

Remembrance and Celebration  
of the Life of

## George Lister

September 20, 1913-February 4, 2004



"To our hopeless cause"

February 21, 2004 at 2:30 p.m.

DACOR Bacon House  
1801 F Street NW  
Washington, DC

## Order of Service

Music for Gathering  
**JoAnne Rothenhoeffer, pianist**

Welcome  
**Joe Eldridge**  
University Chaplain, American University

Psalm 23  
**Joe Eldridge**

"Ol' Man River" from *Show Boat*  
Words by Oscar Hammerstein  
Music by Jerome Kern  
Sung by **Joe Ervin, Baritone**

## Remembrances and Tributes

**Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**  
Professor and Member of the Kennedy Administration  
Reader: **Joe Zaring**

**Don Fraser**  
Former Congressman, Democrat, Minnesota  
Reader: ~~Joe Eldridge~~ **Tom Quigley**  
*V.S. Catholic Conference on Bishops*  
**John Salzberg**  
Former staff member to Congressman Fraser  
Reader: **Joe Eldridge**

**Diane Lavoy**  
First Executive Director,  
Washington Office on Latin America

**Frank Calzon**  
Executive Director, Center for a Free Cuba

**Elliott Abrams**  
Former Assistant Secretary, Humanitarian Affairs,  
Department of State

Reader: **Ron Palmer**  
*Richard Schifter, Former Asst. Sec. Human Rights, DOS*  
**Gregory Stanton**  
Former Foreign Service Officer, Bureau of Democracy,  
Human Rights and Labor, Department of State

**Paula Dobriansky**  
Undersecretary, Global Affairs, Department of State

Reader: **Amy Young**  
*Bill Richardson, Governor New Mexico & Former Congressman*  
Remembrances Invited

Final Thoughts  
**Margaret Eubank**

Postlude  
*The Battle Hymn of the Republic*

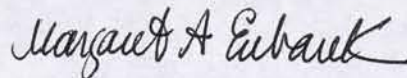
Refreshments will be served immediately after the service.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE REGARDING THIS BOOKLET

All who attended the Memorial Service for George Lister held on February 21, 2004, found it beautiful and inspiring. Many commented that George would have really liked it. His spirit was certainly with us.

Immediately following the service, several persons suggested that the tributes and remembrances be collected in a booklet. I volunteered to do that and this booklet constitutes the result. It includes most of the tributes and remembrances from the service. Several others have been included as well. Without the time constraints of the service, I revised my contribution, "Final Reflections," making it longer and more reflective. I also decided to include one of George's speeches "Human Rights: Our World's Best Chance" and his nomination for the State Department's Warren M. Christopher Award for Outstanding Achievement in Global Affairs.

I hope this booklet will enable others to know and appreciate George's life more--his unique character, indomitable spirit, invaluable contributions and lasting legacy -- and that these together will inspire others to action to bring about a just and better world.



Margaret A. Eubank  
FSO Retired  
Arlington, Virginia

September 2004



REMEMBRANCE AND CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF GEORGE LISTER

Tributes and Remembrances from the Memorial Service  
February 21, 2004 DACOR Bacon House, 1801 F Street, Washington, D.C.

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Margaret Eubank

PHOTO OF GEORGE LISTER, giving his trademark salute, 1988.

APPENDIX : SPEECH BY LISTER AND NOMINATION OF LISTER FOR THE  
STATE DEPARTMENT'S WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER AWARD

"HUMAN RIGHTS – OUR WORLD'S BEST CHANCE" Speech delivered by George Lister, Senior Policy Adviser, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, at George Washington University, February 5, 1998.

NOMINATION OF GEORGE LISTER FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S  
WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT IN  
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, MARCH 1997.

Note: Gregory Stanton, who nominated Lister for the award, spoke at the Memorial Service. In his remembrance, Stanton recalled how the two first met. He had been referred to George at the State Department to discuss some human rights issues. In the course of the meeting, George encouraged Greg, who had a law degree and had worked on human rights issues, to become a Foreign Service Officer. He did and several years later Stanton was assigned to the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. It turned out he was slated to take over George's office, which would have left George without one. Upon learning this, Greg insisted that he and George share the office, an arrangement that worked out very well for both of them.



## GEORGE LISTER, "MR. HUMAN RIGHTS"

George Thomas Lister, 90, a retired Foreign Service Officer, was widely known as "Mr. Human Rights" for his 60 year career with the Department of State that focused largely on the promotion of democracy and human rights. He died February 4 of aspiration pneumonia at the Washington Home in Washington, D.C. He had Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Lister served as a Foreign Service Officer during the first half of his long career, specializing in Eastern Europe and Latin American affairs, including assignments to Warsaw, Moscow, Rome, Germany and Colombia.

During his 1957-61 assignment to Rome, as Embassy First Secretary, Mr. Lister played a key role in initiating contact with the Italian Socialists and persuading them to end their cooperation with the Communists. Lister's role was described briefly in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s book on the Kennedy Administration, "A Thousand Days," and discussed in detail at a 1993 University of Massachusetts symposium "One Hundred Years of Italian Democratic Socialism."

In the early 1970's Lister cooperated with Congressman Don Fraser (D.-Minn.) and Senator Tom Harkin (D.-Iowa) in their call for a higher priority for human rights in U.S. foreign policy and the creation of a State Department human rights bureau. Lister was the first Human Rights Officer appointed to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, in 1974. He was very active both inside and outside the government in the promotion of human rights. He retired in 1981. For most of the next twenty years, working as a Foreign Affairs Officer, Unpaid Expert, he served as Senior Policy Advisor in the Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, working on human rights problems worldwide.

Lister's human rights efforts were recognized in numerous countries. In 1992 the Government of Chile presented him with an award for his help in restoring democracy there. In 1998, he was invited to the South Korean presidential inauguration of Kim Dae Jung, in recognition of Lister's early help to him during the latter's painful years of exile and house arrest. Mr. Lister's efforts on behalf of human rights and democracy were also recognized by the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Poland and the Philippines.

On the occasion of the visit of the Presidents of the Baltic countries to Washington, D.C. in June 1996, the U.S.-Baltic Foundation presented Mr. Lister a Public Service Leadership Award for his outstanding work as the State Department's Baltic Country Officer, 1956-1957, noting his efforts on "behalf of the cause of freedom, independence and democracy for the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania."

In 1997, Lister was nominated for the Warren Christopher Award for "sustained outstanding achievement on behalf of democracy and human rights" and in 1998 the United Nations Association presented him an award.

Lister was born in Chicago and raised in New York, where he graduated from the College of the City of New York (Evening Session), which he attended for seven years while working as a bank teller during the day.

