary greatly depending on the country, but in preparation for every post, the politically appointed ambassador should plan to spend time in the various relevant agencies in Washington, including the CIA and the Department of Defense, to be briefed on classified national security issues as well as U.S. goals, operations, and objectives in the region. It may also be beneficial for the ambassador to visit the U.S. military command in the region – CENTCOM, SOUTHCOM, AFRICOM, EUCOM, etc. – for additional briefing by military leadership.

Defense Department staff leaders and the Office of Regional Affairs are important resources for an ambassador in-country, as effective ambassadors must be prepared at all times to be summoned to their host country's Foreign Ministry to answer for sensitive national security and intelligence matters. Each embassy will host different agencies based on U.S. interests and the realities in each country: national security concerns will look different in the embassy of a G-20 country, for example, than they do in a smaller nation, and the number and types of in-country personnel will reflect those differences. Representatives from the Department of Defense and other agencies will keep an ambassador well informed about all security matters (both classified and unclassified) to avoid surprises that could potentially embarrass the United States, jeopardize diplomatic relations, or adversely affect U.S. interests.



Titled "9/11," painting of Air National Guard flying over a burning Pentagon. [Gil Cohen, National Guard]

# CONCLUSION

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Political appointees have demonstrated that they can be just as effective as career diplomats. Many have skill sets or perspectives that actually give them an edge over career diplomats, including their political or professional background, access to relevant decision-makers in the United States, established connections and reputation in the host country, understanding of social, cultural, and political issues relevant to the region, and proven management and leadership experience. In addition, a political appointee ambassador can make the right decisions without the reticence that a career ambassador may have about the impact of that decision on an onward assignment.

The challenges and opportunities an ambassador faces will differ greatly depending upon the host country to which he or she is assigned, and each ambassador brings unique talents and skills to the role. Yet our research confirms that as much as ambassadors' experiences vary, there are shared qualities and approaches that make ambassadors successful: this handbook provides practical guidance on those shared experiences that will help a candidate become an effective U.S. ambassador.

**With the right guidance for new ambassadors, we can be confident as a country that, just as we aim to choose the best people to lead our diplomacy abroad, we are preparing those individuals well for the challenging job ahead.**





Members of the Future Leaders Task Force meet with Senator John McCain. Pictured (left to right): Brett Johnson, Adam Nathanson, Senator John McCain, Nicole Simonian, Andrew Shulkind.

