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On the Cover: The cyber world. Credit: istockphoto.com/MONSITJ

#### JUNE 2018 THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

## 10 Asset

## Rebuilding America's Diplomatic Capability

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

s I write, spring is unfolding around me, in so many ways. Our new Secretary of State has just been confirmed. Congress voted overwhelmingly to restore funding for diplomatic capability and instructed the State Department to resume hiring and restore staffing. Media stories daily make the case that America must repair the damage at State in order to retain the global leadership overwhelmingly favored by our fellow citizens.

We must seize this moment. We, the members of the Foreign Service, who do so much with so little to sustain America's global leadership, must step fully into our roles as stewards of this great national security institution. As the National Security Strategy states, after recapping escalating threats: "We must upgrade our diplomatic capability to compete in the current environment."

Those looking to explain in concrete terms why our embassies matter should read "Breaking Up a Child Pornography Trafficking Ring" on page 21. Sometimes it really does come down to a struggle between good and evil. Remove or diminish the network of American embassies and consulates, and it is a lot harder for good to prevail.



What will it take to restore America's diplomatic capability? For starters, we need to restore funding, restore staffing, reduce time spent

## Sometimes it really does come down to a struggle between good and evil.

servicing cumbersome bureaucratic processes and manage risk smartly. Doing so will enable the Foreign Service to forge and foster the relationships that, per the NSS, "the United States calls upon when confronting security threats, responding to crises, and encouraging others to share the burden for tackling the world's challenges."

*Restore funding.* Fresh off the overwhelming bipartisan vote to reject deep cuts to spending on foreign affairs, we are thankful that Congress stopped the bleeding, but note that holding spending steady is not the same as upgrading diplomatic capability.

America's spending on core diplomacy has declined sharply—from a dollar in 2008 (the last year of the Bush 43 administration) to just 76 cents in 2016 and 2017 while China's spending has *increased* dramatically (up 40 percent over the last five years, while ours is down 33 percent). China now has 268 diplomatic missions, just behind America's 273.

Although U.S. military spending, at \$700 billion, is greater than the next 10 countries combined, spending on core diplomacy (just \$5 billion) is barely enough to keep us ahead of other rising powers.

*Restore staffing.* Congress has made clear its intention that the funding approved by both houses be used to resume hiring of new diplomats and to rebuild staffing. In addition, promotion numbers need to be restored to at least the levels called for in the department's own workforce planning reports—that is, at least 102 promotions into the Senior Foreign Service each year.

We also need a concerted effort to end gaps in specialist staffing and to restore staffing at embassies, at least to "pre-Iraq tax" levels. Doing so will not only enable the mentoring necessary to grow the next generation of Foreign Service leaders, it will unleash the high-impact diplomacy described in the NSS.

Streamline bureaucratic processes. Once members of the Foreign Service are deployed overseas, they need to be freed to do their jobs. Establish a baseline of how much time they spend on bureaucracy and set a goal to reduce that by a fixed percentage each year.

*Manage risk smartly.* Then we must forge and foster the relationships necessary to sustain America's global leadership. We can't do that crouching behind sandbags. We need to be able to get off the compound and make contact. To do that, we need to manage risk according to established best practices, weighing and documenting risk-benefit trade-offs.

Managing risk smartly does not mean that we will all make it home safely, as the two new names on AFSA's memorial plaques remind us. It does mean that we will do our best to take the right risks to enable us to keep the American flag flying around the world, symbolizing the global leadership we are entrusted with sustaining.

Ambassador Barbara Stephenson is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

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#### **LETTER FROM THE EDITOR**

## The Cyber Challenge

BY SUSAN MAITRA

hris Painter, the first head of the State Department's pioneering Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues, calls cyber diplomacy "the quintessential 21st-century issue of our foreign policy."

With no physical territory, cyberspace is a dynamic realm defined solely by the ever-changing capabilities of information and communications technologies. It harbors immense potential for both good and evil, and it poses a great and urgent challenge to diplomacy.

In this month's focus, we begin to explore this new frontier. As Painter explains in "Diplomacy in Cyberspace," how we develop and use cyber technologies has tremendous economic, security and sociocultural implications for humanity.

Ambassador (ret.) Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley illuminates another facet. In "A Diplomat in a Cyber World: Working with CYBERCOM," she discusses the political adviser's vital role in facilitating two-way communication and increasing CYBERCOM's understanding of State's work to establish and solidify international norms for cyber behavior.

We also turned to the *FSJ* archive for a sampling of *Journal* offerings on "Technology and Diplomacy" going back to 1971.

Our cover story, "DS Diplomacy Works—Breaking Up a Child Porn Traf-



ficking Ring," spotlights the vital work of diplomacy in the arena of transnational crime. Diplomatic Security Special Agent Kala Bokelman shares the inside story of one recent success. This is the first in a series of "DS Diplomacy Works" dispatches from the field.

Elsewhere, in FS Know-How, Donna Scaramastra Gorman presents tips for FS members on buying a house. In FS Heritage, FSO Chris Teal discusses the pioneering role of America's first African-American diplomat, Ebenezer Bassett.

A new discussion of support for FS children with special needs—begun in March with a Speaking Out column by Kathi Silva, and followed by a response from the director of MED in April—continues this month in Letters-Plus with a contribution from Kirsten Bauman, "Foreign Service 'Some Needs' Kids: Suffering in Silence."

Our Family Member Matters column— "An Interview with My Son" by Jessica Powley Hayden—features a child's thoughts about his father's unaccompanied assignment to Iraq.

In our biannual Education Supplement, education professionals and FS family members Hannah Morris and Lauren Steed offer a new approach to "Creating a College List." And Family Liaison Office Education and Youth Officer Marybeth Hunter looks at "The Vocational Education Option: A Student's Search for Meaning in Today's Economy."

Finally, with a new Secretary of State at work, AFSA is looking ahead. In President's Views, Ambassador Barbara Stephenson details what it will take to restore American diplomatic capability to ensure the United States retains its global leadership role.

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Susan Maitra is the managing editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

#### LETTERS

#### The FSJ as Living History

"A Century of Journals" by Harry Kopp (April FSJ) is an evocative, historically valuable and journalistically significant achievement.

It is evocative to me because it recalls my involvement as a junior FSO in the notorious Senator Joseph McCarthy's (R-Wisc.) war to rid the State Department of purported communists.

As director of the Frankfurt America House in 1953, I was confronted by McCarthy's junketeering gumshoes Roy Cohn and David Shine, who had invaded the U.S. Information Service library to find and root out books and periodicals by communist authors.

They wanted to remove Dashiell Hammett's The Maltese Falcon and The Thin Man from the shelves. I insisted that the library had no communist authors, but to no avail.

Their assault continued in the periodicals section, claiming that it lacked anticommunist literature because we didn't have The American Legion Magazine.

The diatribe was finally interrupted when United Press International correspondent Marshall Loeb said: "Mr. Cohn, my office sent me to watch you burn the books in the library as the Nazis did in 1933." Cohn and Shine exploded, finally taking the pressure off me.

The Cohn and Shine confrontation resulted in a McCarthy-ordered FBI investigation that reportedly determined that I had been a member of only two organizations in my short life, the Boy Scouts of America and the U.S. Army. Unfortunately, some of my colleagues fared worse.

The above tale is but one brief



example of the value of "A Century of Journals" as a living history of the Foreign Service and its members in the last 100 years. Kudos. Hans N. Tuch Career Minister, retired Bethesda, Maryland

#### **Trust and Loyalty**

I am extremely pleased to extend my congratulations to the Foreign Service Journal team on such a momentous and special occasion as the launch of the Journal's centennial year (April FSJ). Well done!

I do, however, truly regret that this milestone, at least in the minds of many active and retired employees, will not signal the real honor it might have for the once-proud institution of the U.S. Foreign Service.

That someone formerly in charge allowed a relative handful of employees to publicly demonstrate what many perceived then and now as "disloyalty cloaked by dissent" was not only nationally and globally embarrassing; it was damaging.

More than a year later this institutional blunder continues to jeopardize the role of any U.S. Secretary of State, whose constitutional duty is to serve as the president's chief foreign policy adviser.

As any diplomatic practitioner through the long history of our Service knows well, trust is the coin of the realm. And today neither the State Department nor the Foreign Service is trusted because confidence has been lost.

Nevertheless, none of the above detracts from my admiration and respect for The Foreign Service Journal. I continue to be very proud to have had my own articles published therein.

I can only pray that the Journal outlives what appears to be an exceedingly dark and less than promising future for what once reigned as the premier agency within the U.S. government.

And I must wonder, can trust and confidence somehow be rebuilt?

Timothy C. Lawson Senior FSO, retired Hua Hin, Thailand

#### Poullada's Wisdom

In the January-February 2016 Journal you reprinted Leon B. Poullada's remarks from a February 1966 article called "A Foreign Service Training Corps?" (50 Years Ago quote) in which he advocated a true Foreign Service Reserve Corps of available retirees.

It strikes me as being



in articles my late husband published from about 1954 until his death in 1987. I'd like to see someone find all these articles, which might produce a useful think piece for future policies we'd advocate.

Leila D.I. Poullada Saint Paul, Minnesota



#### **LETTERS-PLUS**

### *Response*— Foreign Service "Some Needs" Kids: Suffering in Silence

BY KIRSTEN BAUMAN

hank you for the article by Kathi Silva addressing the challenges associated with educating our Foreign Service special needs children overseas (March Speaking Out).

In the spirit of speaking out, I hope to expand the scope of the dialogue to also raise awareness about our "some needs" children—those whose challenges do not rise to the protective special needs status; as a result, they can be vulnerable to stigmatization and discrimination at some of the more rigid international private schools.

All too often, our misunderstood "some needs" children are viewed as beyond help and become recipients of the most ineffective and punitive interventions. Dr. Ross Green has spearheaded substantial research on this topic, outlined in his book *Lost at School: Why Our Kids with Behavioral Challenges Are Falling Through the Cracks and How We Can Help Them.* 

While his work is gaining momentum and effecting positive change within U.S. public school systems, international private schools may not be as forward leaning in their approach to managing children who do not fit traditional academic and behavioral norms. As a result, our Foreign Service "some needs" children are suffering in silence.