His marriage to Aleta Bierschwale Lister ended in divorce in 1970.

Mr. Lister leaves behind a lasting legacy and many devoted friends worldwide.



## WELCOME

JOE ELDRIDGE, UNIVERSITY CHAPLAIN, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

On behalf of Margaret and friends I want to extend a cordial word of welcome to this service of remembrance and celebration. We have gathered as friends of George to say goodbye to this old warrior who fought the good fight -- who it is fair to say lost -- and won -- a few battles over a long lifetime of service and commitment to a transcendent cause -- the cause of human rights.

George had some hard times in his life, but he was steadfast and persevered. George lived intensely and placed his own special brand on the life that he was given. He was a man of relentless integrity -- and that integrity guided his life and influenced all his vocational decisions. We are touched when we think about George's valiant battles -- both inside the Department of State and outside. So we have gathered together to reach out to each other -- in the immediacy of this moment -- to remember who George was and what he meant to us and to the nameless people he defended all around the world.

We all have stories about George and some of those stories will be shared in a few minutes. My story begins 30 years ago when I first met George. I can not remember exactly how we got together, but it may well have been through Brady Tyson. My suspicion is that he called me. I had just returned from living for three years in Chile and returned to this country full of indignation and anger at the role of the U.S. in undermining the Chilean Government and paving the way for the coup. George was the very first Foreign Service Officer I had ever met -- in fact he was the first U.S. government representative I had ever met. I remember this as if it was yesterday. He invited me to the Department of State. I was uncertain about entering -- it felt like I was entering the camp of the Philistines. He took me up to the 7<sup>th</sup> floor to the well appointed offices of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and showed me around. He took me to a place where you could look out at the Potomac River and I confess I was impressed by the majesty of the surroundings.

He then took me to the cafeteria for lunch. He paid as well as I remember. He was eager that I begin to demystify the Department of State and see it not as a fortress of evil, but as made up of well meaning individuals, most all of whom were hard working, dedicated professionals profoundly dedicated to service of this country. It was a lesson that I would never forget -- and one that guided me over more than 25 years of human rights advocacy in Washington. George put a human face on the U.S. Government -- and helped me remember that my grievance was against a policy -- and not against a human being. The lesson of this realization made me a much more effective defender of human rights.



We are here because you join me in acknowledging our affection for George. Sometimes it was not an easy affection but it was an honest affection. Even now we can see that twinkle in his eye as he raised his fist, saying something like "Fight on comrade." George knew where he stood and was willing to take on tyrants, despots, and dictators any time, any place. He was also willing to engage entire bureaucracies when convinced of the rightness of his cause. Defending his principles was not something that he calculated or adopted as a matter of convenience -- he just did it -- it was for George second nature and he never really considered toting up the cost of the commitment.

So we have come to remember the remarkable life of George Lister and to comfort ourselves. As we do this, we find ourselves repeating the words of comfort that humankind has been turning to for thousands of years -- especially when our rational voices abandon us.

It is found in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Psalm.

As we think about the ultimateness of death, in our embrace of life, we affirm a never failing source of tenderness -- of unconditional love that hears our songs, is attentive to our prayers, bears our sadness and points to a reality beyond the visible.

So we gather in this service of celebration and remembrance, yielding to the rhythms of life and death and sharing in a glorious affirmation of George's life -- and to do that of number of friends are going to share stories and remembrances.



To: MARGARET EUBANK

From: Arthur Schlesinger, jr

18 February 2004

GEORGE LISTER

I first encountered George Lister in connection with the politics of Italy. Many years before, my father had brought the distinguished anti-fascist historian Gaetano Salvemini to Harvard. Professor Salvemini was a familiar and endearing figure in the Schlesinger household, and he instilled in me a deep interest in the Italian struggle for democracy. I was an early American advocate of the apertura a sinistra and thus an opponent of the Eisenhower administration's veto of a center-left Italian government involving the admission of the Nenni Socialists.

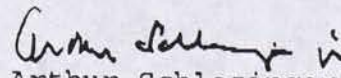
In 1961 President Kennedy appointed the veteran diplomat Averell Harriman as his roving ambassador. Averell thereupon roved, and in Italy, where he met with political figures, he drew George Lister as his interpreter. George was a first secretary in the US Embassy. Among his assignments had been contact with Socialist leaders. He believed that terminating the alliance between the Socialists and Communists would be a great victory for Italian democracy.

Harriman agreed with George that the opening to the left was a good and necessary thing. But the DCM, a rigid man of rigidly rightwing views, did not. He told George to cease and desist his agitation. George said he would like to carry the case to the ambassador. The DCM accused him of insubordination and wanted him 'selected out' -- that is, expelled from -- the Foreign Service. Only Harriman's and White House intervention saved George's career,

Harriman told me about George Lister (I had been Averell's special assistant in the early months of the Marshall Plan), and, when George returned to Washington after his tour of duty in Rome, we became allies and friends, first in the struggle to liberate Italian politics, then in the larger world arena.

I followed George's subsequent career in Chile, South Korea and elsewhere with sympathy and admiration. He was, consistently and intrepidly, a vigilant and valiant fighter for human rights. His legacy includes the establishment of the Bureau of Human Rights in the Department of State, where after his retirement he worked as a volunteer, focussing attention on violations of human rights among friends and foes alike.

His life is an inspiration for the unceasing struggle to assure the human rights of every person on this cursed planet. George Lister belongs in the human rights pantheon.

  
Arthur Schlesinger, jr



Memorial statement of Don Fraser - February 21, 2004

A memorial to George Lister must be a celebration of his dedication and long service on behalf of human rights on this planet.

I came to know George Lister when I chaired a subcommittee on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. In the 1970's the subcommittee took up the question of human rights and U.S. foreign policy. We were prompted to take up this issue because we saw both liberals and conservatives in the House of Representatives attacking specific countries they didn't like. The liberals had their list of countries to attack, the conservatives had a different list, but both groups cited various kinds of governmental abuses to back up their case. There was little consistency in these attacks nor was there a common point of departure in complaining about these governments. Our hope was that through hearings we could find common ground and common standards in assessing the human rights of governments with differing ideologies. So we began our exploration.

What emerged through our hearings and informal conversations was the existence of a cadre of people both in and out of government who had been engaged with human rights issues long before we began our hearings. George Lister was one of these people. George was a professional who could view governments with a balanced perspective, who could recognize a human rights abuse whether by a government from the left or the right. He was steadfast in his belief that our government should pay more attention to human rights in our foreign policies.

From the outset he was strongly supportive of our subcommittee's work. He was a valuable ally who could provide information and insights about events everywhere that touched on human rights practices. He encouraged us at every turn.

