

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

AMBASSADOR MARGARET D. TUTWILER

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Q: Today is July 17, 2017. We are resuming our interview with Ambassador Margaret Tutwiler, preparing for her tour in Morocco.

TUTWILER: Yes. So, how it came about was, on the night of the presidential election in 2000 I got calls from Don Evans, Karen Hughes, Jim Baker, Bob Zoellick, a lot of people related to the campaign, all asking me to go down to Tallahassee, Florida where the George W. Bush campaign team was located during the final recounts.

So, I went down to Tallahassee with Baker and the group for what turned into 33 days. And while there I got to know Don Evans, who was one of President Bush's lifelong best friends, and Karen Hughes, obviously, and they both kept saying you have to come back in and serve. Now, at this point, I had already done 12 years of government service. There were four years in the Reagan White House, four years at Treasury, and four years at the State Department. I actually had zero interest in doing any more. Don't get me wrong -- I believe in public service; it's a passion of mine. But I did not go down to Tallahassee thinking oh, I'm going down to get a job.

But after the encouragement from Don and Karen and others I thought, well, the only thing I have not experienced is observing our government, participating in our government from a foreign country. I obviously knew what ambassadors did. I had four years at State with Jim Baker. I had observed what ambassadors do, but observing it and living it are two different things. So, I had zero interest in going back into government in D.C. Not from arrogance, but I just thought, I had a fantastic time with Jim Baker and Ronald Reagan and thought that this is the new people's time.

So, what happened was Evans said, you know, you'd really be great as an ambassador. And so I asked Baker and he said that I would be perfect. He actually said, and I do not mean this to be arrogant, you're actually overqualified in some respects because of your previous experience. And for me, why Morocco? Well, I was lucky. I got to ask for what I wanted -- within reason -- as the new administration was entering office. I didn't ask for something that was unrealistic. For me, when I was the Assistant Secretary of State for Public and the State Department Spokesperson for four years with Baker, the basket of issues I spent the most time on were those associated with the Middle East. It is the most frustrating subjects, the most intractable of subjects, the most exasperating of subjects but it was a basket of issues that I found the most interesting. And so, I knew I did not want,

even if I had the opportunity, to go to Israel or Egypt, what I considered to be the frontlines.

That's why I said Morocco. I'd been there once when Baker was secretary of state when King Hassan was the head of the country. I even remember why we went there; it was to get his vote on something and we were there for something like 24 hours. And so, I didn't really know the country. But I thought it was close enough for my family to get to. And, to be perfectly candid, this may sound spoiled, but I'm not an adventurous eater. And on all of the trips we'd done in so many countries I was like oh, gosh, I'm not sure I can eat this. But I was raised to have good manners, to understand that you eat what's put in front of you. So, actually food was something that was in the back of my mind because I knew I'd be thrown into any number of official meals and I just didn't want to have to go through that all the time. That sounds terribly spoiled but it can be a real problem.

George Herbert Walker Bush, Jim Baker, they will eat anything. My brother will. I'm just not as adventurous that way. And I had been on enough foreign trips with President Reagan or President George Herbert Walker Bush, and you get in these official events where it was expected that you would be part of the formal meal. So as I considered countries, it was just something that was in the back of my mind. I didn't want to put myself in a situation that would not be good for somebody representing America. So, although I didn't know that much about Moroccan food, I figured it was okay, I could do it. So I said Morocco for those reasons.

I accepted and completed the confirmation process and as it turned out I had been in Morocco only about three weeks when 9/11 happened. So I got an education in what it was like to live in an Muslim nation of 32 million people just as 9/11 hit. Although it was unique, I did have the experience of living through the first Iraq war with George Herbert Walker Bush and Jim Baker as the State Department spokesperson. This meant I didn't have to get up to speed on the substance of most Middle East issues. So, as events transpired, I also had the background of having done, you know, a lot of U.S. media in the Treasury job and at the State Department. So, I was comfortable with discussing the subject matter. There was nothing they could ask me about the first Iraq war pretty much that I didn't know. I didn't have to study or ask anybody. And so, as it turned out, as the second Iraq war approached and took place, I spent the majority of my time on messaging and representing the U.S. government related to that.

As an aside, as I think back, it's interesting how I came into the field of public diplomacy. If I had not had eight years of executive branch experience prior to my stint as state department spokesperson I would have never accepted that job. By nature I don't seek the limelight, I'm not a talking head, I have never sought any of that. But as I was considering the spokesperson job, Hodding Carter, who had the job when President Carter was president, had a friend on the *Washington Post* friend -- Meg Greenfield -- who was also a real good friend of mine. Meg called me at home and said I hear you're not going to do it, the State Department job, with Baker. And I said yes, that's true. I have zero interest, I'm not doing it. And so, she had Hodding Carter call me. He called me at home one night. He's from Mississippi, I'm from Alabama, and he told me, look,

you have a commodity that I didn't have. He said he had never met Cyrus Vance before he became spokesman. But you have worked with Jim Baker for years, decades, so you're going to have a credibility when you say you know what he thinks and because you're also going to be in on the meetings. And so, they're not expecting you to know the nuances of the, you know, Treaty of Versailles but they will know that you are speaking with knowledge and credibility of what went on in a meeting or whatever. Hodding Carter was right; he turned out to be right. So, actually because of Hodding I ended up going in and telling Baker alright, I'll do this.

But I digress. So there I am in Morocco as these world events take place and I knew what the Treasury Department was doing, I knew what the Pentagon was doing, I knew what other entities of our government were doing. And I sat there and I thought, okay, what are we doing as civilians, what are we doing here? I know what every other part of our government, Americans, are doing at this post. We're in a war and so what are we doing? I was fortunate in that I had a terrific public affairs officer, she spoke fluent Arabic, her name was Magda Siekert. She's phenomenal. So, I went to home to the ambassador's residence. Now the residence staff and its upkeep is actually run by my management office, so I nothing to do with who took care of the grounds, but I noticed that they were at work and started thinking. So, I took Magda with me and I asked her to translate as I asked the grounds staff a basic question: If they read news media, what did they read. Okay? So, she writes it down and I go back to the embassy and I said unless these publications were pornographic I want to do an interview with every one of them. There were five. And Magda asked me, are you serious? I said I couldn't be more serious because this is what the street must be reading and we are not communicating, in my personal opinion, with the street. We're doing interviews with "Le Monde," we're doing interviews with "Le Figaro," we're dealing with the intelligentsia. Well, that's great but that is a narrow slice. So, what are we doing as Americans to show up in the publications of average Moroccans? I asked her if we would somehow be creating an embarrassment for the U.S. She said, no it wouldn't. So I did an interview in every one of them; it was very interesting.

Afterwards, I was at some cocktail reception or something, and the then-finance minister of Morocco was there, and he was a really tough gentleman. I got along with him beautifully but he was tough, meaning he was a serious, serious man, gentleman. I actually liked him very much. And he said to me, I read your interview today in, I forget which, but one of the five Arab street publications. Well, I was very happy because, here is the finance minister who is reading this street publication and he said to me, they wrote an editorial saying that they did not agree with a single thing I said but they gave me great credit for having the courage to show up. And I thought to myself, win one for America.

Q: That was a great start. What next?

TUTWILER: That was my view. So, then I said okay, well, let's show up in neighborhoods where Americans had probably never shown up before. I want every American in the embassy, not the Foreign Service nationals, who is willing to go to

classrooms. You can wear whatever you want and all you're going to do is talk three minutes on your state. Where did you come from, in your own, no scripted remarks. It's more important to describe the values that you got that the students don't know we have. That's what you actually will articulate. I don't mean this to be just the senior people; I'm talking up and down this food chain in here. And we're going to mix it all up; it could be the deputy chief of mission and the secretary; it could be the admin guy and the political officer. I don't care. I purposely want it mixed up.

So, most of them signed up. The deputy USAID mission director rode his motorcycle to the school. And to a person, Foreign Service officers and a civil servant who was serving there, told me it was the most meaningful thing they'd done. Moroccan government authorities shut it down more than once, oh yes. I had to go to the Minister of Islamic Affairs to overcome his objections. Which I did since I didn't want anybody to get in trouble. But I just knew, instinctively, if we show up in a non-policy lecture mode and actually let these people who'd never met an American ask us questions about anything, it would be a positive experience. One woman particularly was really scared, nervous about doing it, but she did it. And I said they're only questions and chances are they're going to ask you what's your hometown like and you know the answer to that in whatever words you want to describe it. But it's an opportunity for people who my guess is have never met an American and it's farther than the school because if the Americans show up in this neighborhood the community's going to hear about it, the grandparents are going to hear about it, the friends are going to hear about it. The people are going to be talking about it at the medina hopefully in a positive way. And again, they might not agree with anything we have to say but they're going to know we showed up. And my view was why is Hezbollah winning? Because they show up. They show up with -- if you break your leg -- they show up with a cart and donkey. You're sick, they show up with chicken noodle soup. So, we're not showing up. We're in the universities and we're in the ministries. We are obviously dealing with the government; that is part of our job. We have all these things going on but actually there's a huge swath that is not educated about us, all our good things, all our best values, who we are. And so-

Q: Was this outreach to average citizens part of your country plan, or was it your innovation?