I have two children, one of whom is described as having a developmental delay that can lead to anxiety and challenged behavior. It is not a condition or disorder, so it cannot be diagnosed and therefore does not qualify under the Special Needs Education Allowance.

Although my daughter never had any significant issue at school through her early years in Africa, Asia and Europe, her transition from elementary to middle school in Vienna, Austria, proved problematic.

My husband and I were essentially blindsided as my daughter's 6th-grade school situation rapidly deteriorated to the point where we had to abruptly remove her three months before the end of the school year.

According to the Foreign Service Families with Disabilities Alliance, my daughter's middle school experience speaks to a larger issue. International elementary schools are generally more flexible in supporting all children, no matter what their needs. When children transition to middle and high

Kirsten Bauman joined the Foreign Service in 2000. She is currently the arms control deputy counselor at the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna (UNVIE). Prior to UNVIE, she served as the environment, science, technology and health (ESTH) unit chief in Seoul; and as regional environment officer in Addis Ababa. Other postings include Athens, Paris and Washington, D.C.

Families with Special Needs Kids Need Support

BY KATHI SILVA

SPEAKING OUT

Restricts a lot the gradient service is a lot the gradientingservice is a lot the gradientingfor our children with all the righ conditions and hope they will bloom, but ng and adjusting to whatever conditions ng and adjusting to whatever contrained and the second second second second Cood gradement of what they can condition and the second second second second second setablish atrong rooks, provide a ach

plants and create a plan and a system that responds to unpredictable factors out of their control. For families with special needs children, this system is even more important.

the United States diagnoved with page ( in all needs is rising, and this trend is also, in all needs is rising, and this trend is also, in all needs is rising and this term of the few years ago, thanks to a positive rela. In a state of the support and flexibility fees (MED) now the Bureau of Medical the types and the support and flexibility ED gave us to grow our gardens," the Peterne of rising a special needs child a set was the pools pools on the n about the fact that parents were singly having a hand time accesstcial Needs Education Allowance a as SNEA) funds and getting a say nedical clearance options for their m. Since then, there have been

a weakaa Seeaau of Medicaa Seeaau of Medicaa Seeaau of Medicaa aad flexibility A parent advocacy group, t gardens,<sup>4</sup> the Service Families with Disabilit ance, was created in 2016 with the one.

Faith Stars & married to a Farrign Service officer; they have served negative in Monitechica Refginade, Canonas, Pertoria, Paris and Windongton, D.C. She has worked as a phenetic editor, a UKM contrast and at Canoniza and a Canoniza on Office national as previous post and the currently completing in mater's higher editor. Kents and the inclusional have level editors. Inco of pulsons have be hit wild of influence with distributions and given in more than 15 years of editors. The advection of adjustions. ance's suggestions were not answered and the number and types of complaints were serious enough. AFSA got involved by writing memos and attending meetings with MED to mediate parents' complaints.

The State Department Office of Civil Rights is addressing a complaint from a Foreign Service employee who argues that some of MED's current practices are disadvantaging Foreign Service members whose dependents have special needs. This, he says is a violation of the Amerians with Disabilities Act. The case Is ikely to open the door to many similar

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#### Speaking Out, March 2018

school overseas, though, there can be a palpable shift in the attitude of many international schools as curriculum complexity increases and the schools begin competing with their counterparts for student test scores and other scholastic accolades.

At their worst, these schools become fixated on building their reputation, and do not admit, or force out, children who do not fit the behavioral and academic high-achieving norms they seek. Unfortunately, FSFDA says, this situation is all too common.

The Regional Education Office at the State Department in Washington, D.C., agrees that not all international private schools are created equal, as these schools are not held accountable to centralized standards in the same manner as U.S. public schools.

Moreover, the fact that an international private school receives U.S. government funding does not necessarily guarantee high-caliber administrators or teachers, or staff with the skills and training necessary to work with children outside traditional academic and behavioral norms.

For families struggling to identify supportive schools that best fit their children's unique needs, please take solace in the fact that you are not alone, Ultimately, however, it is the parents' responsibility to assist our school board members, embassy representatives and State Department bureaus to hold schools accountable to basic standards so that all of our children can exercise their right to an education without prejudice.

and the State Department has resources to assist. The REO—not just a source for our special needs community—can provide assistance to all Foreign Service families seeking expert guidance on a multitude of international schoolrelated matters.

For example, the REO can provide essential information during the bidding process to help pre-empt wrenching school experiences. The REO also works closely with directors at U.S. government-assisted schools and can intervene in difficult situations.

And there are many other dedicated professionals and associations we can tap into for help. Among them are your school board representatives, embassy management counselor and the community liaison office coordinator, as well as AFSA and FSFDA (email the FSFDA chair, Mark R. Evans, to join the group).

As I reflect on my daughter's unfortunate experience, it is clear to me that parents should be as transparent as possible from the outset with potential schools.

A particularly pertinent question to ask upfront is whether the school has the capacity to accept special needs children, because this can be an indicator of a school's willingness or ability to work with children who reside in grey areas outside of the "norm."

Other warning signs are staff who

respond to attempts to explain a child's specific needs with a curt: "I've been teaching for years, and I've dealt with all sorts of kids." Essentially, the message is: "Don't tell me how to do my job," and it demonstrates an unhelpful and problematic degree of rigidity and close-mindedness.

If you encounter this, or other warning signs that give you pause, I encourage you to trust your instincts and consider options to move your child to a more flexible, empathetic environment sooner rather than later. An early move reduces overall trauma to the child and can ensure that your tuition is refunded and reapplied to your second-option school.

If, however, you decide to remain in your current school and you find yourself locking horns with a teacher or the administration, you will need outside support to equalize the power dynamic—the sooner the better.

Although your embassy management counselor should be made aware of your difficulties from the beginning, it is the REO that has the expertise to intervene on your behalf and should be contacted immediately.

An embassy psychiatrist can provide expert assistance if you are challenging school attempts to stigmatize or label your child. The CLO should be informed since that position is a resource for incoming families seeking information about life at post; members of the school board should be alerted to raise awareness and hold the school administration or staff accountable; and you can always turn to associations such as AFSA and FSFDA for advice.

If your "some needs" child has endured negative experiences at the hands of an international private school, I encourage you to speak out. You may encounter school-based retaliation or bureaucratic inertia ranging from apathy to resistance—including attempts to delegitimize you, reduce your credibility and paint you as a disgruntled outlier.

Ultimately, however, it is the parents' responsibility to assist our school board members, embassy representatives and State Department bureaus to hold schools accountable to basic standards so that all of our children can exercise their right to an education without prejudice.

If your experience is not reported, it is not an issue; it will not be addressed; and it will not get corrected. And our misunderstood and vulnerable "some needs" children will continue to suffer in silence.

## TALKING POINTS

## State Welcomes New Secretary

Newly confirmed Secretary of State Mike Pompeo spent his first week on the job in Brussels and the Middle East before making his inaugural appearance at the Department of State on May 1.

Several hundred Foreign Service members and other employees turned out in the C Street lobby to welcome the new Secretary on his first day in the building. He told the assembled crowd that one of his top priorities is to restore "swagger" to the State Department.

Secretary Pompeo was introduced by Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan, who referred to the Harvard law school graduate and former Army officer as "a cross between George Patton and Oliver Wendell Holmes."

Pompeo's address, which he used to set himself apart from former Secretary Rex Tillerson, was covered by *Foreign Policy*, the *Washington Post, Politico* and other media outlets.

In a change from his predecessor's management style, Pompeo promised the assembled crowd that he would spend as little time as possible in his seventh-floor office.

Within five hours of entering the building on May 1, news outlets reported, the new Secretary had announced that he is lifting the hiring freeze on family members—a freeze that saw the number of family members employed at U.S. embassies and consulates drop from 3,500 to less than 2,400.

"Ensuring that we have the right people with the right skills in the right place at the right time to effectively carry out the department's foreign policy goals is crucial to our continued success," Pompeo wrote in a departmentwide email that he signed simply "Mike."

On May 2 President Donald J. Trump



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo (center) waves as Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan (third from left) introduces him to employees gathered in the C Street Lobby of the State Department on May 1.

made his first-ever visit to the State Department to attend Secretary Pompeo's swearing-in ceremony, at which he praised Pompeo's "exceptional leadership."

While State employees are cautiously optimistic that Pompeo's arrival will herald a change in both morale and influence at the department, the new Secretary will have to overcome the view that he politicized the deaths of Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans in Benghazi in 2011.

"For the people who were close to Chris Stevens and had our tragedy compounded by the gross conspiracies propagated by Pompeo and others, trust will have to be earned over time," Ambassador (ret.) Dana Shell Smith told the Post.

"Some State Department officials still quietly express reservations about Pompeo's record," *Foreign Policy re*ported, "including his past homophobic and Islamophobic statements and how he pilloried the State Department during the congressional Benghazi investigation."

Former FSO Nancy McEldowney, who ran the Foreign Service Institute until she retired last year, told NPR that "the fact that so many people were pushed out or encouraged to leave and then we saw an almost 50 percent drop in the number of people taking the Foreign Service exam to come into the State Department—these will take years to overcome."

#### The Shape of Tomorrow's World

The 18-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) in Geneva is surely one of the more extraordinary phenomena of our time. Neither war nor crisis nor gloom of confrontation stays its couriers from their appointed rounds. The Vietnam war may be rolling along; the Pentagon may be calling up reserves; the defense budget may be \$80 billion and counting, but still the disarmament boys persist. Sometimes, like Peter Pan, they seem to be spreading their arms and crying: "I can fly! I can fly!" Curiously enough, they almost can. ...

A more open world is, after all, the real long-range objective of disarmament talks; any arms control that may be achieved will be a means to the end. Real security in the nuclear age can never be achieved merely by tinkering with the instruments men use to wage war.