I left the House of Representatives at the end of 1978 but continued to be in touch with George. His continuing interest in human rights issues, in our government's policies, and in his desire to educate everyone on the importance of human rights continued through the years.

I became familiar with the difficulty he experienced from time to time as he continued to volunteer at the State Department to work on these issues. He did not seek recognition for his work, but only the chance to keep pursuing his vision of a world in which human rights would prevail.

We have made considerable progress since the 1970's. Human rights issues are more prominently identified; the United States has ratified more international human rights treaties and conventions, and the NGO human rights community has steadily increased its capacity to keep us informed about human rights conditions around the world. But the struggle goes on.

We must all persist in encouraging and supporting a wider acceptance of human rights standards in the affairs of this planet. George Lister did his part - he devoted his life to this objective - he exemplified dedication and steadfastness in pursuit of his vision. He educated and influenced many. George Lister was a real hero in the struggle for a decent world that takes for its touchstone the concepts of justice and fairness for all.



## JOHN SALZBERG'S THOUGHTS ABOUT GEORGE LISTER

I met George Lister soon after beginning work in June 1973 for Congressman Donald M. Fraser, Democrat of Minnesota and Chairman of what was then called the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Don was very dismayed by U.S. foreign policy under Secretary of State Kissinger and President Nixon because how a government treated its own people seemed to mean little in determining our relations with a particular government. We provided substantial military and economic aid to repressive governments- the list was considerable, Somoza of Nicaragua, Marcos of the Philippines, the Shah of Iran, the Junta in Greece to name just a few for illustrative purposes. Soon after I joined Fraser's staff came Pinochet of Chile.

Fraser's subcommittee's approach was to hold hearings, invite public witnesses and State Department witnesses, and seek to cajole the Department of State and the Administration to give greater adherence to human rights and U.S. foreign policy. Out of this came legislation linking human rights and military and economic aid and the Human Rights Bureau in the Department of State.

George took a great interest in the Subcommittee and was a strong admirer of Don Fraser. He sought to use the Fraser approach (and that of other Members of Congress such as Senators Kennedy and Abourezk) to bring about a more enlightened U.S. foreign policy. George never lost faith that the U.S. Government could see the light, so to speak, that having a strong human rights emphasis in U.S. foreign policy was not only right from a moral point of view and true to U.S. ideals/legacy, but also sensible and practical as well. George also never lost faith that he could make a difference and that those in the higher echelons of the Department of State and the White House could become convinced of the rightness of his point of view.

George always sought to support in foreign countries those political leaders that respected human rights and believed these were the leaders the U.S. should support as well. When I first knew George, he was in ARA, the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Here we often supported governments because they were anti-communist despite their repressive human rights record. George also believed strongly that all human rights violations, regardless of the ideological framework of the government, were to be condemned.

Once he retired (and I am not sure when that occurred), George could have led a life of leisure. That would have been contrary to his entire being. George was very intense and focused on what mattered to him most. Whether he was paid or not made no difference as he believed the cause deserved to be pursued whether it benefited him financially or not-which it clearly did not. George created a rather unique niche for himself in the State Department. Once he retired, he became a volunteer and became a "human rights officer at large." That created some



nervousness in a bureaucracy not accustomed to such a free spirit unbridled by the hierarchy, but George persisted believing the cause was more important than his own ego. George never lost faith that eventually human rights would win out over more short-sighted interests. He was well aware that governments that repress their own people will eventually collapse of their own weight, regardless of the amount of military aid they might receive by outside powers, the U.S. included.

George never tired of working on behalf of human rights in U. S. foreign policy. And in a similar vein, the principles that George lived by as an officer in the Department of State are immutable and will stand the test of time. In that sense his legacy will live on forever.

John P. Salzberg, Ph. D.  
Washington Representative  
The Center for Victims of Torture  
Washington, D.C.

February 17, 2004



## DIANE LA VOY REMARKS AT GEORGE LISTER REMEMBRANCE

George Lister took me on as a pupil in 1971 when I was 22. I did the math recently. It was 33 years ago and he must have been 57 then. That seemed very old to me.

At first, of course, I would have scoffed at the idea that I was his pupil. I was full of righteous indignation about U.S. foreign policy, particularly Latin America, and had come to Washington the year before determined somehow to do something about it.

These concerns had been nourished as much by my day-to-day experiences growing up in Venezuela and living and traveling in some other Latin American countries, as by the history and economics I had just studied in college. I was gripped by a feeling of responsibility as an American for our country's relationship to oppressive regimes and economic injustice. I was looking for alternatives. For example, I was impressed by the health and literacy achievements of the Cuban revolution.

George was in the Latin American Bureau when we met. A college friend had nominated me for a USIA funded "youth exchange" trip to Latin America, which I had used as an opportunity to learn more about the things that interested me in several countries. George's responsibilities apparently included meeting with people like me. That first meeting in his office was followed, over the years, by countless lunchtime conversations.

At first I considered these conversations merely a window into an alien, maybe even an enemy world. Nonetheless, I started to learn.

**Lesson One:** You can't help your cause if you don't know what you're talking about. Never, never overstate your case.

**Lesson Two:** Be ethically consistent. To be effective in professing concern about human rights in Guatemala and Brazil, I needed to know – and care – about human rights in Cuba and in Hungary.

**Lesson Three:** Information – the right information, provided to the right people at the right time – can make a big difference.

I learned that lesson mainly from what George did. He made sure that reliable, compelling information about human rights got where it might make a difference. That opened a possibility in my mind. WOLA- Washington Office for Latin America – was born from this idea. I saw there was a need. I was a young member of a coalition of church and other organizations – called Latin America Strategy Committee, though I do not think we were a committee and we did not



seem to have much strategy. What we did have was access, through the churches, to compelling information about what was happening in the countries. This became even more dramatic after the military coup in Chile. Early in 1974 I made a very simple proposal to the Latin America Strategy Committee, and in April WOLA started. By September of 1974 WOLA had its first real director, Joe Eldridge, and was on its way to becoming a steady, reliable contributor of information – to the right folks at the right time.

There are some more lessons I learned from George.

**Lesson Four:** The real problem is human mediocrity, not evil. That's not to say there's not evil. But if you're going to be effective in doing anything about it, love your country, and focus on fixing the mediocrity. I'm not sure what else George said about that particular point, but I know it's an outlook that profoundly shaped much of what I've done in my life.

**Lesson Five: "Put some iron in your pants!"** George said that to me shortly before I set up WOLA. He saw that I was faltering a bit. Maybe it had begun to dawn on me that this might be a daunting undertaking for some twenty-something... His message – good for all times and places – was, don't deny what you believe in – including yourself!