It was mostly innovation. Remember, I'd had four years in the State Department on the seventh floor with Jim Baker so it was from that perspective. No, I would argue that America's public diplomacy needed some updating and rethinking. After my tour as Ambassador, when I became Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, I used to testify before congress about this. I actually believe that our government-funded public diplomacy efforts, it's not that they're bad, but a percentage of them certainly need to be massaged because I found that much of what did exist reflected the World War II era or 1950s.

For instance, in Morocco there are five universities, okay. They're not building a new university every day, right? So, our public affairs department has a book program? The embassy had locations in Morocco in three different cities, with a total of nine different

venues at the time I was there. So, I went over to see one of the women in charge of one of our book programs. I go into the American Corner and I find that all of the books are by Henry Kissinger, Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft. And so, I said okay. Our taxpayers are paying for these books. They've been translated into Arabic. But I don't know a 12-year-old in America in any state who would read one of these. So, where are the books -- I know it sounds crazy but again I was fighting an old mindset -- where are the books like "Little Women," "Charlotte's Web"? Something that paints a picture, tells a story of America through a story that a 12-year-old or an eight-year-old would choose to read. And I said I do not understand this budget because these universities are not new so how many books by Henry Kissinger, if I go to these universities, are given to the same university every single year? I don't understand.

Then I learned how new books for the public diplomacy donation series are added.

Basically, we get them translated and printed in regional hubs like Egypt or Lebanon. It takes about 2 years to go from approved book to printing. I didn't have time to fool with that. So, when I went home to the U.S. and gave speeches in Alabama or other places -- I'm not making this up -- people would say what can we do; we want to help, and so on. I'd say here's what I want you to do. I want you to send me picture books of the United States because my instincts were the first time I saw the Eiffel Tower I was not standing in Paris. It was a visual. Same thing for the first time I saw Niagara Falls. So, visuals do not need translation. I said I could care less if these books are in English. And I went out and focus grouped it. And I said and you have to pay for the postage to get it to me. So, people started shipping me books like you cannot believe.

Next step. There was a young man, Rasheed, who was assigned to the residence, and at the time we were there, I don't know, maybe he was 24, 25 maybe, so I handed him one of these books and I said I want you to go look at this and then you come back and I'm curious, I want to know what you think. He comes back and his exact words to me were oh, madam, I had no idea. I said you had no idea about what? He said the diversity in your country, these beautiful lakes, these beautiful mountains. And I went, Hurray!

So, everywhere I went in Morocco I would hand out a picture book in English, I could have cared less because I was- it was the pictures I was interested in. And furthermore, I also had -- we made them ourselves -- like a bookplate made that said not the U.S. Government because that was an irritant because our policies are an irritant and are something that they use to flog people and get them whipped up about. So, I had designed these simple things that we would stick in every book, for everything we gave away, that said "in friendship with the American people" in Arabic. Because they do not hate us; it's our policies that can get them all twirled around. So, that was another, you know, observation is the little sticker, USAID, as far as I was concerned means nothing. It could be a Nike symbol. The important thing was to give them something they could have an emotional connection with.

And the other thing that drove me completely crazy, the way our government is set up, as you know, less than one percent of the entire federal budget is allocated for any kind of aid and the largest recipients are Israel and Egypt so everybody else gets what's left.

Okay. And the way we distribute this, certainly in Morocco and other places, is through these in-country NGOs or local third-party NGOs.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: Okay. That's wonderful but it drove me nuts because I go back to the fact that we were in a war; what were we doing as civilians? Here's an example of what I'm talking about. As ambassador, I go out for ribbon-cuttings of new projects or activities that the U.S. has helped fund. I went one day to a small town far away any major population center. We had given, the United States government had given three hundred-and-something thousand dollars to build this cinder block, concrete school for girls, okay? So, I'm there, the United States ambassador, and I gave every girl a book, of course, and this woman, I don't remember what the NGO name was, but it was a local Moroccan NGO, she's standing there pretty much taking all the credit for building the school. She wasn't doing anything wrong or bad, but no one in that room, those young girls or their mothers or their fathers really knew about the U.S. funding support. It seemed like I was just there as a guest. It wasn't my money but it was the American taxpayers' money and so I actually kind of preempted her and said I just want, before we all depart this lovely ceremony, whatever I said I was gracious, I want you to know that the people of the United States of America have contributed whatever the equivalent was, \$300,000 to help build this wonderful school for you girls. Had I not done that I'm fairly confident they wouldn't have known. And this went on- the more I got educated it went on everywhere. It is the system.

So, here's another interesting story. I got to know an American, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco. He was Jewish, now living in Arizona, but he still ran a small but visible program in Morocco where he would donate fruit trees to towns and families.

This was something average Moroccans could immediately appreciate because once the trees grew and bore fruit they could be a small source of income or an added source of food for a family. It wasn't easy at first for him to get a message to me about the program. I'd get letters from him, but the State Department bureaucracy couldn't or didn't want to consider his program. So finally I said I want to see him. And I was convinced. I said we're going to do this.

Nevertheless, I had to fight tooth and nail, of course, because he's not one of the approved people who's been in the system for 700 years. So, anyway I got it done. I said however, every tree, every tree because it's going to be delivered by a known Moroccan contractor -- they know the system, I know the system -- I want a paper tag that we will make that shows the American and Morocco flags and that says, "In friendship with the American people." in their language. Every tree. I'm positive 25 percent of them will throw it in a bonfire in the middle of the town. That's fine. But I want to take it one step further. I want these small certificates framed in the medina, which will cost 30 cents a frame. Just like Americans, we hang things on our walls. And so, I want for the beneficiaries of this project to have something memorable to put them in their home. I want it to last and so that's why we framed them in the medina. And we literally made them ourselves on a copier in the embassy. I had to trust that the organization that was

delivering all these trees that America was paying for, would actually include the little signs. And they did. How do I know?

Trust but verify. I had embassy officers, whenever they'd be out in whatever village, look around and more often than not they'd come back and say they saw one of our certificates hanging in, you know, some hut. So, although this was a small contribution, it was visible and made a practical improvement in the lives of people who received. And we made sure that they knew that our U.S. citizens made it possible.

And so, I feel that with the materials and staff we had, we did something that was meaningful and helped counter the Hezbollah message, or whatever terrorist group message was out there against the U.S. We might be civilians in this struggle, but now, when terrorists try to recruit some young Moroccan, I hope that the counter example of how the U.S. knew what they needed and provided it will give them some hesitation in joining a group so inimical to the U.S. and its basic values. And I did it by demonstrating, in a tangible way, what American values are. That was my basic strategy.

And I had another program, seriously, where, long story short, we gave away wheelchairs. And what do you think I had stamped on the back of the wheelchairs? "In friendship with the American people." Okay? My deal, and I worked with this wonderful man in California who had this wheelchair program, Mr. Berrington, and I thought okay, if this makes a difference for your brother, your sister, your parents, your grandparents, you're rolling around the neighborhood, wherever you live, you've got this thing, not obnoxiously but just embossed back on that leather, that says, in Arabic "Provided in friendship with the American people." Well, okay. How do I know what kind of influence it's going to have? And I know this sounds sophomoric but you know, all politics is local and I use my example of Hezbollah; why were they popular? Because they got out in the neighborhoods. They did. And we didn't.

Q: Yes. The frustration you're expressing is something that a lot of ambassadors face. The ability to innovate in areas that are unexpected but that offer a fresh and direct way of communicating to host country nationals. That's what a public diplomacy campaign should be able to do.

TUTWILER: It's crazy. And I was lucky in that I'd known Colin Powell for, you know, 20 years, I had worked on the fourth floor- seventh floor of the State Department for four years. So, there were instances where, you know, an officer would come to me, there's one I really remember, that senior political officer came to me one day and said you've got to go to the foreign ministry and deliver this demarche. And I said I'm not doing that. And, because he looked shocked I said I'm not being arrogant but I'm not doing that. You want to spend your political capital on that, have at it; I'm not. And he said to me, but this is from Secretary Powell. I said actually, it's not. I said every single thing that comes with the Secretary's name at the bottom does not necessarily mean that the Secretary is personally invested in it. I could say that because I know the system.