Every now and again the opposite thesis is thrust to the fore-that security consists in doing away with nuclear and, indeed, all weapons. Usually this idea comes from naïve and wishful citizens... It does not necessarily follow, however, that the United States Government was mistaken to profess an interest in general and complete disarmament (GCD) when Nikita Khrushchev...presented the idea to the UN General Assembly in 1959. (That was the year he kept his shoes on.)

I was one of those who thought at the time that we ought to be candid and realistic, and say what we know

to be true: namely, that technological developments had made foolproof inspection of nuclear disarmament an impossibility, and therefore no nuclear power in its right mind—certainly not the Soviet Union—could seriously consider stripping itself of its deterrent power. This would not have been sound tactics.



A government can never sell very much logic and realism in the disarmament field; it just is not salable.

One has to deal largely in dreams, where declaratory policy is concerned. We wisely did so, climbing on Nikita's bandwagon and trying to make "me too" sound original and persuasive. Had we taken the realistic line, pressing for partial measures only, the Kremlin would still today have been making propaganda hay with GCD, in all probability talking of little else.

-By William R. Frye, a journalist and author who was chief of The Christian Science Monitor's United Nations News Bureau, excerpted from his feature, "View of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee: The Shape of Tomorrow's World," in the June 1968 Foreign Service Journal.

#### *FSJ* Note on U.S. Vietnamese Refugee Policy Reverberates

**N** ews outlets around the world picked up on a discussion in the April *Foreign Service Journal,* in which former ambassador to Vietnam and FSO (ret.) Ted Osius pointed to the Trump administration's decision to deport some 8,000 Vietnamese who had lived in the United States for decades.

He could not go to the Hanoi government as instructed to ask for cooperation on that deportation policy, Osius stated in the Speaking Out column, "Respect, Trust and Partnership: Keeping Diplomacy on Course in Troubling Times," explaining why he resigned from his dream assignment as U.S. ambassador to Vietnam in October 2017.

The majority "were war refugees who had sided with the United States, whose loyalty was to the flag of a nation that no longer exists," Osius wrote. "These people don't really have a country to come back to. I feared many would become human rights cases, and our government would be culpable." The deportations were ordered even though in 2008 the United States and Vietnam had signed a repatriation memorandum stating that Vietnamese citizens who arrived in the United States prior to July 12, 1995, are not subject to deportation, according to *The Mercury News* and other media.

The Guardian, The Mercury News, the Huffington Post, South China Morning Post and the Catholic News Agency, among other outlets, picked up the story. It was also covered in the Human Rights Campaign blog. Reuters interviewed Osius for more on the story.

A State Department spokesperson said that Osius is "entitled to his personal views," the *Huffington Post* reported on April 13, but then the official "doubled down on the Trump administration's deportation policy."

A spokesperson for the State Department's East Asia Bureau said that the U.S. and Vietnamese governments "continue to discuss their positions," according to the *Catholic News Agency*.

Several weeks after the April *FSJ* appeared, Amb. Osius reported to us that as a result of wide news coverage of the deportation of refugees who had supported the United States and South Vietnam during the Vietnam War he had been contacted by many people.

"A Vietnam vet wrote to me about the administration's policy—'Odious in the whole, but especially so in the case of Amerasians," Osius told the *FSJ*.

"A man facing likely deportation sent me a photo of a Vietnamese-American woman and two children who will be left behind without their husband and father when he is kicked out," Osius continued.

"He wrote: 'At the age of 5, I was forced to leave my family behind [in Vietnam]. Living in the United States at a young age without parents or true guidance, I've made mistakes. That was more than 18 years ago. Now, the Trump administration wants to force me to separate from my wife and kids. This is even worse than being separated from my original family 40 years ago. It really means so much to me and my family that there is someone as big as you to speak out. On behalf of my family, thank you very, very much," said Osius.

On April 26, attorneys filed a class action suit in the U.S. District Court, Central District of California, on behalf of the deportees. The case will be heard June 4.

#### **Contemporary Quote**

[Bringing "swagger" back to the State Department] is a work in progress. But when the Foreign Service has its grip on a policy and is working with the Secretary of State and working for the president, and that policy is moving forward, then there's a confidence—a tightness of drafting. The Foreign Service leans forward, and can help its political masters move ahead and press for the agreed goals. That's the closest thing I can think of as swagger, and I've seen it work.

> —Ambassador (ret.) Daniel Fried, in a May 2 interview with Mary Louise Kelly on NPR's "All Things Considered."

#### Reauthorization Bill to Restore Cyber Diplomacy Office

n April 23 *Nextgov* reported that a State Department reauthorization bill from the House Foreign Affairs Committee would restore an office for cyber diplomacy that was closed during former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's tenure.

The reauthorization bill, which was released on April 20 by HFAC Chairman Ed Royce (R-Calif.), would mandate the creation of an office of cyberspace and digital economy, to be overseen by a presidentially appointed director confirmed by the Senate.

Last year Secretary Tillerson eliminated the coordinator position for the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues and closed the office, which was first created in 2011.

Tillerson reinstated the position in February, but moved the office under the Bureau for Economic and Business Affairs and limited the focus of the office, drawing criticism from lawmakers.

The reauthorization bill would restore the office's broad cyber mandate and move the director to a position just beneath the undersecretary for political affairs, increasing the importance of the position. The bill also suggests that "the cyber office should ultimately grow into a full bureau of the State Department," and it would prohibit the department from buying telecommunications services from any company that the intelligence community believes has assisted another country with a cyber attack or digital spying operations against a U.S. target.

Chris Painter, former head of the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues, told *Nextgov* that the move would "allow the office to address numerous issues at the intersection of cybersecurity and national security." (See p. 26 for Chris Painter's survey of "Diplomacy in Cyberspace.")

During his confirmation hearing in April, Mike Pompeo vowed to bring resources back to cybersecurity at State. "I can only say that every element of government has a piece of its cyber duty," Pompeo said.

"One of the challenges is that it's so deeply divided that we don't have a central place to do cyber work. At the CIA, we spent a great deal of resources" Pompeo continued. "I hope we've delivered value on our cyber efforts. I would hope to do the same thing at the State Department." It's very disappointing that a few members—in both parties—have decided to politicize and undermine a good, bipartisan bill that supports our diplomats and strengthens our embassy security. American diplomats serve in the most dangerous parts of the world, working to prevent armed conflict, combat terrorism, empower women and open new markets for our exports. We owe them the tools to safely and effectively carry out their missions.

This committee has accomplished a lot over the last several years—except a State Department authorization bill. I want to fix this. Authorizing is one of our fundamental

responsibilities that should be done. But this process isn't going to be used as a platform to pick political fights that do nothing to help the State Department and our national security.

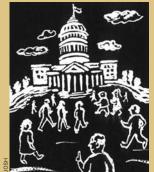
> —House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ed Royce (R-Calif.), in an April 26 statement.

The 2019 budget proposal from the administration will not make it... We're going to kill it and replace it with something that makes more sense. If you send a rescission package over here from the House that guts the State Department, we're going to kill that too. I just want everybody who knows about this account, and cares about this account, know that Senator Leahy and my colleagues on the committee—Republican, Democrat—are going to protect this account. ... To the administration, we want to work with you where we can, but I reject the whole attitude that's being displayed about developmental assistance.

—Senator Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), at a State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Subcommittee hearing to review the Fiscal Year 2019 budget request for the U.S. Agency for International Development on April 24.

[The position of] Secretary of State has a couple other facets to it that you have to do at the same time, and it's hard to keep all the balls in the air. One of them, of course, is being part of the management team with the president as far as managing, really, the United States. Thirdly, and I think very importantly, is the actual management of the bureaucracy. And I don't use bureaucracy here in a pejorative way. The thousands of men

## Heard on the Hill



and women who are in the Foreign Service, who are working with the State Department, make us proud every day; they are bipartisan, they do a great job.

—Senator Jim Risch (R-Idaho), at Senate Foreign Relations Committee confirmation hearing for Secretary of State nominee Mike Pompeo on April 12.

I very much appreciate your statements with respect to addressing morale at the State Department, to addressing staffing at the State Department. I hope you will also look at promotions—that is another place that has been

an issue at the State Department. It is my understanding that there is still a hiring freeze at the State Department. That is the only department within the federal government that still has a hiring freeze in place. I hope you will commit to repealing that hiring freeze and move forward as quickly as possible. And fill vacancies that exist within the State Department. ... As Senator [Chris] Murphy said, what we are seeing in China is that they are placing up their diplomatic activities so it makes no sense for us to be undermining ours.

—Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.), at SFRC confirmation hearing for Secretary of State nominee Mike Pompeo on April 12.

I'm of the belief that, you know, our foreign policy tool kit is badly mis-resourced today. I'm a big believer in peace through strength, but I'm not sure it makes sense to spend 20 times as much money on the military as on diplomacy. Especially when countries like Russia are standing up all sorts of non-kinetic capacities in order to win friends and influence adversaries. One of the frustrations we had with Secretary Tillerson, he was fond of telling this committee that if we gave him one more dollar, he would have no idea how to spend it. ... It seemed to belie the reality of the world that there are lots of threats you can't meet with all the great military equipment we make in Connecticut. You have to stand up capacities that the State Department and USAID have alone.

—Senator Chris Murphy (D-Conn.), at SFRC confirmation hearing for Secretary of State nominee Mike Pompeo on April 12.

#### SITE OF THE MONTH: CYBERSEEK.ORG

Cyberseek.org was created in November 2016 by the U.S. Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology to make it easier for cybersecurity job seekers to find positions within the industry.

The site offers an overview of the cybersecurity field, including an interactive map allowing users to view information about the supply and demand of cybersecurity job openings by location.

Users can search more than 300 metropolitan areas to see total job openings, worker supply, the area's

#### Ronan Farrow Campaigns to Put Diplomacy Back Up Front

Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist (and lawyer and former State Department adviser) Ronan Farrow has been making the rounds with his new book, *War on Peace: The End of Diplomacy and the Decline of American Influence*, telling everyone that the State Department and diplomacy are in trouble.