Finally, **Lesson Six:** Don't smile when you talk. Unless you want to, of course. Actually, that was one of the first lessons I learned from George. Like a lot of young women – I think it's true less now than then -- like a lot of young women, I'd grown up smiling when I talked. Why I – why we – did that, is a whole other topic. George, however, ahead of his time, saw that this mannerism undercuts one's effectiveness. All he said was, "Why are you smiling? Cut that out!" I did. After that, I smiled when I wanted to.

Fittingly, my brightest lasting memory of George is of his big smile, which, in later years, so used to take over his face when we'd meet. That, of course, and his wry farewell: it was always, "To our hopeless cause!"



## ELLIOTT ABRAMS' TRIBUTE TO GEORGE LISTER

In the fall of 1981, on the very day it was announced that I would be moving to the Human Rights Bureau at the State Department, a senior Foreign Service Officer approached me. He said two things. First, he said, "Congratulations." Then, he said, "Now, the first thing you need to do there is to fire George Lister."

That was my introduction to George. He was supposedly nearing the end of his career then, in the early 1980s, and it no doubt came as an unwelcome shock to some people in the building when he stayed on for two more decades.

In those days, George was unique. No one in the building had his amazing network of human rights contacts. We would meet with the Tibetans, who were literally not permitted to set foot in the building, in some hotel lobby. He would bring around dissident Chileans whom the Latin American Bureau did not want to see, and most of whom have by now been President or Foreign Minister. One day he brought to the Bureau a Korean dissident named Kim Dae Jung. He knew the Panamanians, the Salvadorans, the Argentines, the South Africans, the Cubans, the Czechs, the Filipinos.

George had tough standards: he was not for or against governments, nor was he for or against revolutionaries. He was for human rights and democracy. If he thought you were fighting some corrupt or oppressive government but would, in power, just jail different people and steal more money, George had no time for you.

We all remember George's salute, "To our hopeless cause." Now, how could he possibly believe that? How could you dedicate your life to human rights, if you thought it was a hopeless cause? I have puzzled over this, because George must have said that line a million times. What did he mean by it?

I think the story with which I began gives the answer. The hopeless cause was not human rights, but, for George, getting the U.S. Government to enlist, always, and everywhere, and forever, in that cause. The many times Administrations and senior officials—and they were Administrations of both parties and officials of all races, creeds, and political leanings—the many times people tried to force George out of his job, out of his office, and out of the building would certainly have taught him that this cause was a difficult one. George was an inconvenient guy for the Department of State; he did not believe in *raison d'état*, in relativism, in putting human rights first next week or next year or in the next country to the east or west. There has never been a regional bureau in the history of the State Department that espoused George's principles with the consistency he would have desired.



Which is why his contribution was unique and invaluable. Inside the Department, he was a voice of uncompromising commitment. To people fighting for human rights in literally dozens of countries, he was proof that at worst, at worst, no matter what our official policy, there was always an American official who welcomed them, knew them, understood their story, and was on their side. And when in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, human rights won so many victories against oppression in South Africa, Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe, they remembered George and honored him.

As they did when freedom came to them, so do we now.

Elliott Abrams

Assistant Secretary, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, 1981- 1985  
U.S. Department of State



## AMBASSADOR RICHARD SCHIFTER'S TRIBUTE TO GEORGE LISTER

It was long-standing tradition that a government's actions towards its own citizens should not be interfered with by other governments. Until relatively recently, this tradition informed the policies of the U.S. State Department.

Then about forty years ago, the U.S. Government's approach to that issue changed fundamentally. The change was brought about through the efforts of the representatives of NGO's, members and staffers of the U.S. Congress, and yes, officers of the State Department who believed that a policy change needed to occur. George Lister belonged to that group of committed and courageous volunteers.

In the last forty years, hundreds of thousands of people throughout the world have been the beneficiaries of this change in U.S. Government policy. Yes, we could have done more, but we accomplished a lot. As for George: the passing of years made no difference to him. A pension replaced his government salary, but retirement was not for him. He soldiered on in the cause that had become his life's work.

It is indeed fitting and proper for us to pay tribute to George's indomitable spirit, a spirit that brought about relief to many victims or potential victims of human rights violations.

Ambassador Richard Schifter,  
Assistant Secretary, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, 1985 - 1992  
U.S. Department of State



**Tribute to George Lister**  
**By Paula Dobriansky**  
**Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs**

Through his life and his career, George Lister earned the title “Mr. Human Rights.” No one deserved this accolade more than he. George was a dedicated public servant, spending some sixty years at the Department of State as a champion of democracy and the belief that people everywhere are entitled to basic, inalienable rights.

Given his strong support of Solidarnose, I first came to know George in the 1980s when I was working at the National Security Council on Central/East European affairs. He was also a frequent presence when I worked in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor at the State Department. George offered advice on issues relating to Central America and Poland—especially in our efforts to help build democratic institutions. George was a part of the tremendous changes in the 1980s and 1990s that brought democracy to so many people who had not previously enjoyed it. He never lost momentum and contributed his energy to every issue he touched.

When I returned to the State Department in 2001 as Under Secretary for Global Affairs, George was still here. He would often drop by with clippings, reports and accounts of human rights activities.

I always marveled at George’s tirelessness. Even after decades of service, he attended innumerable events devoted to human rights concerns, from Congressional hearings to demonstrations to think tank sessions. He did this regularly up to a short number of weeks before his death.

George was born just as the first World War began. The events of his lifetime were epic, and George played a role in some of the more important ones—especially the movement to expand freedom and democracy in the last several decades. He was recognized for his work by the governments of Chile, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Poland, the Philippines, South Korea and the United States.

George Lister was and will always be Mr. Human Rights. We will miss him.





## **State of New Mexico**

*Office of the Governor*

Before Human Rights were popular and sexy, George Lister was already beating up bureaucrats and Congressmen to make Human Rights important factors in United States foreign policy making. Every two years whenever there was a new Assistant Secretary in either the Latin America or the Human Rights Bureau, George Lister would ask me to call them to make sure they wouldn't kick him out. He was such a pest when it came to Human Rights; he actually made a big difference and probably saved a lot of lives.

There were many times George would ask me to intervene on behalf of the Human Rights position. He would look at me with his beady eyes and make me feel guilty (you had the feeling he'd never leave until you did the right thing).

Recently I saw George walking to the Capitol, hunched over wearing a trench coat and carrying a briefcase. I said to myself, "I must call him because I know he was probably pleased that I had been elected Governor of New Mexico." I also noticed he seemed a little fragile.