Q: Right. And that's certainly true. No secretary can be personally invested in every single issue.

TUTWILER: And so, I thought well, for political ambassadors, Democrat or Republican, it makes no difference. They don't know. It's not that they're dumb at all; they just don't know the system.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: And so, I was lucky because I could do things, because I knew, one, if it's important enough Powell would call me or Armitage (Deputy Secretary) would call me. I knew both of them. I did not believe anything I was doing was going to cause them to call and pull my chain. Bill Burns, whom I've worked really closely with, and with Jim Baker, he was one of the people who traveled with us constantly, I knew Bill wasn't going to call me and say what are you doing. I mean, it just wasn't going to happen. So, I had an advantage over having served at State and knew these people and they knew me. And my biggest thing was, as I told you, okay, we're sitting out here, we're being paid to be here. And it's not just about going to national days and running over to the foreign ministry. What are all of us doing? I knew what, as I said, the others in the embassy were doing in their specific departmental spheres; what was State doing? And so, I just came up with alternatives so that we just so we just sit here in the embassy.

And one I was in the ambassador's residence and a gentleman said to me, it's really interesting, he was not being confrontational and I've never forgotten it, that I needed to ponder why the United States was the only embassy in town out of 157 that was an armed fortress. And it was true. And I had just recently gone through a security upgrade visit led by the director of the State Department Office of Overseas Buildings, General Charles Williams (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Ret.) in which we hardened the buildings and moved out the perimeter. So, it was very real to me. The British were not living that way, they lived down the street, the French weren't, nobody else was but us. And when I went to Paris shortly after that and the road to the embassy had been completely shut down. It's the same in Tokyo. And it just made me so sad because it was really very accurate and we were the only ones living that way and it wasn't because I was in an Arab country. And it really bothered me a lot. Like, this is just horrible. My father jumped on D-Day and was shot and then, you know, jumped behind enemy lines in Germany again and was shot and was a prisoner and so I just thought, you know, how has this gotten off the skids somehow. It was very depressing.

And then the other thing for your reader that really struck a nerve with me was -- you know what a focus group is?

Q: Oh, sure.

TUTWILER: Okay. So, somehow I heard about somebody who was having one and I said I wanted to go. And it was down in Casablanca and I was behind the wall so they had no idea I was here. None. The kids. And they were interviewing young males. And

one of the young males, I'm guessing 17, 18, 19, without being belligerent at all, had no idea I was there or any American, asked the moderator why is it that every afternoon American mothers sleep with different men while their husbands are at work. So, I heard that and I was like okay, this has nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli situation, this has nothing to do with us bombing a Muslim nation, this has absolutely nothing to do with policy. Where is this coming from? So, I became pretty intent on figuring out. Because the young man was sincere. And everywhere I went then, whether I was with doctors, whether I was with lawyers, whether I was with poor people, it didn't matter, I would say if you know anything about my country what is the vehicle from which you've learned about it? Is it a teacher, is it TV, is it the radio, is it movies? What is it? And long story short, I figured out it's free satellite TV. And the number one thing they watched at the time was "Baywatch" and "Friends." So, then it all made sense because we have not been there, I go back to we have not been there, we have not shown up to explain -- we're not telling you not to watch this but it's a cartoon. It is not real. It is a caricature. We as Americans know how to process it but we weren't there when the poorest of the poor in the slums in Morocco they would take their car radio batteries out, hook up a coat hanger, and it was free and they are sponges to learn about us. And so, then I got on a tear about well, okay, I know, again, this sounds crazy but where is Disney? Where is Sesame Street? Where is something wholesome? Well, it was in Egypt at that time but it's pay-per-view.

Q: Of course.

TUTWILER: So, that's discretionary spending.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: And it was about, as I'm pulling out of my memory, \$3.25 or something. Well, that's a lot for the poorest of the poor.

Q: Sure, sure.

TUTWILER: And so, it was very frustrating because when the United States, when Baker was secretary of state those countries still controlled access to information. Large numbers of countries did. Okay, in the intervening time when I'd been out that battle of the governments all lost and they could get cable and they could get satellite and they could get it for free. Okay? Well, unfortunately where all the Americans serving all over these countries, ding ding, these people are sitting because they are curious about us, they want to learn about us. And I used to say there are parts of the United States that you and I could go to, we could put some people in front of a TV screen, which is the most powerful thing ever, or a computer screen and if their parents have never traveled, their grandparents have never traveled, and we put some purple things on TV and we say these are Eskimos and nobody's there to question and say well, wait a minute, no they're not, they leave that episode and they think all Eskimos are purple. And so, it was the same principle to me. It's like in the intervening time and I'm not blaming anybody, it just happened, is we didn't show up and say it's great you've got free satellite TV, you can

get CNN, you get all these things. However, it was teaching them values about us which they believed. And we know, I mean your reaction, you know it's not, we all know it's not, but we know how to process that, we know how to process our own product and they didn't. And so, they were sponges and that's why that young man asked me that -- didn't ask me, asked the moderator. He was sincere.

Q: Sure, sure.

TUTWILER: And I thought, when I heard that, I'll never forget it, I was like where in the world is this coming from? And so, I got about the business of trying to figure it out.

Q: Were you successful at all? Because-

TUTWILER: I think any of us contribute. You served. Success is something I don't know how to measure.

Q: No, no, I mean at least in trying to get some of those more reasonable, you know, everyday kind of TV into Morocco?

TUTWILER: No.

Q: Because it was very hard to organize?

TUTWILER: Well, it's because we're, I'm a capitalist, we live in a capitalist country.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: So, I mean "Sesame Street" and the others, they are wonderful, wonderful companies but this isn't their mission.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: And so, I go back to somebody looking at our foreign dollars, how are they spent? And if we're still publishing -- and again, I am not knocking Kissinger, Brzezinski, Scowcroft, any of these people at all. Well, maybe they've got enough of those books at the libraries and maybe we can take those dollars and put them toward a deal with "Sesame Street" and then hand out the "Sesame Street." I don't know what kind of equipment these people have but videos or books or something. But it's going to take a recalibration of our limited dollars, in my personal opinion. And you know, you're a career FSO, I read you were there 30 years, so you know. There's no bureau that's going to give up a dollar. When I became Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Public Diplomacy, I tried to change a program that gave a lot of money to Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, etcetera. These countries really didn't need that much public diplomacy investment, but there was a senator, and I knew these were his favorite PD programs, and I wanted to cut them in half because I thought wait a minute, the Soviet Union's over, they're all free countries, why are we spending this money? It was a lot a money when

you look at a limited budget. But, basically I wasn't going to fall on my sword because I knew I would lose the battle and I did.

And so, we kept spending at the same levels we were during the Cold War in countries that were now free. That did not make sense to me. I didn't want to cut them off to zero but it's like ridiculous where you have Indonesia or Malaysia or some of these other places, where we need to do more and a modest increase in PD budgets could do a whole lot more. I wanted to put resources in places where we could make a visible change in people's lives. And when you ask if programs survive, I didn't know, but nevertheless I thought it was worth trying.

So, back in Morocco I asked, I don't remember when, could we increase scholarships, at least for English language training? How about teaching English for a year out in neighborhoods where we've never been. Let's put some funding into that. The children who benefit will know it's from America, like the little fruit tree certificates with U.S. and Moroccan flags. And there was an existing program for English language training but it had so many rules. You had to apply, wait for such a long time... I said we don't have time for this. Eventually, I don't remember how we got it done, but somehow a program called English Access Micro Scholarships began and we started handing out these scholarships of \$1,000 for a year's worth of English to both males and females. I can't remember the age groups we used -- probably high school or immediate post-high school. And my thinking was okay, so Johnny or Susie can use even a modest increase in English fluency to at least get a job in a hotel or a restaurant, because even a little bit of English is going to give them a leg up in the job market. Again, their whole neighborhood will know, their friends and family, etc.