Farrow looks beyond the Trump administration to show how diplomacy has been sidelined in favor of military engagement for many years, and especially since 9/11. He advocates putting diplomacy back on a strong footing.

"I don't think it's about wanting diplomacy to take center stage, or to eclipse our military national-security instruments," he tells *New York Magazine*.

"It's about calling for appropriate balance between these parts of our government and ensuring that military solutions aren't the first and only ones on the table. Diplomatic solutions are flawed



top cybersecurity jobs by

title and other pertinent information. The interactive map is accompa-

nied by the "Career Pathway," which provides information on different types of positions; common job titles, salaries, online job openings; in-demand skills; and education and certifications related to careers in cybersecurity. It also illustrates how an individual can advance in a cybersecurity career, starting with four different entry-level positions and showing typical paths to mid- and advanced-level jobs.

and complicated. But we also desperately need them."

In a discussion with Fareed Zakaria on CNN's "Fareed Zakaria GPS," Farrow makes the case for the kind of expertise career diplomats bring to the job. He points to past diplomatic successes that were only possible because diplomats were on the job, including on the toughest issues like North Korea.

"America is undergoing a fundamental transformation in how it relates to the rest of the world. We have fewer and fewer negotiators and diplomats and subject matter experts on the kinds of complicated situations like Iran and North Korea...and more and more soldiers and spies making policy," Farrow says.

"The top nuclear arms expert at the State Department was fired unceremoniously in the first days of the Trump administration. ... You can see the lack of logic in that," he adds.

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Donna Gorman, Dmitry Filipoff and Shawn Dorman.



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### Two Ears, One Mouth, Two Hands: Diplomacy 101

BY JASON CRISS HOWK

hat is the best advice for people who want to become diplomats?" a young adult in my college class asked the other day. Without hesitation, I shot out an answer: *Listen*.

A diplomat's job is first to understand, I explained, and then relay the situation from the country they are in. Understanding will allow them to know the limits of American policy aims and the boundaries for their host nation's leaders.

If diplomats use their senses in proportion to the quantity of their sensory organs they can more easily and effectively do their job. In a word: Listen twice as much as you speak, and communicate what you know twice as well as you think you understand it.

I write this article because, unfortunately for the world, too many diplomats fail to understand why the human body was designed as it is. They talk more than they listen, and that hurts our diplomatic efforts and the relationships between nations.

Poor relationships between nations can often lead to the worst of human endeavors—war. Having lost many colleagues to war and having seen the dead in the streets and the wounded in hospitals, I know the price of poor diplomacy.

Some background is in order. I spent a few years engaged in the diplomatic and policymaking arena as an Army officer assigned to assist or handle U.S. and foreign senior leaders (e.g., generals and admirals, ambassadors, cabinet secretaries, lawmakers, vice presidents and even a few presidents, prime ministers and a king).

I was often serving in a position that normally required someone of higher rank, so I was the most junior person in the room. That meant two things: First, I was the assumed if not delegated notetaker; and second, it was often forgotten that I was in the room.

Thus, as a proverbial fly on the wall, I observed diplomacy for many



Jason Criss Howk, a retired foreign area officer and major in the U.S. Army, served 23 years as a soldier (and at times a soldier-diplomat) in interagency, intergovernmental, multinational and nongovernmental organization arenas. He spent more than a decade working on Afghan and Pakistan issues, serving in the Office of Military Cooperation-Afghanistan and the International Secu-

rity Assistance Force headquarters. He retired in 2015 and continues to write, speak and advise on current national security and foreign policy topics. These observations are his own and do not represent the views of the Department of Defense or the U.S. government. His new book is The Qur'an: A Chronological Modern English Interpretation (Old Stone Press, 2017). years. I saw good diplomats and great diplomats; but too often I witnessed disgraceful attempts at diplomacy by actors pretending to be diplomats or senior leaders. I won't name any names here, but I do want to discuss what I believe makes great diplomats successful and what traits poor diplomats have in common.

Let's start with the great diplomats and work our way back down the ladder to the things that should be avoided.

#### The Greats

Great diplomats listen closely to what all their foreign colleagues say. They work all day and night, turning every event into a useful diplomatic engagement—every meal of the day, cocktails, sports, sight-seeing and, of course, official meetings.

They don't just meet with people they like; they meet with all the key stakeholders on the most important national security issues, and they truly listen. A novice might accuse such diplomats of "going native"; but they are "native" only in their complete understanding of the country and region in which they operate.

Further, they don't just listen; they record. They take notes and every day summarize the notes into a format that is easily shared with others and that helps them to paint a clearer picture of the issues. They make sure that people know they are listening. Nothing gets

#### When they speak, great diplomats know what points to raise and when to raise them. They don't just read from a laundry list of talking points.

you into next week's meeting faster than being an attentive listener who gives feedback to the hosts. And, listening twice as much as they speak allows them to always know more about their peers than their peers know about them.

When they speak, great diplomats do so in a comfortable and disciplined manner. They are never overly officialsounding, and they don't act like tenured, out-of-touch professors lecturing their counterparts. They know what points to raise and when to raise them. They don't just read from a laundry list of talking points—but they know all the points that need to be raised from their lists.

Great diplomats never make people unnecessarily uncomfortable. They build a solid relationship, and that allows them to raise difficult topics in the right setting at the right time. Their measured speech doesn't appear cold, but intelligent. They never come across as demeaning to their audience, and they know how to emphasize important matters without raising their voice or seeming out of character.

Great diplomats are not only good communicators in their meetings, but can pass on (in writing and orally) the outcomes of the dialogue in a way that leaves all interested parties clear about what lies ahead. They leave their diplomatic partners with a clear plan for the next step. They ensure that the next meeting is set and that the agenda for that meeting is simple and clear. This allows staff members on both sides of the issue to summarize the outcomes and prepare their seniors for the next event.

Great diplomats also send the notes from their meetings to their bosses in a usable format. They get the information out quickly, usually drafting the notes into a short memo by nightfall if the topic is time-sensitive.

Within a day or two they will craft a very useful longer memo and distribute it widely. The final memos are useful because they set the scene; lay out points of contention and agreement; and give clear options for policymakers to choose from—including to take no action at all and continue to talk.

Great diplomats also know that no communication method is truly secret, so they are discreet enough to hold very important discussion results for inperson meetings.

#### What Not to Do

Poor diplomats only pretend to listen. It's clear to all parties that they are just rolling their talking points around in their mind, waiting for a break in the conversation to dump their insights.

Poor diplomats take notes in a way that makes the other speakers uncomfortable. If you ever see the other side pull back because of their fears about information being leaked, then close the notebooks and send out the staff members.

Poor diplomats talk more than they

listen, and never let anyone else change the topic or enter the conversation. This technique will ensure that you are never invited to useful meetings and social events. No one wants to be lectured.

Poor diplomats bore the audience. They make everyone dread the next encounter and will find everyone avoiding them. They hammer the same points in every encounter, but never resolve any issues. It's easy for a superior to spot the diplomat who just can't make any progress on an issue. Such a diplomat should be removed.

There are also destructive and selfish diplomats who degrade, in public, other parts of their own government to curry favor. This backstabbing confuses diplomatic partners and can handicap the entire policy effort in a nation.

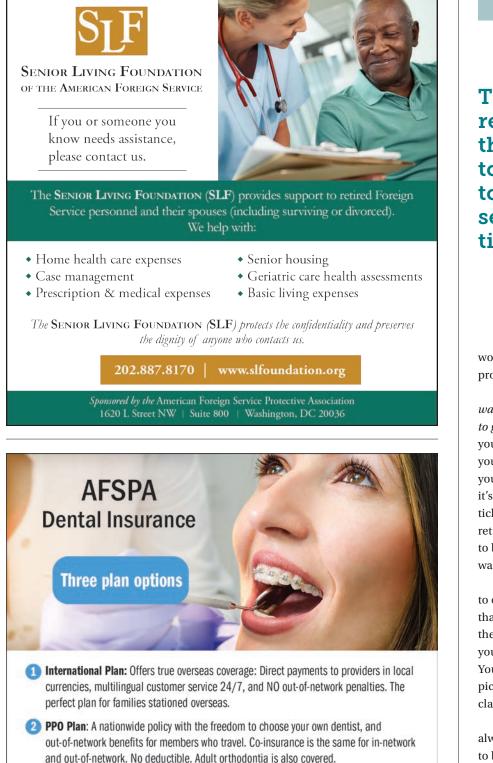
Poor diplomats can't write or speak succinctly. They give lots of details but can't convey the main points. This leaves superiors and subordinates guessing about the outcomes of the meetings and the options that have closed or opened.

And that means they have wasted everyone's time. If they cannot convey the options quickly and clearly enough for policymakers to make a timely decision, their work is fruitless. This same principle applies to intelligence officers. Learning to write clearly may be a lifelong task, but it is a critical weapon in the diplomat's arsenal.

Diplomats seeking to improve their fieldcraft should take away three key points.

#### **Three Keys**

*Listen first and often*. Truly understand the people and the issues before you speak, or you may put yourself or your nation into an awkward position. If you truly listen and understand, you



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They build a solid relationship, and that allows them to raise difficult topics in the right setting at the right time.

won't make as many mistakes and bad promises.

Speak when you know where you want the conversation to go and how to get it there. Make the foreign leaders you are talking with think that accepting your policy prescription is their idea. If you hold your tongue and speak when it's appropriate, you will get the golden ticket—the continuous invitation to return to all meetings. You won't have to beg to see your key partners; they will want to have your company.

Communicate your insights back to others in your government in a way that clarifies your own understanding of the issues. They don't have the insights you have into the nuances of the issues. You must ensure they get the whole picture—not in great detail, but in great clarity.

Be an excellent writer. The maxim always applies that you shouldn't write to be understood; you should write so that you cannot be misunderstood. **COVER STORY** 

## DS Diplomacy Works. Breaking Up a Child Pornography Trafficking Ring

State's Bureau of Diplomatic Security is uniquely equipped to tackle transnational crime. Here's one example of a recent success.