Now he has passed on and I won't be able to tell him thank you for all the good he did. So I hope that all of you assembled today, in order to honor George will do that for me.

While everyone else that purports to be a Human Rights advocate gets attention in the press, let us remember that George advanced the cause quietly and best of all.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill Richardson".

Governor of New Mexico



**Elliott Abrams' tribute to George Lister was read by Ron Palmer.**

Following are Palmer's introductory remarks.

I was just a newly-promoted, garden variety FSO-1 when I was called in Manila one day in July, 1975 by James M. Wilson, Jr. He asked me if I would like to work with him. I admired him and had worked with him in the 1969-1971 period when I was on the Philippine Desk. I promptly said I would work with him gladly and then asked him what the job was. He said he had recently been appointed Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs and Human Rights and was working on the 6<sup>th</sup> floor of State attached to the Deputy Secretary's office. He said I would be his Deputy for Human Rights. I asked him what human rights were and whether it was anything like civil rights. He said he didn't know much but we could learn together. The first thing to be done was to prepare a set of human rights reports.

I reported for duty a few weeks later and Jim said I had been chosen for the job because I had a reputation as a good guy and was pretty well known in the FSO cohort. So this would give me a protective coloring as I went about my work. Some of the people who were human rights specialists were rather intense and tended to cause FSOs to run for the hills.

Shortly after, I met George Lister and I too wanted to run for the hills. George had a work program laid out for me. I listened but I told him that change in U.S. foreign policy to include more of a human rights orientation would take time and careful education and nurturing of the Foreign Service. I think he saw me as a lost case from that day on but he tolerated me. Nevertheless, George, Charlie Runyon in the Legal Affairs Office and John Salzberg in Congressman Don Fraser's office either visited me or phoned me every day to keep me on the straight and narrow path.

My instructions from top Kissinger aides were simple: "Get the job done but don't make Henry mad." George helped me to get my job done and whatever it was I did, Henry Kissinger still smiles at me.



**Reader of Ambassador Richard Schifter's Tribute was Bill Farrand.**

Following are Farrand's introductory remarks:

I first met George Lister when I went to work for Assistant Secretary Dick Schifter in the then-Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs at State. It was 1987 and George was a Senior Advisor in the Bureau. His mandate was to keep the front office closely advised on the more egregious human rights abuses going on around the globe, but especially those emanating from Latin America.

As a Foreign Service generalist, I had had little experience in human rights work. I had only the sketchiest understanding of its legal underpinnings, its regulatory framework, its rich history. Even though I was Schifter's principal deputy, I was frankly at sea for several weeks after arriving on board. I needed a mentor and fast. Somehow, I had the good sense to see in George Lister someone who could serve that need. In the first place, we were of an age; and second, George had an inkling that I would benefit from a detailed primer on the HA Bureau's extensive portfolio. So we regularly chatted, often after hours, about the Bureau's priorities and its place within the State Department's bureaucracy.

But perhaps the most enduring lesson I took away from my time working under Dick Schifter and alongside George Lister was that human rights work could not be done wholesale--with broad speeches and lofty rhetoric only--no, it needed to be done at the retail level, too. By that I mean, case by case. George was a persistent advocate of pursuing individual abuse cases in all their complexity until the offending governments bowed to the need to make suitable amends. Hard, grinding work for the most part, but rewarding when it led to a concrete improvement in others' lives.

What George (and Dick) had to say about the disutility of collective guilt as an operating principle stuck with me when years later I was placed in charge of a small city in northeastern Bosnia. There the three ethnic factions--Serbs, Croats, and Muslims--having just emerged from over three years of civil war, were vying for political control. Reminding myself every day not to lay blame on all members of each ethno-religious group for the criminal acts of a few, I was able slowly and painstakingly over three years to bring about a modicum of peace and stability. George Lister played a role in that positive outcome. I shall remember him always.



## Recollections of George Lister

By  
Amy Young

I first met George in 1977, when I was working as an intern in the Legal Advisors Office at the Department of State for one of his close friends, Charles Runyon. Charlie was the Assistant Legal Advisor for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, as the position was then known, and George worked in the Bureau for ARA, now Western Hemisphere Affairs. George was a wonderful friend and ally. He would take me to lunch and tutor me, lamenting how the US really should respect human rights more and how brutal the situation was in Latin America.

Over the next few years, as the Director of the International Human Rights Law Group here in Washington, I saw George frequently at human rights gatherings, lectures, and even protests. George would raise that arm in salute, saying the now legendary phrase, "To our hopeless cause." He was unique and special to all of us fighting in the human rights arena at that time. It was the 1970's and 1980's and the Cold War colored every political situation; it was a period in our government's history when human rights took a back seat to almost every other foreign policy consideration, even the flimsiest assertion of maintaining "allies."

Human rights organizations would come to lobby the State Department, pointing out the human rights abuses of any number of dictators and urging the government to speak out, to cut off aid, to give succor to dissidents. Often George would be in the room, taking notes, his presence assuring the supplicants that someone would be there to follow up on such requests. In fact, it was George who taught many of us that we even could and should come to the Department to raise our voices and demand that our government use its influence to promote respect for human rights. He had great respect for human rights groups and often reported back to his supervisors at State the information he had gathered from credible groups. It would not be an exaggeration to say that George greatly influenced the rise of the nongovernmental organization to the well respected, credible resources they are considered by government today.

When I arrived to work at the State Department in 1999, I was delighted to see my old friend. I teased him that our "hopeless cause" had now some cause for hope, in no small part due to his efforts. At that time, George was retired and was "volunteering" in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor where I was employed. Often he



would stop by and give me a memo he had written to the Assistant Secretary about a meeting he had attended outside the building (George was one of the few bureaucrats I ever met who looked for information "outside the building"). We would chat about old times or head off for lunch.

Even in his late 80's, George was hungry for information, to be part of the fray, to work for the underdog. That being so, it was understandably a deep disappointment and huge blow for him when in late 2001 he lost his small office space in the Bureau for good. In spite of this, George, forever the activist, kept working, going to meetings outside the Department, such as Congressional hearings, demonstrations and NGO conferences, and drafting memos for the Bureau, using his typewriter at home. Working against great odds, he did this day in and day out until just about two months ago.

To conclude: George Lister was a hero, a model of what every government official should be, accessible, zealous, open minded, entirely committed to the truth and to action. Today we have heard many stories from his friends and colleagues. What is so remarkable is that George left the same indelible mark on everyone; any one would recognize George after hearing all of us celebrate his life. He was a character, a fighter, often stubborn to a fault. But he was never a quitter and perhaps that is the essence of his trademark salute. Even when a cause was hopeless, he would rally all of us to continue the good fight. We will all miss him incredibly and often.