So, fast forward to today. I literally just received an email the other day from the officer who was my DCM at the time. She is now ambassador in Angola. And actually said I just want you to know that the program you started -- English language micro scholarships -- is still going strong all these years later. She had just attended a graduation ceremony and sent me some of the letters the graduates wrote. They were from little 12-year olds and 14-year olds, who won the scholarships or whatever and that it's still here, it's still making a difference. And she told me that in her graduation remarks she mention that she served with the ambassador who came up with this idea. So, that was actually an unbelievable feel good moment. I had no idea. And it's been so many years and so it's still going. But when I first had the idea the existing bureaucracy just found ways to say no. In my eight years in the State Department under different administrations, it is my observation that the system just does not reward innovation. And there are some incredibly talented, creative people in the State Department, career and Foreign Service, but you're not encouraged or rewarded professionally for bucking the system, is my observation.

Q: Sure.

TUTWILER: And getting support for innovative ideas. And maybe 20 of them don't work but what if one does? And so, I just, I feel badly for people because they're good

people. It's everybody's fault and nobody's fault. But so many times I would be told when I just have an idea or somebody at the embassy would and I'd say well, that's a great idea; let's go do that. Oh, well, it would just take, you know, forever to implement it.

Q: About your English training idea, just a little bit of background and you may have already heard this as ambassador. We used to do a lot of English language training through the Public Diplomacy programs and cultural centers. Then we realized that, in a lot of places, we were competing with private sector English language training, Berlitz, others less reliable, that could charge less and claim to offer more.

TUTWILER: But were they paying for it, the students I mean, paying for our English language training?

Q: Oh, yes, students were definitely paying. But the payment covered state-qualified teachers and certificates of completion that were recognized by the government. This meant it could be used for college credits. So anyone who took our courses would have a leg up not only in the job market, but also in applying to universities.

But just one more thing. Another problem for our more serious and highly qualified programs was that they gave homework and really made students earn their grade. A lot of the private places just took your fee, conducted a few classes, and gave a certificate that was worth the paper it was printed on.

As a Public Affairs Officer, I had to monitor the effectiveness of English teaching programs we supported. We found that even scholarship students who could attend tuition free were bored with the teaching methods and were not motivated to learn. We started seeing a fall-off in subscription. Now if you ask me, they're just cussed lazy. If you want to learn a foreign language you have to work. But the problem of keeping students' attention in the age of cell phones is nearly worldwide. We were constantly prodding our local English language teaching partners to try out new ways of interactive learning, of integrating laptops or cell phones into their teaching methods, anything to raise attendance and attention. Otherwise, you lost business and eventually the question becomes whether you should continue at all.

TUTWILER: But again, my deal, these were not normal times. We're not living in normal times.

Q: Yes, you are right.

TUTWILER: Think about it. Fifty years ago we were in the immediate post-WWII world. Morocco's 78-year-old gentleman prime minister once remembered with me how Moroccans came out after the Nazi defeat and waved American flags. Now we are living in the post-9/11 world and he told me that his citizens no longer know what American values are. And he was being totally candid with me and totally sincere. And his words, and those of other responsible leaders, influenced my thinking. And so, I go back to the

question of “Baywatch” and “Friends.” Again, I am not a right-wing nutcase, at all. I could care less if they’re watching it. But if that was the only thing they were watching, then they are getting skewed vision of America. And so, it got back to what the prime minister said to me. And so, to me, you know, you said measuring success. In my personal opinion, it’s no different than a year or if we’re living in New Zealand or Australia or wherever, some of the public diplomacy stuff we were doing, in my mind, it wasn’t a cop out; but it’s not easily measurable. For example, how do you measure what goes through a person’s mind, especially a young person’s mind, when they make a choice. Hopefully it is an informed and thoughtful choice. That was what I wanted to influence -- not with guns, not with bombs, not with weapons, not with any of that, but with concrete examples of American values, I just want to try, you know.

Q: Sometimes in some of these countries comic books can be effective and it varies with country. It depends-

TUTWILER: Sure, I totally agree.

Q: I learned that, at least in Sub-Saharan African countries, it turns out comic books are a very effective means of getting to younger, poorer groups.

TUTWILER: Right. But then here is my deal. We know that comic books are popular in, you know, Mali. Do it. It may not be perfect. And that was my thing with the picture books. I’m not waiting around for translation. I do not have two years to waste while this book goes through being translated in Lebanon and put into Egypt and all the rules that exist. That is two years gone so let’s just hand it to them in English because all I’m really interested in is the beautiful pictures of our prairies, of our lakes, of our people. You can’t believe; I personally bought a ton of books. There was one book that was actually published in Australia. Some man had come here and it had it all; barns, everybody wasn’t living in a mansion. I mean, it just painted a really great, honest picture of us. I didn’t care if it was in Arabic. I could care less. But to get State Department dollars to do that? Forget it.

Q: Yes, I found the same thing to be true in other posts. Books of beautiful photos, even older photos of Native Americans and frontiersmen... they were very popular.

TUTWILER: And so, Charlotte Beers, who had the undersecretary job before me, started a publication, I can’t remember what it was called, in US, either State or USAID, I can’t remember. They found that because it was free -- this was in the streets of Egypt -- it was completely devalued.

Q: Yes.

TUTWILER: So, they went back and then they charged a minimum fee for it to try to get it- their ideas were fabulous. But Charlotte was terrific and she was nimble and she came and had years and years of experience in New York in marketing and so she was able with Powell’s support, you know, to change on a dime. But a lot of people, you know, it’s

our government I guess for good reasons in most instances moves slowly. And you know, you could be sitting in Peru and have an idea that's applicable regardless of what region in the world you're in and it's going to take a while, you know, to get the DAS's attention, to get the assistant secretary's, to get the Under Secretary's attention; I mean, it just takes forever.

Q: Yes. And then there's always the question of resourcing it.

TUTWILER: Allocation of funds.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: Who's going to do it?

Q: Right, right.

TUTWILER: Because I'll tell you, they're not. They're not.

Q: Yes. One of the things we did was to get in touch with every state's tourism marketing office, you know, for tourism materials.

TUTWILER: I did the same thing.

Q: -Louisiana and so on, and just said please send us anything free, you know. And because those marketing offices that words are not going to be most of what they're going to send. It's going to be images, it's going to be-

TUTWILER: Totally. I did the same thing. In Morocco, again, when I got there pretty much if you came to the embassy there was nothing on the walls that told a story about America. I mean nothing. And if things were on the wall, as I recall, they're Moroccan. So, I said I don't understand this.

Q: Yes.

TUTWILER: So, I wrote to every U.S. governor and said if your state has a poster, I do not care what it is, please send it to the embassy and then I had them framed in the medinas, the souks, for nothing. Every single solitary U.S. governor sent them to me and New York's were phenomenal. But it also kicked up American morale in the embassy because they'd go find their home state. It might be Pennsylvania or Alabama or New York. And these things didn't all come in on one day so if you're from Oregon you're going all over the embassy looking for Oregon until it arrived. And when visitors came in you could see them looking at these things. And it was nearly free. And then you had America all over the walls.

Q: Yes. It's clear you are being active and looking for every opportunity.

TUTWILER: I don't view the sole job of the ambassador as interacting with the elites in the government. That isn't 100 percent part of the job. You have to you know them, have those relationships and develop the relationships, and it's not just for the ambassador.

Everyone at post should be doing it, but there is a percentage of Americans who never really get out.

Q: Yes, I encountered that myself as a supervisor. Sometimes it can take some effort to get people motivated to get out and explore. But then there are lots of administrative tasks that weigh people down as well.

TUTWILER: I mean seriously. They work in the compound and now they're fortresses. They send their children at the American school. And they go to, what was it called, the American Club, American Center, something. And that's their experience.

Q: Yes. It always varies with country because sometimes there are more opportunities than others depending on the country but you're right. I mean, energizing your whole embassy is a big job.

TUTWILER: I mean, there were some people I was like, wow. Why are you in the Foreign Service? You know? I just didn't understand. It was just an observation. It wasn't everybody, it certainly was not but there were some who did their jobs and they could have been in any country.

Q: Looking back on that time, what did you find to be the most effective things for your mission goals? How did you manage or organize your work that made it as effective as it could be?

TUTWILER: I never wrote down goals. I mean, we were thrown into a goal. I told you I'd been there like three weeks and 9/11 happened so our goal was everything I've just talked about, is, you know, other than those people in the embassy who had specific duties in the financial area and other areas what were the rest of us doing? So, overriding? Yes, absolutely. It wasn't a normal time to be serving.

Q: No, I understand, sure.