BY KALA BOKELMAN



n June 8, 2017, at 5:30 a.m., after a two-year investigation into a child pornography trafficking ring, I stood outside the home of one of the alleged main perpetrators waiting to finally knock on his door.

This knock was a long time coming, and was one of 11 arrests and 13 search warrants simultaneously



Kala Bokelman has been a Diplomatic Security special agent for 12 years. Her domestic assignments include the San Francisco Field Office and Washington, D.C., headquarters. She has also served as the assistant regional security officer (ARSO) in Maputo and

Baghdad, and ARSO-Investigator in San Jose. In April she returned to DS for a domestic assignment in the Overseas Criminal Investigative Division. Roughly half of her time in DS has been spent investigating crimes involving human trafficking, sexual assault and fugitive returns. She and her partner have two children.



Outside the suspect's residence, Special Agent Bokelman oversees the process of loading the prime suspect into the car to be transported to the courthouse on June 8, 2017.

served that day in Costa Rica and Mexico. The case was tightly coordinated, involving more than 140 agents, analysts, prosecutors and judges from 13 agencies across three countries, including the Department of State's Diplomatic Security Service. Our target was a transnational criminal organization producing child pornography in Costa Rica and distributing it via Mexico to an international market of buyers, including some in the United States, who paid between \$50 and \$5,000 for individual photos and videos.

#### **Operation RINO**

For the past three years I have been the assistant regional security officer investigator (ARSO-I) for Embassy San Jose in Costa Rica, working cases that include human trafficking and smuggling, fraudulent documents, U.S. fugitives and American citizen deaths. The Rescate Inocente Niños Operación (RINO) case was first brought to my attention in April 2016 through contacts in Costa Rica's national investigative agency, the Judicial Investigation Organization, known locally as the OIJ. Walter Espinoza, the head of OIJ, was asked by two prosecutors in their Trafficking-In-Persons office if anyone could help with the case. "Talk to Kala," he told them. "If anyone can help, she will figure it out."

Neither Espinoza nor prosecutors Mauricio Boraschi and Angie Trejos were strangers to me. We'd successfully worked together on several smuggling and human trafficking cases, so we already had a strong foundation of trust and cooperation critical to this type of investigation. My three Costa Rican counterparts are true professionals, amazing partners and some of the nicest people I know—as long as you are not a criminal. Angie Trejos worked tirelessly on this case for two years. One of Costa Rica's best prosecutors, she is smart, funny, tough and no-nonsense. If she builds a case against you, the best you can do is to plead guilty with the hope of a lighter sentence.

That day in June 2017, Angie and I, along with 20 Costa Rican agents and a judge, conducted the arrest of the main suspect and searched his house. The unkempt one-bedroom house in a tough neighborhood of San Jose didn't look like the center of a transnational crime syndicate, but it had been operating since 2009 as just that under the guise of a modeling agency. At the time of the takedown, 27 victims had already been identified, some as young as 10 years old.

The agency recruited children from primarily poor areas of the country with promises of modeling opportunities. Our main suspect was a professional photographer whose pictures of Costa Rica have been published in renowned international magazines. During the illicit photo shoots, children were coerced into posing nude or engaging in sexual contact with adults. The shoots took place at offsite locations or in the suspect's photography studio, sometimes with the victims' parents, who had

After searching through every drawer, cabinet, loose floorboard and wall panel, we loaded up the evidence that definitively linked our suspects to the victims. signed contracts that many could neither read nor understand, waiting in the next room, hoping their child would break into the modeling world. Instead, the photographer and his associates were committing crimes for profit—taking repulsive and heartbreaking photos and threatening the children that they would kill their parents if they breathed a word about what was really happening.

Ten hours later, after searching through every drawer, cabinet, loose floorboard and wall panel, we loaded up the evidence that definitively linked our suspects to the victims, websites and multiple crime locations, along with the names of more than 100 more potential victims. Later that afternoon, our five suspects

appeared before a judge, and the two main perpetrators were remanded to custody for the duration of the investigation and trial.

The photographer placed his head on the courtroom table and cried. The three additional suspects posted bail, but were prohibited from leaving the country. There was no pity to be found in the courtroom as he and the others were charged with crimes including human trafficking, rape of a minor, rape, sexual exploitation of a minor, money laundering and other charges that together carry a potential jail term of up to 50 years for each individual.



local groups.

OIJ agents, Costa Rican prosecutors and the ARSO-I line up on the narrow road leading to the prime suspect's residence to conduct the raid.

The Public Affairs section engaged with the TIP Working Group in 2016. In collaboration with the U.S. Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program, we developed a special IVLP On Demand Project, in which Angie Trejos and six other TIP prosecutors and investigative agents participated, that we deliberately tailored to Costa Rica's issues. The IVLP experience gave them a better understanding of the trafficking problem worldwide and the types of assistance the U.S. State Department and Diplomatic Security Service, along with various other agencies, can provide-not only to combat

these crimes, but to better

secure all national borders by

#### Solving the Case: The TIP Working Group

Diplomacy, relationship-building and international cooperation solved this case. The work in San Jose to combat human trafficking and the sexual exploitation of minors did not start with that call from Mauricio Boraschi and Angie Trejos. It took a concentrated effort by multiple government entities and agencies in various countries working together. This international coalition that proved to be so effective was the culmination of hard work by various sections of the U.S. embassy, U.S. Department of State, Diplomatic Security Service and our Costa Rican counterparts.

Inside the embassy, we created a Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Working Group to better coordinate our efforts to cooperate building international coalitions to dismantle transnational trafficking and smuggling routes.

more effectively with our multiple Costa Rican counterparts.

The Political section took the embassy lead in helping Costa Rica

Costa Rican laws and policies that would better align the country

with international standards. The Political section and the Inter-

national Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs section (INL) worked together through various grant programs to enhance and

improve Costa Rica's capacity to provide victim assistance. This

was done through private and government sectors, including the

Trafficking in Person's Immediate Response Team. The 27 victims

received-and continue to receive-support from these various

improve its rating in the annual TIP Report through changes in

#### **Angel Watch**

My ARSO-I office has taken the lead on numerous projects, including multiple criminal cases, alongside our Costa Rican counterparts and the Angel Watch program. Run by the Department of Homeland Security, the program alerts countries that a U.S. citizen convicted of sexual crimes against a minor is traveling there. Over the past three years, the program has been hugely successful, and is one of several ways Costa Rica is taking a proactive approach to combatting the exploitation of children. When I first arrived, information about travelers on the Angel Watch list was being sent to the authorities here, but there was no coordination among the necessary agencies and, as a result, almost every traveler was permitted entry. Previously an alert on the Angel Watch list involved two independent systems and at least 10 emails or phone calls from my office to everyone involved. In conjunction with my Costa Rican counterparts anywhere in the world when international cooperation and coordination is needed, as it so often is with these types of crimes that easily cross national borders. Whether that DS agent is sitting in Maputo, Baghdad, San Francisco or somewhere else—they are only a call away, offering detailed knowledge and relationships with law enforcement personnel, apparatus and policy on the ground. In my 12 years of service, there has always been a willing

in Immigration and Interpol, we changed this through diligent attention and cooperation.

During the last three years we cut the number of Angel Watch travelers in half (from 124 to 58), an indication that Costa Rica is becoming less attractive as a destination for sex tourism. We have achieved almost 100 percent denial of entry to those on the list in the past three years. Finally, by employing the assistance of INL, Costa Rica now has a robust IT system that connects its own immigration system with Interpol systems, making it a one-step process to generate an alert from an Angel Watch "hit."

INL and my office have also been providing TIP training to agents, prosecutors and the private sector for the past three years. We focus on identifying and assisting



Prosecutor Angie Trejos, in white, and DS Special Agent Kala Bokelman, at right, work with Costa Rica's Judicial Investigation Organization agents and cybercrimes analysts to go through DVDs looking for evidence in a barrio in San Jose.

DS agent on the other end of the line, who then takes the reins for their country or area. We are quite simply the best in the world with this ability and reach.

When the Mexico link in the child pornography case became apparent, it was easy to call my fellow ARSO-I at Embassy Mexico City, Hy Star. She immediately followed up with her counterparts in the Mexican prosecutor's office. She monitored the progress of the case and assisted in the coordination of the timing of the operation in Mexico to coincide with our takedown in Costa Rica. Thanks to her participation, six people in Mexico were arrested and charged with distribution of child pornography.

After the initial meeting with the prosecutors in 2016, I immediately reached out to my desk

victims, along with investigating cases. None of the accomplishments mentioned could have been achieved without the outstanding partnership of Costa Rica, which has made TIP and combating the sexual exploitation of minors a priority. In Costa Rica's 2017 State of the Union address, President Luis Guillermo Solís specifically mentioned the valuable assistance Costa Rica received from Embassy San Jose in combating TIP issues and investigating cases.

#### Law Enforcement Assistance a Call Away

Diplomatic Security is the only law enforcement agency with a sworn federal law enforcement agent at every U.S. embassy and most consulates around the world and in multiple locations throughout the United States. This means that I can call my fellow agents and get assistance or information easily and quickly officer, DS Agent Kareem Parson, from the Overseas Criminal Investigative Office to seek guidance from more experienced DS agents. Their immediate willingness to provide support, advice and undercover funds was crucial to the case. Costa Rica did an amazing job on the investigative, analytical and prosecutorial side by discovering the various websites and utilizing a full range of complex investigative techniques. However, everyone knew we needed the final piece of evidence that linked the suspects to the websites, the money and, hence, the crime.

To access the websites, we needed to buy generic credit cards and set up a Bitcoin account. When I asked OCI and DS for approval, there was no hesitation. They understood that this was not a Costa Rica or Mexico problem. This was an international crime perpetrated against children; and, as DS law enforcement officers, this is what we fight anywhere in the world. Angie, the Costa Rica case agent, and I determined we needed only \$500 for the incriminating purchases. Instead, DS provided five times that amount to ensure we could do everything needed and have contingency funds.