## **GEORGE LISTER - GREAT DIPLOMAT AND FAITHFUL FRIEND**

**By Gloria Loyola-Black**

George Lister, the closest true friend and American that my family knew for thirty years, passed away in February. During the long time in which my country was ruled by one of the cruelest and most oppressive dictatorial regimes in Latin America, George was a light in the darkness for us to overcome the insecurities of our exile in Washington.

Due to his long experience in assignments throughout Europe and Latin America, this career officer was an expert in defending the principles of democracy and human rights on the institutional level. He also was a shelter, a friend, and a support in these very difficult times. For thousands of my compatriots here and in Chile, they knew of him and his successes in overcoming bureaucracy and lethargy in successive U.S. administrations to formulate a U.S. Human Rights policy. He was instrumental in achieving an end to the torture, pain and death that symbolized the Chilean dictatorship from 1973 until 1990.

From the late Chilean Ambassador and Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier who was assassinated in Washington to the humblest Chilean exiled in the U.S., he dealt with everyone equally. With extraordinary generosity, efficiency and humility, he solved those problems both great and small, which marked our life in a strange land. He was able to alleviate our daily struggles for lack of employment and legal papers.

At the same time, he provided members of Congress with reports and draft legislation which became the foundation for an official policy on human rights for this country. He worked closely with outstanding legislators such as Don Fraser, Tom Harkin, Frank Church and others to create a special Bureau for Human Rights in the State Department. He was the first human rights officer appointed to the Bureau of Interamerican Affairs.

I remember him always present in every rally that took place in Washington during the 1970s, 80s, and 90s repudiating dictatorships throughout the world. Tall and always with his signature fedora, he always gave us hope and confidence that U.S. foreign policy would devote its attention and energies to eradicate tyranny throughout the world. Although he was somewhat alone in his quest, he embodied for us the concept and principles of good government, one "of the people, by the people, for the people."



Each Chilean who had the good fortune to be close to him grieves over the loss. But we carry with us and with our children the knowledge of the ideals of liberty and democracy that George personified in concrete acts that made possible the return of democracy not only to Chile, but also to other countries in the world.

His life should serve as an example to the young people of this country who will become the Foreign Service officers of the future. They should learn from him not only to follow the rules, but also to fight against them when their conscience demands equity and democracy.

As George always said in his farewell to me, "Sempre Avanti con Coraggio."

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Gloria Loyola-Black, a Chilean who has lived in the U.S. for a number of years, formerly worked in Cultural Affairs at the Organization of American States and was also a consultant for the Inter-American Development Bank. She worked closely with George and they were very good friends for over thirty years. She contributed this tribute after the Memorial Service was held since she was unable to be present.



## MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GEORGE LISTER – FEBRUARY 21, 2004

### FINAL REFLECTIONS

MARGARET EUBANK

George and I knew each other for over twenty-five years and were very best friends the past seventeen. We met in 1977 through a mutual friend. I was a Foreign Service Officer with USIA, had recently returned from postings in Chile and Uruguay and was working at USIA as the Desk Officer for Venezuela and the Caribbean. George was in the State Department's American Republics Bureau. After our initial meeting, he called and invited me for dinner, I think, at Mama Ayesha's Calvert Café. We quickly discovered we had much in common and soon became good friends. From the beginning I was impressed with George. He was tall, good-looking and inspiring. I especially liked his deep commitment to democracy and human rights.

Over the years we developed a deep and meaningful relationship together and experienced the joys of sharing that enriched both our lives continuously. We attended human rights events, think tank discussions, demonstrations and receptions. Through George I met people in the "movement," Congressional members and staffers, office colleagues, friends and contacts, including activists and leaders from overseas. It was obvious that the people who liked George liked him enormously and vice versa. The smiles and vibes were instantaneous, unmistakable and contagious. They appreciated so much his dedication, hard work and lively spirit. I respected and admired George so much, and was constantly amazed at the enthusiasm and zeal with which he greeted the events of each day. He was steadily striving "to be effective," as he used to say. I will always remember his courage and compassion as well as his widely recognized ability and commitment to the human rights cause. In these important undertakings, he was serious and low-key but he wasn't "a stuffed shirt." On the contrary, he liked telling jokes, especially political ones, was quick in retorts and had an engaging wit and great sense of humor.

George enjoyed public speaking and did it frequently, both in the U.S. and overseas, speaking mainly on human rights issues. He loved lively debate and dialogue and the opportunity to get others, especially young people, interested and involved in human rights. He strongly believed and often used to say, "There is simply no better cause than human rights." He was so proud of the many letters he had received, expressing deep appreciation and sincere thanks for his memorable and inspiring presentations.

I think George's public speaking success is especially impressive because as a young man, he dreaded speaking in public, even though he had lots of ideas he wanted to get across. To help him overcome his fear, he took a Toastmasters course in public speaking. He found it extremely helpful and, henceforth, sought out speaking opportunities.

While his lifetime passion was human rights, he liked and pursued numerous other interests. He had a great talent for foreign languages; he was fluent in four and knew a smattering of others, among them Hungarian, Polish and Amharic. He loved music,



especially Irish drinking songs, patriotic marches, and romantic melodies. He enjoyed singing and did beautiful renditions of such favorites as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" - which will be played later - , and "Vienna Dreams." Considering his political views, I still wonder why he often sang with fervor "The International."

One of his all time favorite films was "Ashes and Diamonds." Having read Victor Hugo in his youth, he found the musical "Les Miserables" very moving and powerful when we saw it at the Kennedy Center in the 1980's.

George placed great importance on being well informed and devoured the printed word. He read at least three newspapers every morning as well as many other publications. Besides keeping up on world events and developments, especially those dealing with human rights, he followed sports, especially baseball and basketball. In reading the papers, he actually turned first to the sports section. Born in Chicago, he rooted all his life for the Chicago Cubs.

George and I were both walkers. For many years we enjoyed taking a five-mile hike in Rock Creek Park on Sunday mornings. George would often stop to greet and befriend the dogs passing by -- he loved dogs and always wanted to have one. Once we had arrived at the zoo's headquarters, we would take a rest, and look up and be in awe of the beautiful trees and sky. We both liked nature. We would return renewed and refreshed to George's apartment, have lunch and read the Sunday newspapers.

Both of us enjoyed going out to dinner, especially to restaurants with good food, friendly staffs, and melodic music. I remember so fondly many of these evenings together, full of lively conversation and lots of laughter. We also liked traveling, especially overseas. Some of our most memorable trips were to Paris, Lazarote and Sydney.