TUTWILER: And, well, as I told you, I, again, based on previous experience, I was out there. And I did not hesitate to do media. And because- again, my attitude was, one, I had the confidence from having dealt with the basket of issues associated with the area, the broad area and the first Iraq war. I was in the meeting with Tariq Aziz so I mean I would be able to answer these questions. And actually, something really bad started to happen in the Israel-Palestine relations. [Note: During the spring of 2002, Israeli-Palestinian fighting increased significantly. Israel launched a major military operation in the West Bank, and by June, Israel starting building the barrier wall.] And recall that I was the first female ambassador to Morocco in 228 years; there'd never been one. Number two is, I think it was when the Israelis were really hammering Arafat and that was when the streets were actually more so than us bombing Iraq were really pulsating. And I had

agreed, I can't remember the dates now but no U.S. ambassador had addressed the Moroccan press club in decades as I recall. So, I said well, I'll go do it. So, this had been on the schedule and if something, you know, stressful was going on with the Israelis and the Palestinians or with Arafat, I had to expect there would be questions on it.

Q: And did you do a murder board to prepare yourself?

TUTWILER: No.

Q: Oh, wow, that's impressive.

TUTWILER: And so, I didn't cancel.

Q: Okay.

TUTWILER: And I went and it was somewhere downtown Rabat. There were 264 in attendance, mostly journalists, and I sat there and answered questions as I recall for over two hours because I had to have a translator. And a Palestinian guy was there screaming in my face. And a lot of it was explaining U.S. policy, and I got the same reaction -- we don't agree with a word you say, but we respect you for showing up and not canceling. And for me, my interpretation of that was win one for America. I didn't duck it. I didn't cancel when I could have. And I stood there- sat there, as I recall, on a stage and I answered. And you know, some of them were those- it was like doing a State Department briefing, to be honest with you. So, it wasn't arrogant when you said did you do mortar boards; I'd done four years of this so I- there wasn't really- there was not an angle that they were going to come at that I had not been forced on camera in the United States to have done before. So, again, it's not from arrogance at all.

Q: No, I get it, I get it.

TUTWILER: It's not. But I just, yes, I did it. I mean, it wasn't fun, I'll be honest, and it was a lot of, you know, angry people but I thought no, I'm not going to cancel. And yes, I was nervous; you'd be a fool not to be nervous.

Q: Oh, of course.

TUTWILER: But it was like because it's not about me. If I screw up it's a reflection on the country. So, I don't view this as about me at all. We're all serving overseas; it's symbols and vessels. And so, I didn't want to do a bad job and my view was canceling was being a chicken and that's what they'll remember, the American didn't show up.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: So this was some 15 years ago, and in saying that I didn't want to cancel, I don't want to diminish other ambassadors who might decide to do so in their position. If I did not have the experience I did in working with public affairs on Middle East issues, I

would have never scheduled myself into the press club would be my guess. Or I would have done the full prep like you mentioned. But I had four years under my belt.

Q: Yes. I get it. I mean, honestly, with your experience I can totally understand why you felt as prepared as you did.

TUTWILER: They weren't there to ask me about the local farm issues.

Q: [Laughter]

TUTWILER: I knew that because of what was dominating the news.

Q: Sure.

TUTWILER: Now, if I put myself in a position where I was going into a farm forum, I don't know anything, I would 100 percent get myself up to speed on at least what is the United States' positioning on this, what are we doing in this country, etcetera. But this-- because of what was going on -- which is even why I would consider canceling -- in Israel with the Palestinians and Arafat -- I mean, streets were pulsing -- is I was fairly confident this is going to be a one issue briefing, that they're not going to be asking me about why did we cancel a shipload of cars into Casablanca.

Q: Right, right.

TUTWILER: And I've got to tap dance through, you know, defending, articulating and hopefully, you know, explaining, whatever U.S. policy was at the time. That's why I was ready when the guy in second row, who identified himself as Palestinian, got up and started questions that had a good deal of rant attached. And yes, I was exhausted when it was over, I remember, but I thought okay, you know. It's only questions.

Q: Fair enough. So, alright, so looking back on that period what would you advise someone else to do who would be going into a situation like that?

TUTWILER: Like what? Being ambassador?

Q: Yes. In particular in a conflict- in a period of time during conflict.

TUTWILER: To think about what you can do as a civilian. You're being paid by the United States government to be there so, you know, if you're not in the Treasury Department and tracking financial things, if you're not in the military dealing with cooperation on military things, if you're not in intelligence cooperating on that, what are you doing? And so, isn't there more you can do than what's expected which is to have relationships with the foreign ministry, with the, you know, king or the- whatever the government is you are in, and the opinion leaders in that community, perhaps it will be NGOs, the head media people, etcetera. What else are you doing? Because there's this huge swath in every country that may have, you know, false impressions of us.

I mean, actually when I came back as the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, one of the things I did, you know, when the ambassadors come back for their periodic Washington consultations, I'd meet with them. And one of the points I'd always make was please just take a percentage of your time -- I remember there was a gentleman who was serving in Italy -- and I said to him, well, I've actually learned there's a huge Muslim population in Northern Italy. Do we have anything going with these people? Seriously. And many ambassadors, I would say, you know, the majority of them in posts around the world where there are Muslim populations we've not traditionally engaged with. But most of these ambassadors were either looking for innovative programs or were already conducting outreach programs. It was very encouraging, to be honest with you. They got it.

Q: Now, so, speaking of that, do you want now to move to the period of time when you were undersecretary or should we save that?

TUTWILER: Charlotte Beers, who was the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs got ill and had to step down. Again, this is not an arrogant statement, but I was the White House's candidate and I was Powell's candidate. So it's 2003, I'm assigned to Morocco courtesy of the elected president of the United States, George W. Bush, and then Secretary Powell calls asks about the job as Under Secretary. And how do you say "no" to Colin Powell? My only hesitation was, again, having served four years in the Reagan White House, four years at Treasury as assistant secretary, in an election year nothing really gets done.

Q: Fair enough.

TUTWILER: It doesn't. The career government, which is the largest part of the Federal Government, knows there's going to be a change. Either you have current people on the Hill which are staying or new people are walking in here.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: So, we know how to slow roll everything. It's true. Democrat or Republican.

Q: Absolutely. I've lived through those moments as well.

TUTWILER: I kept thinking, asking me to come back to Washington, obviously it was flattering, it's a huge job... But I was thinking practically nothing gets done, and every month you get closer to November, fewer and fewer new initiatives are possible, fewer decisions can be taken, etcetera.

Q: Right.

TUTWILER: Makes no difference if it's Republican or Democrat.

Q: Absolutely.

TUTWILER: So, before that, though, Karen Hughes called me and asked me as a sitting ambassador would I go to Iraq. I said yes. Because to be perfectly honest I wanted to avoid coming back to do the under secretary thing, not because I'm a jerk but because I thought I was actually making a difference in Morocco and because I wasn't thrilled about entering a job where, the closer we get to the upcoming election, the less things can get done. So, anyway, so I went to Iraq. And I was one of, I think it was 10 civilians who'd flown in with General Garner. It was still a live war. Oh yes, it was unbelievable.

Q: I didn't know that.

TUTWILER: Yes.

Q: Interesting. Okay.

TUTWILER: So, I flew in with Jay Garner. So, I told Karen when she called- I was to set up the communications stuff. And so, here's an example. The local communist party in Iraq got a newspaper up and printed bashing the United States of America.

Q: Incredible.

TUTWILER: True story.

Q: Wow.

TUTWILER: True story. Unfortunately, we weren't quite as nimble. We're entering a war zone, General Garner actually taught me how to eat the MREs (meals ready to eat) and how to heat up dinner. There was no electricity. We lived in a palace with the windows blown out, there's no air conditioning, no electricity, and it had to be over 100 degrees every day and every night. I was just a soldier. And increasingly, you know, we kept setting things up as the first civilians who went in. General Garner was in charge. Everything was military. I lived as a soldier. And you learn a lot about yourself. You learn when you take everything away what kind of person at your core you are. Are you a fall apart spoiled whiner? Or can you dig pretty deep and deal with it?

And one night I just can't tell you how hot it was. And there are no sheets, there's no pillows; there is no nothing. So, that sounds like a spoiled statement. I'm just trying to paint a picture. There is nothing. Zero. And so, the military had dug some outhouses so you had to walk at night with a flashlight the length of this huge palace we were in if you had to go to the bathroom at night. You tried never to do that. And, what was I going to tell you? Oh. So, I got up one morning and I had this just caked red dust all over me from sweat and a sandstorm had come through. You couldn't put your feet on the floor because there was so much blown out glass. And I remember sitting on my cot and putting my hands to my head and saying oh gosh, I've got to dig really deep here. And I can put on

my game face, get my -- you never went anywhere without water -- a bottle of water and get downstairs to this staff meeting that General Garner was having or I can sit here and cry and fall apart. Because I'm filthy. There is no shower. It was just a real moment and I'm very thankful for whatever genes my parents gave me I chose digging really deep and got myself downstairs to that meeting, poured water, you know, all over to get rid of the dust. But it was, yes, there were bombs going off, fire going off. You got used to it.