Without the support of DS, we could not have entered the websites anonymously to gather evidence, and the case would not have been ironclad. Costa Rica's prosecutors told me that this step was the vital link that proved our case and directly tied our suspects to the crimes being committed against these children. (Costa Rican federal law enforcement authorities later named it 2017's Investigation of the Year.) Imagine, with just \$2,500 of U.S. funds, hard work and the collaboration of U.S., Costa Rican and Mexican authorities, we took down an international child pornography ring, saved countless children from life-destroying abuse, and both exposed the perpetrators of these horrific crimes and shined a light onto the buyers of this disgusting material. That is money well spent!

Without a doubt, this has been one of the most gratifying cases of my career. Knowing that a coordinated international

**Angel Watch** alerts countries that a U.S. citizen convicted of sexual crimes against a minor is traveling there.

group of committed law enforcement personnel and multiple agencies and offices came together to destroy a ring that was exploiting and abusing minors was inspiring. But this is what DS agents and members of the Foreign Service do best every day-work together to make our corners of the world better and more secure.



FOCUS ON CYBER DIPLOMACY

## DIPLOMACY IN CYBERSPACE

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The rise of the internet and cyber technologies constitutes one of the central foreign policy issues of the 21st century.

BY CHRIS PAINTER



he internet and networked technologies have enabled amazing social and economic progress around the world. As new technologies come online and more people are connected around the world, the potential benefits of cyberspace seem boundless. Yet at the same time, technical

threats in cyberspace posed by

state and nonstate actors have dramatically increased in both sophistication and number, and the potential and actual impact of those threats has grown exponentially. There are also serious policy threats to the very nature, structure and governance of the internet as we know it, including unprecedented attempts to undermine democratic processes and an increasing drive by repressive regimes to suppress and control online discourse and undermine internet freedom.



Chris Painter was the first State Department coordinator for cyber issues, serving from 2011 to 2017. He currently serves as a commissioner for the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, among other positions.

2.6

Against this sobering backdrop, the need for U.S. diplomacy, working in conjunction with other instruments of national power, is clear. Because cyberspace threats are almost always international, as is the technology itself, an unprecedented level of international coordination, engagement and cooperation is required both to counter threats and to embrace and drive the economic and social opportunities that cyberspace offers. This diplomatic effort must also be cross-cutting because security, economic and human rights issues in cyberspace are often interdependent.

#### **A Pioneering Move**

To increase our focus and leadership on international cyber issues, the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues at the State Department was created in 2011, and I was asked to serve as the first coordinator. Located within the Secretary of State's office, it was the first of its kind anywhere in the world, and it literally created and advanced a whole new area of foreign policy focus that did not exist before. More than 25 countries have since created similar offices in their foreign ministries, and there is an expanding web of engagement on issues including international security, deterrence, combatting cybercrime, cybersecurity, promoting human rights online and internet governance. Moreover, there is an increasing demand by countries to discuss cyber issues as part of high-level ministerial and leader dialogues.

Although much progress was made in the last six years, the state of cyber diplomacy in the State Department is currently in flux. As an apparent part of a larger reorganization, my former office was downgraded in priority and structure, its future in doubt. This move, and the uncertainty it created, sent an unfortunate signal that the United States was abandoning its leadership role in this emerging area, both to the consternation of our partners and the delight of our adversaries.

Fortunately, in an apparent response to congressional legislation that would re-establish and strengthen my former office, the department announced in February its intention to create a new cyber bureau. That is a good step forward and hopefully a revised version of that plan will find favor with the new Secretary of State. But to be effective, such a bureau needs to be adequately resourced and placed in a cross-cutting reporting chain that accounts for all the issues in cyberspace. More than anything else, it needs to be made a clear priority of the department and the Secretary of State, something that was sadly lacking during the tenure of Rex Tillerson.

In the following, I briefly discuss the core components of cyber diplomacy and offer some thoughts on the way forward in this area.

#### What Is Cyber Diplomacy?

**Building Strategic Partnerships and Engaging Multilaterally.** Just as in other diplomatic endeavors, cyber diplomacy works by building strategic partnerships with other countries around the world to enhance collective action and cooperation against shared threats, assembling like-minded coalitions on vital policy issues, sharing information and national initiatives and confronting bad actors.

During its first six years in operation, the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues established numerous senior bilateral and multilateral partnerships and launched numerous "whole of government" cyber dialogues with countries around the world. These formal and informal dialogues discussed the full range of cyber issues and have translated into direct cooperation and common approaches in important multilateral venues. As we seek to advance common values, push back against repressive regimes and enhance collective action and deterrence, these partnerships need to be expanded and strengthened.

Nearly every formal and informal multilateral and regional body is now, in some capacity, focusing on cyber issues. These include multiple parts of the United Nations (including the International Telecommunication Union and Office on Drugs and Crime), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Organization of American States, the Group of 7 and the G-20. While these venues offer the opportunity for the United States and its partners to advance a common vision of cyberspace and implement important initiatives, they also pose a challenge, as nondemocratic countries try to use those same organizations to advance their own very different views of cyberspace.

So far, working with our partners, the private sector and civil society, we have generally been successful in advancing our agenda of an open and secure cyberspace and thwarting attempts by repressive regimes to impose state control over the internet or undermine security or human rights. Nevertheless, we are at an important moment; the debates and decisions made in these forums over the next several years will have a major impact on all of these issues for years to come.

Enhancing Cooperation, Collective Action, Incident Response and Capacity Building. Diplomacy plays an important role in directly responding to specific cyberthreats and laying the groundwork for better cooperation and action against future threats. For example, using the network of counterparts we built with other countries, the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues used diplomatic demarches to seek the assistance of more than 20 countries when a persistent, Iranian-sponsored Longer-term, high-level diplomatic pressure played a key role in addressing widespread trade secret and intellectual property theft by China.

botnet targeted U.S. financial institutions. This collective action, where each country used its authorities and tools to help address a shared threat, proved very effective in mitigating the malicious activity.

Longer-term, high-level diplomatic pressure played a key role in addressing widespread trade secret and intellectual property theft by China. We worked with other countries that were victimized while also leading a sustained campaign of direct diplomatic engagement with Beijing. This diplomatic campaign, coupled with potential use of other instruments of national power, led to the negotiation of a landmark agreement with China that made clear that no country should use cyber means to steal the intellectual property of another to benefit its own commercial sector.

The State Department also has a vital role in facilitating law enforcement and technical cooperation. Part of this facilitation is incident-specific, while part involves working with countries to enhance their capabilities and laws so that they can better work to combat international threats.

Capacity building also is important in both enabling better cooperation and persuading other countries that our vision of cyberspace benefits and should be endorsed by them. For this reason, the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues worked to create ambitious, cost-effective, capacity-building initiatives. These initiatives helped developing countries to enhance cybercrime-fighting capacity, create national cyber strategies and create institutional and other mechanisms to protect against cyberthreats. Given the global nature of cyberthreats, helping developing countries protect their own networks also increased the security of our networks. We also worked with countries as they developed their cybersecurity policies to ensure that they properly accounted for human rights and economic access concerns.

Advancing Strategic Policy and Building a Consensus for Global Cyber Stability. U.S. cyber diplomacy promotes and protects our core values of openness, internet freedom and multistakeholder internet governance—all of which have been threatened over the last several years. The United States is a founding member of the Freedom Online Coalition and has raised internet freedom and internet governance issues in virtually every diplomatic engagement.

Diplomacy must also be used to push back on flawed regulatory regimes or policies that serve to fragment the internet, undermining its social and economic potential. We have used diplomatic channels to challenge forced data localization regimes, ill-conceived cyber regulatory approaches and market access restrictions. Diplomacy also plays a vital role in ensuring the long-term stability of cyberspace itself in the face of increasing threats from nation-states and others, so that everyone can enjoy the benefits of cyberspace and no state has an incentive to engage in disruptive behavior.

As countries around the globe are developing, and in some cases using, offensive and other cyber capabilities, the lack of any clear consensus on acceptable state behavior in cyberspace poses substantial risks. To address this, the United States has led the development and promotion of a strategic framework of cyber stability that includes: (1) global affirmation of the applicability of international law to state activity in cyberspace; (2) the development of voluntary, nonbinding peacetime norms of acceptable state behavior; and (3) the development and use of practical confidence-building measures (CBMs) that serve to reduce the risk of misperception and escalation in cyberspace. The United States has had great success in promoting and achieving acceptance of this framework in forums around the world, including in the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts (UN GGE) on international cyber security (a series of expert forums), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In 2013 several countries, including the United States, China and Russia, reached a landmark consensus that international law, including the U.N. Charter, applies in cyberspace. This means that cyberspace is not a "free fire" zone where no rules apply; rather, it is grounded in the same rules as the physical world. In 2015 the UN GGE recommended non-binding, voluntary norms of responsible state behavior. Under these peacetime norms, no state should attack the critical infrastructure of another state or its computer security incident response teams. States should also cooperate with requests for assistance in certain cyberattacks. The United States and China reached agreement on a theft-of-trade-secret norm that was later adopted by the G-20 and by other country bilateral agreements with China. The United States also made substantial progress within the OSCE in taking forward and implementing cyber CBMs.

While all of this represents significant progress toward achieving global cyber stability, there is much more to be done, and the head winds are stiff. The 2016 UN GGE ended in a stalemate, with some authoritarian regimes aggressively promoting their own vision of cyberspace that restricts openness, while some regimes are resisting necessary efforts to assess exactly how international law applies to cyberspace. There is an urgent need to build a broader consensus among countries on norms of behavior; much work is required to implement such norms; and, in addition, there will be significant effort ahead to further articulate how international law applies to cyberspace.

**Deterrence**. The United States has made significant progress in building an international consensus on what constitutes responsible state behavior in cyberspace, but that work is largely irrelevant if there are no consequences for those who violate that consensus. We have not done a very good job of deterring malicious actors—particularly nation-state actors. There are many reasons for this, including difficulties with attribution, a limited stock of potential consequences, and difficulties sharing information among partner countries.