George loved life and gave it his all. An agnostic, he often wondered about life's mysteries. Other times he would say, "As Karl Marx said, 'We are all accidents of history.'" He did not give importance to material things.

George was a very special person in my life. We were very close for many years. We shared our joys and our sorrows; the good times and bad times. We supported and helped each other. When George developed a persistent cough last fall, we went to the doctor's twice in November. Soon after we had made the third visit in late December, the doctor called and said George had a serious case of pneumonia and needed to be hospitalized. We went immediately to George Washington Hospital. The next seven weeks were extremely intense, demanding and challenging, unbelievable in some respects. Throughout I spent maximum time with George, helping him in many ways. I'm thankful I could do this. I treasure the memories of all we shared together. We loved each other very much. I miss him deeply.



Soon after George's death on February 4, Joe Eldridge and I were talking and we decided we would organize a memorial service to celebrate and honor George's life and good works. This has turned out to be a very gratifying and rewarding experience. I take this opportunity to extend my deepest thanks and appreciation to all who have so willingly contributed tributes and remembrances. I also thank each of you for attending the service today.

A few more reflections on George's life. He was born in Chicago and raised on the sidewalks of New York, as he proudly used to say. He did not know his father well and always regretted it. That was one of several deep regrets he had about his life. His mother, whom he called "Mudd," was a major influence in his life. Although they were poor -- so poor that at one time they were evicted because there was no money to pay the rent -- George got a good education and had books to read, especially history books and The New York Times. He was very bright and even then was determined and a self-starter.

It was the 1930's -- the dark days of the Depression -- but George had an opportunity to get a university education. He attended City College of New York (Evening Session) for seven years. It was free and considering the political turmoil in the world at the time, it was also a hothouse of political debate, arguments and discussion. George thrived in this highly charged environment.

After he graduated, he decided to go to Bogota, Colombia, where he thought he would have better opportunities than in the U.S. His family had friends there. Soon after arriving, he met by chance one of the officers of the U.S. Embassy and since he had worked previously in a bank, he was hired to work in the commercial section. Shortly after that, he took and passed the Foreign Service exam. Thus, began what became not just his career, but his life's work, which we have just heard about in the moving tributes to him.

In recent months as George reflected upon his life and his life's work and accomplishments, he justifiably took great satisfaction in the impact he had made in advancing democracy and human rights in various countries.

In particular, he took special pride that the Government of Chile in 1992 invited him to Santiago and presented him an award for his help in restoring democracy there. It is appropriate at this time to introduce Mr. Pablo Arriaran, First Secretary, Embassy of Chile, who is representing the ambassador. Thank you very much for coming today and thanks to Chile for recognizing Mr. Lister's contribution.

In the 1980's and 1990's George also worked very much with the South Koreans, focusing on the opposition leaders, especially Kim Dae Jung. In recognition of his help, he was invited in 1998 to the presidential inauguration of Kim Dae Jung. As a tribute to George, Hon. Han Sung Joo, Ambassador of the Embassy of South Korea, has sent this



beautiful floral display. We are grateful for the Embassy's expression of appreciation and remembrance.

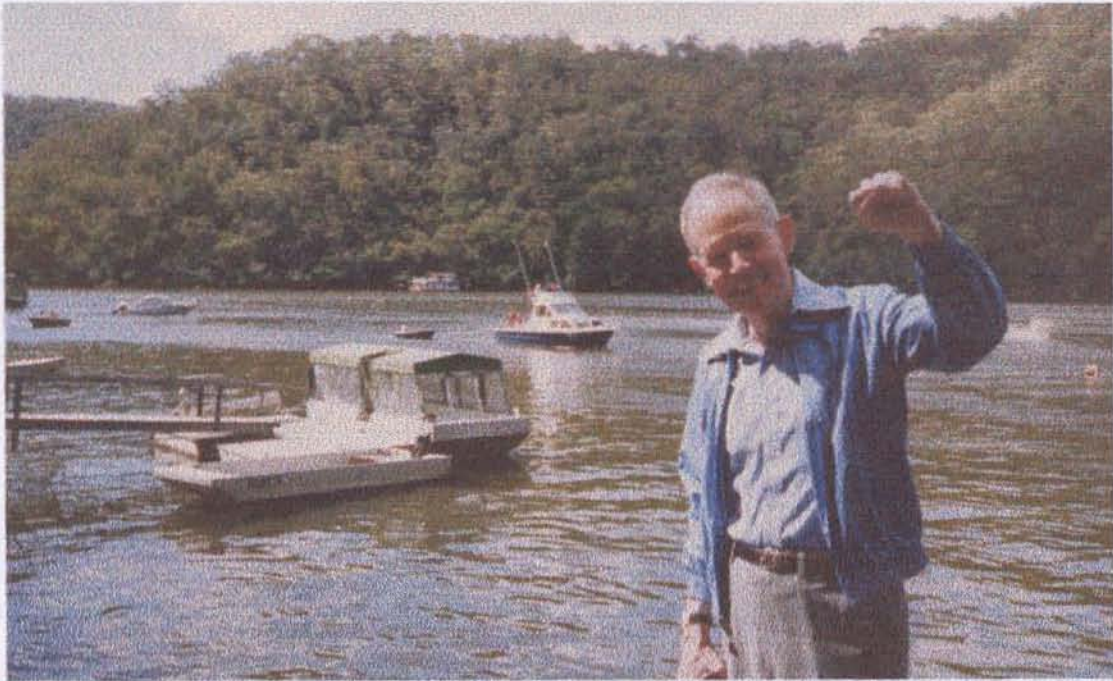
To bring my reflections to a close, I think it is fitting to refer to a speech that George gave at George Washington University in February 1998. He headed the speech, "Human Rights -- Our World's Best Chance." At the end of the speech, he said, "One final word. Many years ago I learned a slogan of the Russian human rights movement under the Soviet dictatorship: 'TO OUR HOPELESS CAUSE!' By that the Russian human rights activists meant that even though they didn't think they were going to win, they were going to give human rights their best effort. I think their slogan should be the slogan of our peaceful world revolution of human rights. ' TO OUR HOPELESS CAUSE!' Thank you." As George was saying this, I'm certain that he gave his trademark salute that several have mentioned today -- a raised LEFT arm with a clenched fist, as I'm doing now.

In a few moments after the pianist plays "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," which was one of George's favorites, all are invited to have refreshments and share stories about George, our dear friend and ally.

As my parting thought for this memorial service, I express my fervent hope that for the good of humankind, George's life and work in human rights will continue to be an inspiration to all dedicated to bringing about a just and better world.