Q: I interviewed Lew Luck, who was there for USAID, talking about the same situation where, you know, everybody was in the old palace having to deal with the situation you describe.

TUTWILER: It did get better. And the only reason I left is they had a bombing in Casablanca, which was their 9/11, the worst single act of terrorism in modern Morocco. It was indigenous groups so 33 victims and 12 suicide bombers died. I arrived in Iraq in April and the bombings took place in May. I had to go back and demonstrate the U.S. had an ambassador to represent us in the immediate aftermath. And then once back there, after things calmed down, there was no way I could say no to the under secretary job.

Q: Okay, okay. Wow. How long were you in Iraq?

TUTWILER: Five weeks. So, then I get back to Washington and -- it had nothing to do with me -- some senators placed a hold on over 140 appointees, myself included, so I sat in the State Department basement waiting for confirmation for four months. And every month we're getting closer to an election. And it wasn't anybody's fault, I understood the game, but there was a part of me that was like, you know, this is so frustrating. But it was a great honor. I don't want to come across in any way not appreciative of the confidence all these leaders had in me.

Q: And you wanted to get started.

TUTWILER: Correct. I was antsy.

Q: Okay. But finally, you got confirmed.

TUTWILER: Correct. And then I didn't stay long. Which was not intended. A really good friend of mine called me, who I'd worked with in the Reagan White House. He is a very high-level person at Goldman Sachs -- and said a gentleman named John Thain, who had been president of Goldman Sachs, resigned and was going to be head of the New York Stock Exchange and you know, I should go work for him. I said well, this is crazy -- this was in December -- I am just now, it was my fourth confirmation, I'd just now gotten confirmed, no way, Jose. I'm not breaking this china, this is crazy. And I know Powell, I know Cheney, I know Bush. I'd worked for Bush's father for years. I said forget it, it's not going to happen.

So, he called me back in January and said Thain really wants to meet with you. And so, I agree to go meet with him. I knew the rules and I knew that you can have one meeting

with a private sector individual but if you want to pursue it further you have to let the general counsel know at a minimum, in this case Powell. So, I told Powell I was going to go meet with this person because I wanted to be straight with him. I didn't have to do that. And I usually do things based on gut and what John Thain said to me -- we met at the Four Seasons -- just spoke volumes about the gentleman's character and that the New York Stock Exchange was an American institution that mattered, it was a different way of service, and so on. So, it made it more difficult because I genuinely liked the man on first briefing and his character.

So, I came back and told Powell that I was going to meet with him again and listen. And then I told Will Taft, who was the general counsel. And long story short, it turned out at one point whenever Thain called I just said I can't break this china, I can't do this. And so, he kept me on the phone and there was a part of me that was ready to experience a new challenge. And I had a suspicion, it was not confirmed for me, that Thain would take the New York Stock Exchange public, and actually it did happen. Actually, we bought a company called Euronext in Europe and took it global. So, it was an exciting time to be at an institution that actually does matter. And so, then we went to Merrill Lynch and so lived through the financial meltdown there and selling Merrill Lynch over the weekend. And then I went to this company called CIT that we helped get out of trouble. So, I ended up spending 10 years commuting back and forth to New York and New Jersey and had a really interesting, again, unique experience of the perspective of really smart people in New York. So it was interesting because of the historical times in the jobs I was doing, certainly the first two. But I also believe strongly that it's more important how you exit a place than how you enter.

I'd known these people. I did not want to disappoint them. I know how long it takes to get somebody confirmed. This was not what they wanted to hear. Whether you're in the government or in private sector, and somebody that you're counting on says oh, by the way, I'm leaving, it's disruptive. And so, I didn't want to do that. I stayed six months or so. I did not start at the New York Stock Exchange when Thain did. I stayed at State because I wanted to do what was right in my mind by Secretary Powell and by President George W. Bush. I had a lot of friends in the State Department, so I stayed until June or July, which isn't all that long a time. And it got to where people completely forgot that I was leaving because I was there every day in the senior staff meetings, participating. So, it was just the way I wanted to handle it.

Q: So, a question about the six months that you were there, how well had the integration of USIA and State gone from your point of view. It had been about three years at that point since the integration had begun.

TUTWILER: Well, I don't know what it's like now. And, going back, USIA was still separate when I worked at State for Secretary Baker. But to answer your question, during my tenure as under secretary, in a way it all gets back to budgets. Congress can put things on paper because they create the number of funded slots. When I was the first female Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Spokesperson; that job was created by Congress in 1944. So, there had to be a budget that goes with it. Moving forward,

Charlotte Beers was the first Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs under the integration. I was the second one. It really was a giant title but kind of hollow because whoever was the undersecretary for public diplomacy did not have the lion's share of the funds, those went to the bureaus. The actual under secretary's office had a small staff, as I remember. I can't remember how many people. And maybe I just don't remember correctly, maybe there was some money that Congress had allocated for that office but money is also staff, the infrastructure and a budget to work with.

Now, I did understand how bureaus work from my earlier time as Spokesperson. So, I could sit and talk to for example, the head of the EUR about objectives. But if I got a call from the field, say my public affairs officer in Morocco, Magda, called and said the Middle East Bureau is taking \$100,000 away, as Under Secretary I did have the power to say, in essence, oh no you're not. So I may not have possessed the funds, but I did get some power over where they went.

I remember spending a fair amount of time meeting with ambassadors back on consultation, listening to them; what are you doing in your countries that you have found effective? Two examples stick out in my mind. One was the ambassador in Indonesia who had started a sewing machine initiative not only with the machines themselves, run by foot pedal so they didn't rely on electricity, but the but fabric as well. And that was becoming a going concern. And the ambassador in Italy at the time told me how he was engaging new, underserved populations. That was great.

And these kinds of examples helped me prepare testimony for congress in which I kept underlining how important it was for us to recalibrate along these lines, to spend a larger percentage of our time as American representatives in neighborhoods or populations where we just haven't been.

Also, there were some in the administration who had a view that USG reps should not go on Al Jazeera. I had the absolute opposite view. I had Al Jazeera at every one of my events. For example, when I was in Morocco, if the U.S. Trade Representative came for a working visit, -- at that time it was Bob Zoellick -- or for that matter any cabinet secretary -- I would allow the Al Jazeera rep to cover it. The Al Jazeera rep in Morocco was a female correspondent. Now, my thinking was that people who were against giving access to Al Jazeera were hung up on what was said on Al Jazeera. My thinking was, if an American is on for 22 minutes that's 22 minutes that the bad voice is not on so let's crowd their space. Let's participate. And so, I had a different view. This had nothing to do with the substance or policy, I just thought that we could play the game smarter. And if Al Jazeera is what everybody's watching, then don't let the people who hate us articulate our policy. Let Americans articulate it even with translation. So, it was not only Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera was the code word for, you know, the terrible coverage of America. There were others among Arabic broadcasting as well.

But my view was: participate. There's a limited number of hours in a TV day plus if it's a big enough person they'll tape it and play it more than once and you're having an

ability to at least let people without a filter hear what a real American says about whatever it is, the policy in Chile or anywhere.

Q: And did they as far as you know? Did Al Jazeera and the others actually, you know, show the American speaking? They didn't edit it?

TUTWILER: Well, they didn't edit it any more than the U.S. media edit video or audio interviews.

Q: Ah, I see what you're saying. I retract the question.

TUTWILER: I mean, it's gotten worse here. Many years later. There is not a person I know, liberal, moderate, conservative who is not furious right now with American media and what we've turned into. It's sad. It's opinion news. And if you turn on your TV, I don't care if you're a liberal, conservative, hate Trump, like Trump, it doesn't matter, it's all these talking heads now, nobody even knows who most of them are, and that's all they do. And it's really, it's a bad situation because we grew up in a world of, you know, three networks. I was at the White House in the Reagan Administration when CNN threatened to sue to get into the press pool for a Rose Garden event that Reagan was doing. So, we've taken that and now, I mean really, it's faces; you don't even know who these people are. And it's all their opinions. Where when we grew up my model is Tom Brokaw.

Q: Oh yes, that was my standard as well.