Nevertheless, at the heart of deterrence is the threat of a credible and timely response to the transgressor. Failure to act in a credible or timely way signals to the adversary that their actions are acceptable—or at the very least cost-free. For example, the lack a sufficiently strong, timely and continuing response to Russian interference with our electoral process virtually guarantees that Moscow will attempt to interfere again, both in the United States and in other democratic countries. We must do better.

Diplomacy can and should play a vital role in this effort—it is one of the key tools in the tool kit of response options that also include law enforcement actions, economic sanctions and cyber and kinetic responses. We must continue to employ diplomacy effectively and work to enhance all of our existing response options. We must also work with like-minded partners and other stakeholders to develop creative new tools that can be used swiftly and later reversed to change an adversary's behavior expanding the tool set and communicating, as transparently as possible, the likely costs that will be imposed for bad behavior. And we must enhance collective action.

Although the United States reserves the option to act alone if it must, deterrence and legitimacy are better served when several countries band together against a bad actor. There is much diplo-



The lack of any clear consensus on acceptable state behavior in cyberspace poses substantial risks.

matic work to do in forming such an agile coalition of like-minded countries who can call out bad behavior and collectively impose costs on our adversaries. Such a coalition should be flexible and can involve different countries and different actions depending on the actor; but creating it, and solving information sharing and other issues, will require a significant diplomatic effort.

Mainstreaming Cyber Issues in the Department. Cyber issues are inherently cross-cutting, involving nearly every functional directorate and every regional bureau. Because they are relatively new, they still need to be worked into the efforts and priorities of regional bureaus and posts around the world. Accordingly, the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues worked with the under secretary of State for political affairs to have each regional bureau, in consultation with the field, draft detailed cyber engagement strategies, raising the profile of these issues and prioritizing them according to the needs of each region. We also created and trained a cadre of cyber policy officers at posts around the world using the regional strategies as a basis for implementation. For the cyber issues office to thrive, it cannot be seen as a boutique or solely technical matter, but must be thought of instead as a core national security, economic and human rights issue that is part and parcel of the department's work.

#### The Way Ahead

Although much has been achieved over the last few years in cyber diplomacy, there is a long road ahead. The work we do and



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The United States virtually created this new field of cyber diplomacy, and an ever-increasing number of countries have followed our lead.

the choices we make now and over the next few years will determine whether we can all benefit from this amazing technology, or whether growing policy and technical threats will undermine its incredible potential. Achieving the future we want will require continued high-level attention and a significant, sustained effort.

Diplomacy has and must continue to play a pivotal role shaping the environment, building cooperation and working to build coalitions to respond to shared threats—and we must continue to lead the international community. Much needs to be done to advance stability and norms, bolster deterrence, respond to threats, build partnerships, uphold human rights online and advance fair economic access. Much more needs to be done, as well, to deal with existing and future hybrid threats including combined cyber-enabled threats that attempt to undermine our democracy.

Achieving progress on these issues requires a recommitment by the State Department that cyber issues are a foreign policy priority for the Secretary of State. Creating a new bureau is a good first step, but that bureau needs to report through a high-level, neutral reporting chain-not one that only has a narrow perspective on the cross-cutting issues involved. Indeed, pigeonholing these issues in one functional chain-as the current department proposal suggests doing through the economic under secretary-would not give full voice to the important national security and human rights aspects of the portfolio. If anything, it would hamper efforts to mainstream these issues across the entire department. A commitment to these issues must also be backed up with adequate funding and resources. For example, capacity building funds have been zeroed out despite the dividends that even small expenditures have paid in bolstering our own security.

Cyber diplomacy is the quintessential 21st-century issue of our foreign policy, encompassing cutting-edge issues of human rights, security and economic policy. The United States virtually created this new field, and an ever-increasing number of countries have followed our lead. We should not stop now; instead we need to redouble our efforts. Too much time has already been lost. ISTOCKPHOTO.COM/PIXTUM

FOCUS

**ON CYBER DIPLOMACY** 

## A Diplomat in a Cyber World WORKING WITH CYBERCOM

An FSO and former ambassador discusses her work as a political adviser to U.S. Cyber Command.

BY GINA ABERCROMBIE-WINSTANLEY

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s a U.S. diplomat for 32 years, I've worked in countries that regularly feature on the front pages of the international press—Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, to mention a few. After experiencing the terrible costs of a terrorist attack in Saudi Arabia firsthand, my focus shifted from our bilateral

relationships with Middle Eastern countries to coordinating our counterterrorism efforts throughout the world.

I spent four years as deputy coordinator for counterterrorism (CT), leading one of the hardest-working teams in the Department of State. CT oversees our international efforts to stop money flows to terrorist organizations, to improve the ability of other nations' legal systems to carry out clean prosecutions of terrorists, to strengthen technological tools for effective border security and to counter terrorists' use of the internet. I often represented State at senior interagency cyber policy meetings and worked with representatives from the U.S. military's command for military cyberspace operations against state and nonstate actors, U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM).



Ambassador Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley retired recently following 30-plus years in the Foreign Service. Her areas of expertise include the Middle East, counterterrorism and cybersecurity. She was the first woman to lead a diplomatic mission in Saudi Arabia as consul general in Jeddah. She also served in the White House, the Department of Defense and on Capitol Hill. Her work has been published in The New York Times and The New York Review of Science Fiction. The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author alone and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Department of Defense,

U.S. Cyber Command or any agency of the U.S. government.



CYBERCOM's mission is clear: to defend the Department of Defense's information networks; to help defend the nation's critical infrastructure (e.g., transportation, water, electrical grid, banking) and to help support other combatant commands' mission execution. CYBERCOM is specifically directed to work with interagency and international partners to execute these critical missions.

#### **Getting There**

That work inspired me to later go through the extraordinary application process for an assignment with CYBERCOM. In addition to completing State's lengthy bidding process, and being approved by the military commander for the foreign policy adviser (POLAD) assignment, the successful candidate must pass a polygraph. Taking a polygraph is no simple matter for an FSO—the State Department does not use the polygraph, so hurdles included getting permission from the Secretary to take the test, as well as finding a secure facility convenient to my post where it could be administered.

I did take the test, and passed. And soon after, I established myself in the spacious POLAD office on CYBERCOM's "Seventh Floor" equivalent in the building it shares with the National Security Agency. Last August, President Donald J. Trump directed that U.S. Cyber Command be elevated to a full combatant command, and directed the secretary of defense, working with the director of national intelligence, to give him a recommendation regarding the future command relationship between the U.S. Cyber Command and the National Security Agency. \* I joined some of the most impressive, dedicated, hardworking men and women with whom I've had the honor to serve—top to bottom. The issues we dealt with were urgent: life and death, and hair-on-fire constant. Under the onslaught of cyber and other operations of varying levels of seriousness against U.S. interests and those of our allies, we struggled to provide well-planned and well-supported options that were fully informed by our policy priorities for the commander, secretary of defense and president to anticipate attacks or respond. My personal rank was equivalent to that

of a two-star flag officer; and, happily, my counterterrorism experience and my regional expertise made me a welcomed member of the leadership team.

At CYBERCOM, not only does an FSO find herself in the midst of military culture and language, but because of the nature of this theater, one is also in the midst of an intel culture and language. The POLAD course and handbook that State provides are enormously useful, but I had to push myself hard to navigate the culture and lingo differences with confidence. The vocabulary differences between agencies are real; the thought pattern differences are real; and the measurements of success are different, too. Our value will be increased by gaining familiarity with these differences long before we take up a military-related assignment.

#### The FSO's Secret Sauce

Our expertise, as diplomats, in adapting to new cultures and languages quickly is what makes our role as intimate team members so essential to a holistic definition of success in this arena. In my experience, interagency and international cyber cooperation is usually undertaken with the best of intentions and solid goodwill, but prejudices, misunderstandings, missteps and cross purposes come with the territory. One of the first challenges for the successful State Department officer in this arena is learning the terms of art: cyber event, cyber attack, cyber threat, cyber operation and cyber warfare are just a few. I found each of those terms often used interchangeably, or meant for different things, or two different words used for the same thing, depending on who used them. Definitions were still being firmed up.

There were stereotypes to overcome, as well. I worked to protect State from the criticism that we would analyze and weigh an option until it was too late to use it, and I flagged the reverse concern to my CYBERCOM colleagues—namely that DOD was more likely to push too quickly for actions that carried the danger of unanticipated negative impacts.

<sup>\*</sup>On May 4, as this issue went to press, U.S. Cyber Command was elevated to an independent "unified command," giving it equal status with the nine other U.S. military commands around the world. In addition, U.S. Army General Paul Nakasone took over the leadership spot at CYBERCOM, and was double-tapped to also serve as director of the National Security Agency.

I anticipated an additional burden as a woman in a military setting. On that I was wrong. Though there was plenty of testosterone in the room, at senior meetings I was delighted to note that there were many female leads among flag officers in the room or on the screen, including for Marine Cyber, Fleet Cyber and the J2 (Intelligence), as well as the head of J1 (Manpower and Personnel). This reflected similar senior roles filled by women at State and reaffirmed my conviction that the tradition of female-led cyber successes—long established by luminaries like Admiral Grace Hopper, Agnes Driscoll and others—would continue.

One of my most important roles was as a communicator. My operating from CYBERCOM headquarters allowed our agencies to coordinate early and improve our shared understanding of the tasks at hand. When there were disputes over the likely impact of particular actions on our policy priorities, I did my best to ensure that facts and perspectives were shared in both directions quickly and comprehensively. At times, this was easier said than done. Email worked wonders for moving information rapidly, but when the systems are separate and maintained at different classification levels, information sharing—with the right people—slowed. It's hard to overstate the pressure and difficulty involved in rapidly producing multiple options for policymakers that have been well staffed, closely reviewed and are able to gain broad interagency support. No uncrossed t's or undotted i's are allowed.