*Margaret A. Zubauk*





George Linton, with his memorable smile and trademark salute to "our Hopeless Cause" at Berowra Waters, New South Wales, Australia in 1988.





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

NOMINATION FOR THE WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER AWARD  
FOR OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

GEORGE LISTER

This memorandum nominates George Lister, DRL Senior Policy Advisor, for the Warren M. Christopher Award for sustained outstanding achievement in global affairs, specifically democracy and human rights.

Mr. Lister has dedicated most of his long career in the Foreign Service to the promotion of democracy and human rights. Since his retirement in 1981, he has worked every day in the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights as an unpaid volunteer. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. calls him "Mr. Human Rights." It is time that his lifelong achievements for human rights should be recognized by the Department of State.

George Lister's promotion of democracy among socialists, and his campaign to break the alliance of socialists with communists, is one of the great untold success stories of American diplomacy. Early in his career he served in the Soviet empire, in Warsaw and Moscow. He soon became convinced that we needed an activist pro-democracy approach, with more emphasis on promoting democracy, rather than merely defending the status quo against the communists. He also perceived that we were not adequately distinguishing between the democratic and anti-democratic Left.

Lister took that view to Italy, where he was assigned as First Secretary in 1957. After clearance with the Ambassador, he initiated and developed contact with the socialists, then allied with the communists. He encouraged them to distance themselves from the communists, because of the Stalinist opposition to democracy. His apartment became a gathering place for many Italian socialists, and his influence was a key factor in their final break with the communists.

Unfortunately, the DCM in Rome was rigidly opposed to any contact with the socialists, and became very irritated with Lister's efforts. The DCM favored driving the socialists back into the arms of the communists, since he considered all Leftists anathema. Despite the highest performance ratings from others, the DCM's rating of Lister led to a Foreign Service board recommendation of "selection out." Fortunately, Averell Harriman intervened, and Lister was able to continue.

When he moved to the ARA bureau, Lister brought along his integrity and his quiet determination to turn American policy toward supporting democracy rather than merely opposing communism. In 1966, he wrote a widely circulated U.S.I.A. pamphlet, "Una Politica Anticomunista Esteril," emphasizing the USG's active support for democracy.



When the U.S. intervened in the Dominican Republic in 1965, the Department sent Lister to gather evidence of the threat of a communist takeover. Lister reported that the communist threat was very real, but also concluded that the intervention could have been avoided if the U.S. had pushed the Dominican government earlier to hold fair elections.

George Lister's honesty and independence of mind have endeared him to many who love truth, but it has not helped his career. Though without honor in his own Department, some of the foreign leaders whose lives he has touched have honored him.

Lister began his work on Guatemala in 1968, when he called the Department's attention to the many serious human rights violations being committed under the military regime. Lister worked with Guatemalan democratic leaders, including Vinicio Cerezo of the Christian Democratic Party. When Guatemala finally held democratic elections in 1985, Cerezo was elected President. He invited Lister to his inauguration.

National elections were scheduled for the Dominican Republic in May, 1978. Pena Gomez, leader of the democratic opposition party (PRD), came to Washington to see Lister to warn that there might be an attempt to prevent an honest vote. During the election, when it became clear the PRD was winning, the armed forces interrupted the vote count. In the absence of USG action, Lister urged Congressman Fraser to call President Carter. The President called Dominican President Balaguer, the vote count was resumed, and the PRD peacefully came to power. Invited by Pena, Lister attended the inauguration.

In October, 1992, the new, democratic government of Chile invited George Lister to Santiago to present him with an award for his work for human rights in Chile. The story behind the award has never been told in the U.S., but is well known in Chile. Lister was a determined opponent of the Pinochet dictatorship. He also played a major role in persuading the Chilean Socialist Party to leave its alliance with the Communists. Lister's clear understanding of the difference between democratic socialism and Leninism influenced many, and helped turn Chile back from its deadly flirtations with Marxism and right-wing dictatorship.

Perhaps George Lister's greatest lifetime achievement was his role in the creation of the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights. In 1973, Congressman Don Fraser (D.-Minn.) began pushing for a higher priority for human rights in U.S. foreign policy. Lister worked closely with Fraser and his staff. Fraser held hearings, drafted the legislation requiring annual Human Rights Reports by the State Department, and called for designation of human rights officers in each regional bureau. George Lister became the first Human Rights Officer for the ARA (Latin American) bureau. His 1979 memorandum on improving the preparation of human rights reports resulted in numerous reforms, including the creation of Country Reports Teams.



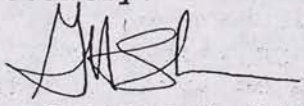
Mr. Lister's injection of human rights into our South Korea policy greatly improved U.S. relations with Korea's democratic opposition, and distanced us from our intimate relations with the South Korean military dictatorship. Kim Dae Jung presented Lister with a scroll of appreciation in 1984 for his work for Korean human rights, and he was presented an award in 1994 by the Kim Dae Jung Peace Foundation.

George Lister's friendship with both Democrats and Republicans resulted in his continuing influence during the Reagan and Bush administrations. Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights from 1981 to 1985 wrote, "George Lister's contacts in the human rights community are just plain amazing, and not only here at home; abroad as well, he seems to know everyone in the human rights community -- from Poles to Guatemalans, from South Africans to South Koreans. He has been in this business longer than anyone else at State, and has been through battles and dangerous moments with many human rights leaders overseas, so they talk to George as to an intimate colleague. His network of contacts, the information at his disposal, his friendships are all an irreplaceable and unique asset for the Department."

Bill Richardson, now our Ambassador to the U.N., wrote in 1993, "For over twenty years, George has been pushing steadily for precisely what the Clinton Administration is now advocating -- democracy and human rights. I know of no one in our government who has worked longer and more successfully for those objectives."

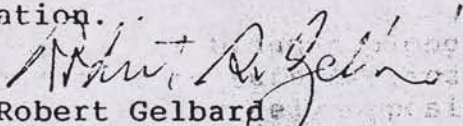
George Lister still comes in daily to work in the State Department. He is unpaid. But he is still working for human rights, the passion of his life. For those of us who work with him, he is a source of inspiration. He also has a marvelously irreverent sense of humor.

He has been honored for his work in Guatemala, Chile, and South Korea. There are many other countries where his work has helped strengthen human rights and democracy. He has never sought any awards, including this one. I nominate him for the first Christopher Award because such a prophet should also be honored in his own country.



Gregory H. Stanton  
Foreign Service Officer  
Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

I heartily endorse this nomination.



Robert Gelbarde  
Assistant Secretary  
International Narcotics and  
Law Enforcement Affairs