TUTWILER: I don't know if he is Republican, Democrat, Independent. I could care less. But that's the model that I like. You can say I'm old-fashioned, but I prefer just the news. Let me make my own decisions. I know there's bias, there's always been bias. But today it's off the charts. And it's like I don't know how they're going to get it back because if you're liberal you're going to be on MSNBC, if you're conservative you're going to be on Fox. Okay. So, I have members of my family who, you know, will only watch Fox and I go but then you are losing at least being exposed to other questions, other thoughts, other ways of looking at something because you're just reinforcing what you already think. And all these studies show that people, whether it's social media, etcetera, doing it more and more and more; they're just isolating themselves in these silos. Well, then you don't get - you don't challenge your own thinking.

For instance, I still watch the Sunday news shows. If there is, you know, a Muslim leader, an Arabic leader, I'd listen because I know they know their brief, their life experience in some way I can never know. So, it's the same principle. I actually pause and listen even more intently because they have credibility, they live in the neighborhood. So, I have the same view regarding Arabic broadcasters. If an American is showing up in an Arabic-language news show in an average person's living room in, you know, in one of the 57 Muslim countries in the world, maybe somebody will stop and listen because they realize that the American obviously has a different life experience

from them and maybe they can learn something. So, that was my view. But no, did I think Al Jazeera was out there saying America's great? No. But so what?

Q: Turning to your time as Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, did you feel you needed still to do a lot of education in Congress and what did you need to tell Congress?

TUTWILER: Sadly, everything I've been telling you now is what I told congress in my testimony. And I remember them being very receptive. Whether they were liberal or conservative. They wanted us to do a better job, all of us collectively as Americans. It wasn't partisan at all.

Now, when you move from program planning to the brass tacks of budgeting, that's where I had a lot of work with congress. For one, if senator so-and-so or congressman so-and-so had a pet project, whether it was for China or for, you know, South Africa, it didn't matter. Whoa, you can't touch those dollars. And OK, so that's a little bit of human nature; I understand it.

But at the time, as I remember it, the lion's share of public diplomacy funds as appropriated by congress went directly to the regional bureaus. That gave them power to divvy up funds among their posts as they saw fit to carry out policy. Naturally, they didn't want this structure to change.

Now Karen Hughes succeeded me, so you might also talk to her about whether the funding issues changed, but during my tenure, I spent a lot of time trying to exert control in that area. But while we're on the subject of integrating foreign affairs agencies into State, I actually agree with (former) Secretary of State Tillerson: I say bring USAID inside the State Department. This would be a brilliant move provided they really shake that place up bureaucratically. I don't mean individuals. Because in my limited experience, you talk about being set in your ways and you talk about the process. In USAID, if you've been using vendor X for 40 years, you are very hesitant to go with vendor Y. So, it just perpetuates itself, these contracts, every single year with whoever the vendor is. It doesn't mean they're all bad but some of them actually are a little fat. But you try to go out and do a new one as I did with the project in Morocco with the fruit trees, and it's like oh, my lord. So, I think bringing that development assistance back in the State Department because I think it really needs some work. You talk about innovation. Really needs it. But, of course, Congress has its own relationships with the USAID posts. And then there is the F Bureau process, where the State Department keeps track of where development funds go... It would just be nice if you could just have like an off-campus meeting for three days and have all these people say okay, we're not here to blow everything up but let's just take a percentage, an allocation of resources to do the following three things or two things or one thing. And we're not going to - it's not going to take 24 months to get it off the ground.

Q: One other question from the point of view of the Under Secretary. What was your approach to demonstrate to congress, or OMB, or anyone the value of public diplomacy?

TUTWILER: I think it's a complete waste of time to try to prove that public diplomacy is valuable in any conventional, bottom-line way. I understand that you're trying to hold somebody accountable, okay. I got that. But I don't think that it's applicable to public diplomacy, to be honest with you. And I think if you're measuring, maybe you move the needle a fraction of an inch but then what percentage of your time have you spent figuring out how to show management upstream that I moved the needle? In my personal opinion, I don't know how to measure it, but I know it's factually true. For example, how do you measure giving some needy kids a scholarship to learn English, what do we expect them to say in a poll? Thank you? Okay, great. But, we don't ask them hey, when you were down in the souk or the medina and somebody tried to recruit to join a terrorist group, what did you say? I don't mean to be defensive about it, I understand the desire for some kind of metric, but public diplomacy as a craft does not lend itself to mathematical measurement. It's actually emotion, it's actually influencing somebody's thinking to refrain from doing something harmful to America. That's what it's about in my mind.

Here is a good example from my time in Morocco:

Immediately after 9/11 we wanted to demonstrate solidarity with the victims and their loved ones and a gentleman I knew had an idea, as I recall, of let's do a non-denominational service. Because in Rabat, in Morocco, which has a very long history of Christians, Jews, Muslims all living very well side by side. So, long story short, there is a Catholic cathedral in downtown Rabat. We took all the religious things off the altar. The head rabbi for the country, the head of the Catholic Church for the country, there was another Protestant head, I just don't remember the denomination, and the king sent his personal imam. That is the first time in the history of Morocco that the king's personal imam has ever spoken anywhere outside of a mosque. And the king actually got criticized for it in some of the local press. I'd been there only three weeks -- the entire government, the prime minister, the entire cabinet, obviously not the king or the royal family -- I mean all these people I was meeting for the first time, they all came. And I had a really good friend at CNN back here in America and I called her over there because I wanted exposure for this, it was an example to show that Muslims do not hate us at all and here is a genuine outpouring in a Catholic cathedral with all these denominations. Every denomination spoke as a remembrance of their positive experiences or recollections of America, and expressed empathy and solidarity with the United States after 9/11. It was really quite something.

Q: Beautiful.

TUTWILER: It's true. So, that's something you really can't measure that. It was in all the Moroccan news, obviously, and even with the criticism, a little bit of the king's imam speaking outside of a mosque, it was a visual picture with sound of total religious tolerance of all religions and respect for all religions and all people. I mean, it was a really, really unbelievable thing. And our tradition, America, is as you know for funerals to dress in black. So, I was like thank god, my clothes got to Morocco, and I had

something black to wear even though the Moroccan tradition and the Arab tradition is white.

Q: Yes.

TUTWILER: So, in the pictures of the front row I'm sitting there in black beside the prime minister and the king's entire cabinet all in white, long robes and the other side were the Americans and other Moroccans. And of course, Americans were all in black and the Moroccans were all in white. It's really pretty amazing. And we pulled that off, I think it was in like in 24 hours. Everybody was moving at lightning speed. And no, I did not call the Department. But I'm sure I told them. And CNN actually broadcast it they put it on TV.

Q: That is an outstanding example of how you can use your standing as ambassador to convene a high quality, compelling public diplomacy activity that really shows U.S. values and political resolve. But based on your experience, is the U.S. Government good at public diplomacy on the day-to-day level? Should we be doing public diplomacy at all?

TUTWILER: Well then, why would you have all the expense of all of these posts, all of the personnel overseas, for what? Maybe we need to change the terms of the discussion. Because public diplomacy may mean one thing to you, it may mean another to me but it's the vernacular that we use. So, it could mean - if people are critical of it as just some airy-fairy junk that we don't even know what these PAOs and people do in these countries. And what difference do they make? I would argue that the really effective good ones, they do make a difference. I lived it, I saw it. I didn't run around using the phraseology "public diplomacy" when I was an ambassador. I prefer some kind of terminology that is more practical, that captures the idea that we are contributing to a positive, healthy understanding of Americans and America. You might call that public diplomacy, you might call it strategic communication, the important thing is that people understand that it is a hearts and mind campaign. To go back to my experience in Morocco, I never called my public affairs officer a public diplomacy officer. She was the press officer first and foremost. She was phenomenal. And all of her accomplishments were not immediately measurable at all. So, I didn't waste time on terminology, I looked for how we could make a difference. The same thing was true while I was under secretary. We can work at it, but we have to know that there's no way we can make the whole world love us.

And so, it's an impossible job. You might say, if we just did this, or changed our policy like that then everyone would love us. But it's much complicated than that. And it's not just the State Department; it is private sector America to some degree. For example, the first time I went to a Moroccan-American Chamber of Commerce meeting I realized that almost everyone there was Moroccan. Very skilled, very competent, men and women both, but few American citizens. And that is probably as it should be. McDonald's franchises were owned by Moroccans. That didn't save them from having their windows broken as symbols of American culture when demonstrators wanted to express antipathy to the U.S. Same thing with Hilton hotels, or Pepsi bottling and distribution. How do

you claim that these are tools of American culture or examples of American culture when they are owned by locals? And now, literally fast forward to today and we have the whole social media thing that moves people so fast and with unreliable or even fraudulent web material... In the end I think we need to look at our public diplomacy assets as tools, but not the only tools in the complex of bilateral relations.