# OUR THANKS

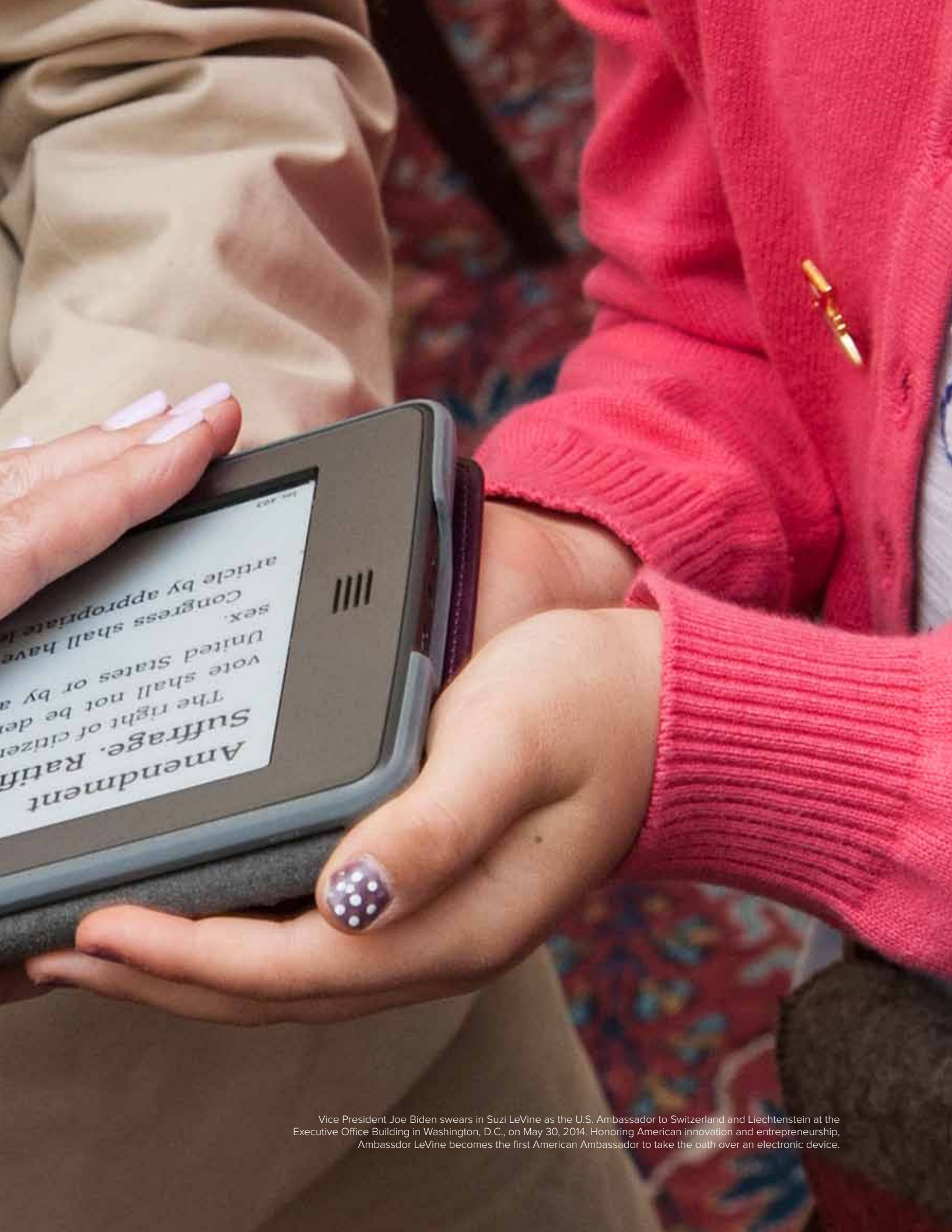
**The Pacific Council Future Leaders would like to thank the following ambassadors, government officials, foreign diplomats, and their families and staff for making this report possible by contributing their time and insights.**

We are grateful for the time of those currently in office: H.E. Abdulla Ali Alsaboosi, Ambassador Michael Corbin, Ambassador John Emerson, Ms. Kimberly Marteau Emerson, Dr. Anwar Mohammed Gargash, Mr. Ethan Goldrich, Senator Tim Kaine, Senator John McCain, Ambassador Yousef al Otaiba, Rear Admiral Gary Rosholt, Ambassador Dana Shell Smith, and Ambassador Rudi Veestraeten.

Additionally, we value immensely the reflections and insights of those who have returned to private life: Ambassador Frank Baxter, Congressman Howard Berman, Ms. Carla Eudy, Ambassador Robert Ford, Vice Admiral Robert Harward, Ambassador Christopher Hill, Ambassador David Huebner, Ms. Eileen McMenamin, Ambassador Cameron Munter, Mr. Marc B. Nathanson, Ambassador Thomas Pickering, Ambassador Rockwell Schnabel, Ambassador Robert H. Tuttle, Ms. Marilyn Wyatt, and Ms. Jessica Yellin.

We would also like to thank the Pacific Council under the visionary leadership of the Honorable Mickey Kantor, the Honorable Marc B. Nathanson, Ambassador Robert H. Tuttle, and Dr. Jerrold D. Green for their support and guidance throughout the course of this project.

Finally, we appreciate immensely those who reviewed and edited the report in its various stages of life, including Mr. Justin Chapman, Ms. Nastasha Everheart, Ms. Jeannine A. Imperiale, Ms. Melissa Lockhart Fortner, and Ms. Olivia Russell.



Amendment  
Suffrage. Rati  
The right of citizen  
vote shall not be de  
United States or by a  
sex.  
Congress shall have  
article by appropriate

Vice President Joe Biden swears in Suzi LeVine as the U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein at the Executive Office Building in Washington, D.C., on May 30, 2014. Honoring American innovation and entrepreneurship, Ambassador LeVine becomes the first American Ambassador to take the oath over an electronic device.

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By the Future Leaders Task Force  
of the Pacific Council on International Policy  
NOVEMBER 2016



Front and Back Covers:  
The appointment papers for  
Ambassador-at-Large for International  
Religious Freedom David Saperstein  
are photographed before he and  
the Secretary signed them during  
a swearing-in ceremony at the  
Department of State in Washington,  
D.C., on February 20, 2015.  
[State Department photo]