Another aspect that makes the job of public diplomacy difficult is that there are multiple reporting/evaluation/funding sources. Some funding comes from the regional bureaus. A lot of funding comes from the regional bureaus. But various other programs that run several bureaucratic levels away from the under secretary and have their own set systems like international visitors, Fulbright, specialty training, and the English micro scholarships. Funding for American Corners comes from yet another office with more criteria for success. But overarching it all is the ambassador at your post and how he or she wants to use PD funds. And what if the ambassador gets a call from the NSC or another office close to the president who tells the ambassador, in essence, forget your plans, forget the State Department plans, the president's office on thus-and-such wants you to do a big public diplomacy campaign on issue X. Maybe, if the ambassador is well and favorably to the president he or she can resist, or say that the program will be done, but in a small-scale way. So when you ask me if I tried to demonstrate how public diplomacy is valuable, you have to keep in mind that I knew what real public diplomacy officers went through on the ground and that made creating a single evaluation criteria very difficult.

Q: Returning to your experience as ambassador, how do you build cohesion, are there any insights you would offer now looking back?

TUTWILER: I think for an embassy, anywhere actually, you set a tone by your own actions. Are you the first one in and the last one out? You don't have to be. Some ambassadors work at home early in the morning. But I wanted to show that I was present so I usually followed the first-in last-out example.

Next, do you treat people with respect regardless of their position in the food chain? Do you actually listen? I used to conduct exit interviews with all officers before they departed. I told them, look, I'm a political appointee, when I leave, I don't have a career I need to manage. Give it to me straight. How can I do better? Where can there be improvements? Are there trends you want to alert me to? And so on. It would be different depending on the expertise and experience of the officer, but you see where I'm going.

I'll admit that some would be too nervous to provide anything. And I get it. There are a lot of people in government, both political and career, who unfortunately misuse temporary power and can be very disrespectful downstream while they temporarily have this power. And I find that can be the worst of the worst behavior because it's temporary. And too many times you just see people abuse it because this hierarchical system is set up where they can. So you need to establish yourself as someone who is approachable. So you can't just stay in your office and only deal with the senior people.

Speaking of which, since I was ambassador immediately after 9/11 and the host government gave me something like a dozen local bodyguards, I started talking with them. And then I would have meetings with 25 of the locally employed staff at a time -- bear in mind we had some 450 total with guards. I said no notes, just two to three hours listening to where they come from and what they had to say. And of course I wanted to know what people in their neighborhoods were saying about the U.S. And I remember it was hard, because many were scared.

Q: Of course.

TUTWILER: So, I had to work overtime in the meetings to make them feel comfortable and then there were some, human nature, who were hot dogs and wanted to monopolize the conversation. The best example of this was a local employee in our consulate in Casablanca. She spoke up and said my family is really afraid for me working here. And that was the first time I had such a statement made so candidly. I should have expected it, and I did explain that things got really dicey I would send everyone home because I did not want anyone to get hurt. This employee's reminder also caused me to add remarks to my introduction that made clear I understand that it's not easy for you to come serve in the American embassy every day, we sincerely appreciate it, So, because of that woman's comments I learned something and it made me a more sensitive person, more aware of our employees' concerns.

And there were a number of demonstrations while I was there. Again, it was not about us bombing Iraq; it was about the American-Israeli policy. Over a million people. And I actually sent all the resident staff home and I said, I chose this job, you all have families, I don't want anybody hurt, I want you all to go home. And now, granted, that sounds like I'm being brave, but I should add that the ambassador's residence was surrounded by Moroccan military and Moroccan police, which is great. So, I wasn't scared I was going to get hurt. But in case it went crazy, there were a million people demonstrating, I didn't want employees hurt.

Q: That's about the end of the questions that I have for you. Are there reflections or other considerations that I haven't thought of that you'd like to share before we close?

TUTWILER: I think the biggest thing is for whoever's serving at whatever time, whether political or career, Democrat or Republican, is to ask yourself: Am I isolated in whatever country I'm in? If the answer to that is yes then how do you make opportunities to listen to the locals. If it's too dangerous to get out you've got locals who are serving in your embassy. Are the existing programs contributing to a more realistic and positive view of our country. And don't get hung up, if you can avoid it, on measuring it. Because some of this stuff is, it's just not measurable in my mind. I understand upstream reporting and evaluation and it's how they allocate dollars and the fights over the dollars. I explained it this way to a friend who is from New York and considering a period of service at State. In my opinion, at its essence, the State Department is an opportunity to make a

difference in people's lives, the majority of whom you'll never meet. That to me is what public service at its essence is about.

And I would say to my friends on Wall Street when I was up there, I would say they're similar sandboxes. They're both under microscopes, they both require making enormous, important decisions. That is what public service is about. And so, we're all just individuals. No one person is going to, you know, go out and change everything because they're serving in New Zealand or whatever; it's just not realistic. But each of us can contribute. Just take a moment, despite all the incoming every day, and ask yourself: Is what I'm doing out here making a difference or contributing? It's not idealistic, it's not quixotic, it's a simple reality check. And if I'm working on 14 programs that C Street is telling me is important and I know full well they're not as committed to it as they claim, well I'll figure a way to do it. No one wants to get fired. But that kind of direction is frustrating. How do I navigate this, you know? It's true. And you can't be a troublemaker and I understand that every program is not really necessarily a priority, at least when I was there.

Q: Well, you're absolutely right. When I was a PAO in Costa Rica it felt like we were getting a cable a week with a new high priority initiative. The ambassador would say okay, how are you doing to fulfill this initiative? And eventually I got it. If the ambassador wasn't behind it, I'd put the talking points out and refer interested groups to available resources, but I would not spend my limited personnel or financial assets on every "nice to have" initiative.

TUTWILER: I love Costa Rica. That's where we went for my fiftieth birthday. My whole entire family. I did the ziplining through those trees. Wonderful time. But your answer, to use social media, was not yet available when I was ambassador in Morocco.

Q: True. But by 2009, 2010, we did have a substantial web presence and the ambassador was happy because we were fulfilling a Washington instruction in the way our limited time and resources allowed and according to her priorities.

TUTWILER: Well, we did not have that choice in 2001-03 in Morocco. Social media had not yet gone viral, so to speak. Instead, my press officer and I conducted that outreach to all the major news outlets and dailies I mentioned earlier. And my press officer was thrilled. She and I were a great team. She never came to me with the priority, well-meaning initiatives that didn't really fit with the work or the environment we were doing business in. Now, obviously, this was a delicate balance. I didn't want her angering the Middle East bureau by ignoring its instructions, but I also did not want to be captive to every instruction churned out of the Department. Especially for a political appointee. And to some extent, because I knew the ropes, I could get away with it. But if you're new, and have no previous experience with the State Department bureaucracy... there are plenty of talented people running those initiatives. Someone had me talk to a woman the other day. She is being asked to become an ambassador. She's never been in government. So I tried to be as helpful as possible, but I just thought, oh, lord, she would have to depend entirely on the Foreign Service and they could pretty much control you.

It's true. If you didn't have previous experience, you know what I'm saying? You're just plucked in off the street; you're very successful at whatever your career is and you're put in these posts. I just can't imagine myself arriving in Rabat with zero previous government experience. It would be hard.

It's different if you are career Foreign Service because you have to depend on people at posts, they are your vessels for information. They are literally the people you're there serving with and many of them are fabulous and will, like we've said, give you information without bias. But there are also times, such as when I was spokesperson, the public affairs officer from a given bureau would brief me on the bureau's views. I would say no, I want the president's views, the administration's views, whether the bureau agrees with them or not, that's what I have to enunciate.

Again, as an example. I had guidance, written and oral, from the Yugoslav desk officer, this was when Yugoslavia was starting to fall apart. And everyday he sent me up what his policy was. I mean, it was just hilarious. And every morning we'd start laughing; I'd put a big X through it and I'd say the elected president's policy is... Yes. I mean, it was fun, it was not mean. But I had to pay attention or I would have gone out there and said those words, you know, the White House would have every right to say Margaret, what in the world are you doing? So, it's, you know, for a new person just popping in from a successful whatever career they've had in their lives, yes, I think it would be hard. Yes, they can master it, they can do good jobs. But I think it would be hard.

Q: We will conclude here with our thanks for updating your oral history and the experience and insights you shared in light of your service in the Department and as an ambassador. You've provided a unique view of the Foreign Service both as practitioner and observer.

End of interview