#### **Communicating in Both Directions**

The pressure was daily because the array of cyber threats facing the United States was constant. This pressure was heightened on our cyber warriors when specific options carried time constraints on their viability. Often these options needed input or clearance from particular offices in State. Then the friction would intensify, heightened by the need to make modifications during "live" situations that had to be reflected in updated briefing slide decks something the State Department does not often use. Ensuring that clearers outside of CYBERCOM were reviewing the latest iteration of a plan of action took enormous attention to detail, and timeliness was often challenged by the limited compatibility of some networks.

The POLAD office gained much love from colleagues in both agencies when we could help with the transfer of new recommendations in both directions and ensure an accurate understanding of the thinking that informed them. It was imperative that nothing poorly staffed or inadequately socialized and cleared arrived for a command decision. At the same time, we understood every delay might be counted, not only in opportunities missed, but lives lost. The vocabulary differences between agencies are real; the thought pattern differences are real; and the measurements of success are different, too.

I could assist in alerting senior State Department officials that options would need to be reviewed and evaluated, and I provided as much background as possible to speed up the process. It was also useful to flag for State colleagues some of the technological limitations even our best cyber warriors faced. Former Secretary of Defense Ash Carter acknowledged in an interview late last year that he had been disappointed in the effectiveness of CYBER-COM's weapons and techniques. He further alluded to tensions brought on by other agencies not wanting CYBERCOM to use those that they had. That gets back to meeting policy priorities, while navigating the well-documented tension between executing an early response to what intel has uncovered and what you lose by letting your adversary (and others) know that you have the intel and you have the capability to respond.

Any response is framed by the broad definition of success, based on our overall policy objectives. In the cyber world, lines increasingly overlap. My former boss, Admiral Michael S. Rogers, has noted publicly that he couldn't have anticipated that his agency would be involved in a response to a private entertainment firm's network being hacked. Remember, CYBERCOM has three primary missions; and no one equated Sony Pictures Entertainment with "critical infrastructure."

#### **Establishing International Norms**

The other half of the vital role State played was helping to increase understanding at CYBERCOM of the State Department's work to further establish and solidify international norms for cyber behavior and responses. An early understanding of what international norms, international law and our partner agreements allowed cyber forces to do and not do in cyberspace ensured that the options presented were truly viable. For instance, hospitals, water systems, voting machines and electrical grids could be attractive targets for countries at odds with each other, but should they be? We could put in place an effective deterrent to an action by an adversary, but it would also affect an ally's systems or network. Should we, and legally, can we? These are instances where FSOs who are well-versed in Our expertise, as diplomats, in adapting to new cultures and languages quickly is what makes our role as intimate team members so essential.

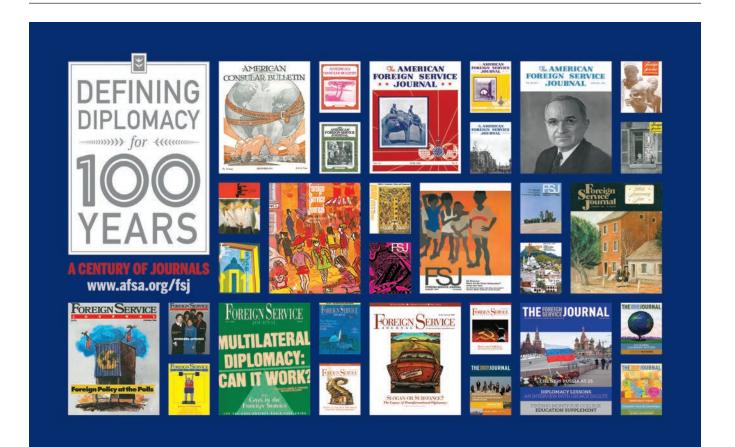
our norms work and objectives could aid in early CYBERCOM decision-making.

Every international agreement on cyberspace rules of the road for which we get broad support puts limits on state actions against other states. These agreements on "norms" of behavior help eliminate potentially devastating actions by states or, at least, make their cost higher because of the necessity to hide their authorship. These norms also ensure broad repudiation of state and nonstate actors who violate them. We've seen this with the international reaction to Russian tampering with the U.S. and other nations' election processes.

The work to get broad support for putting limits on acceptable actions against other states in the cyber arena is done largely through the negotiations conducted through the awkwardly titled United Nations Group of Governmental Experts on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security (UN GGE). State leads the UN GGE negotiations for the United States and has achieved some significant successes for U.S. positions.

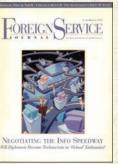
The work done by State and CYBERCOM to defend and advance U.S. interests is on a continuum. State Department officials' work through the UN GGE helps reduce the range of acceptable damaging actions taken in cyberspace.

Well-versed in the challenges of defending U.S. interests, State officers can help ensure CYBERCOM's tactical brilliance is informed by our broad foreign policy priorities. The partnership is essential, and thorough preparation for it by FSOs is necessary for success.



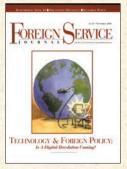


## Technology and Diplomacy From the FSJ Archive



THE FOREIGN JOURNAL





#### **Automation and the Foreign Service**

The technology of automation will profoundly influence the work of the Foreign Service in the 1970s. The key elements of this change will be: 1) fast, cheap, direct satellite communications; 2) large computer data banks in Washington, and in a few regional posts abroad; 3) simplified and low maintenance computer terminals and classified long-distance Xerox facilities or similar equipment linking the department with most posts.

The principal challenge posed by automation in the 1970s is not technical. The real problem is our ability to anticipate and exploit the potential opportunities offered by automation. Inevitably, we shall have to examine our personnel needs, our way of doing business, and our customary approaches to problems. The challenge is a worthy one.

—From "Automation and the Foreign Service," by FSO Thomas M. Tracy, in the March 1971 Foreign Service Journal.

#### **The Computer Generation**

Since those innocent days of sailing ship communication, the business of diplomacy can be divided into several eras, all defined by technology: the advent of radio, telegraph and telephone, which linked overseas missions to Washington; the invention of the jet engine, which made it easier for leaders and diplomats to conduct face-to-face negotiations; and the simultaneous arrival of communications satellites and computers, binding the entire worldwide diplomatic apparatus into a real-time web that is as accessible as the screen of the nearest personal computer.

Of those changes, the last—now in its early bloom—may have the most profound impact on the management of foreign policy and the shape of the Foreign Service.

There are already signs that the classic management system of the State Department and embassies has begun to flatten and widen, bringing in more people earlier in the policy-making process. This represents a seismic change in the most traditionbound of the government services.

Under the new thinking, the embassy's primary purpose would be to create a platform, supporting the work of all the agencies involved in foreign affairs. A chief of mission's success would be judged on how well the interlocking team worked.

Technically, more will be possible in the future. The unresolved issue is how the real world of managing national security policy can be adapted to deal with the cyber revolution, and how to prevent the traditional hierarchy from being transformed into a computerized kind of anarchy that would badly serve the nation and its embassy personnel.

-From "Chugging Up the Onramp of the Info Interstate," by Jim Anderson, in the March 1995 Foreign Service Journal.

#### **Bringing Foreign Affairs to the Home PC**

Internet had helped bring international affairs to Main Street. For the average American with a home computer, foreign affairs is no longer only for academia and Washington bureaucrats. By using PCs to retrieve U.S. foreign policy documents from government agencies and to chat on the hundreds of international affairs bulletin boards, Net surfers are making foreign policy more a part of daily life for the average American than ever before in U.S. history. —From "In Navigating the Internet, All Roads Lead to D.C.," by

Dan Kubiske, in the March 1995 Foreign Service Journal.

#### National Authority in the Digital Age

I do not believe that the digital revolution heralds the end of the nation-state. It will, however, compromise the ability of a state to exert its domestic authority through jurisdiction over its geographic territory. It will also change the state's role in the international political economic system: Technology will empower civil society advocacy groups to become significant actors in international politics.

A caveat is important here: The digital age is brand-new. We are witnesses to its birth and understand very little about what is happening, much less what will happen in the future. At this point prediction is difficult, if not impossible. What we can do is to imagine possible futures and think systematically about how they might affect us.

The Internet simultaneously provides the potential for both

democracy and demagoguery, and it is too early to make a call about its impact.

I suspect that international negotiations and representation will be more rather than less important in the future, as governance of the Internet and the world economy becomes increasingly global.

-From "Will States Be Overthrown in the Digital Revolution?," by Stephen J. Kobrin, in the November 2001 Foreign Service Journal.

#### Welcome to the FS Blogosphere!

At the September 2007 launch of the State Department's first Web log, Dipnote, Spokesman Sean McCormack welcomed readers to the site. Inviting them to be "active participants in a community focused on some of the great issues of our world today," McCormack stated that the purpose of the blog was to "start a dialogue with the public" and to bring readers "closer to the personalities of the department."

But in launching Dipnote, the department was not so much breaking new ground in foreign affairs as playing catch-up. Blogging is already well established among members of the Foreign Service. There are currently more than 60 frequently updated, unofficial blogs written by active and retired FS personnel and their family members.

The FS blogosphere reflects a profound generational shift in the way diplomats see themselves and their work.

-From "Welcome to the FS Blogosphere," by Marc Nielsen, in the March 2008 Foreign Service Journal.

#### **Cloud Computing and the Development Gap**

A new development in the information technology industry offers the possibility of accelerating social and economic development, even in this time of limited resources. Cloud computing, as it's called, involved tapping into computing power over the Internet. This creates enormous economies of scale, substantially lowering the cost and eliminating the technical complexities and the long deployment cycles of planning, installing, maintaining and upgrading IT systems.

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

> —From "Using Cloud Computing to Close the Development Gap," by Kenneth I. Juster, in the September 2009 Foreign Service Journal.

#### **Social Media and Public Diplomacy**

In recent years, Twitter and other social media have emerged as a lightning-fast, pointed alternative to traditional tactics of public diplomacy. Supplementing their usual portfolios, U.S. diplomats are being encouraged by the State Department to use both local and global social media tools.

The "social diplomacy" approach has proven to be especially important in countries like Russia, where government control of most broadcast media often distorts the message from Washington and news coverage about U.S. events and policies.

—From "Using 'Social Diplomacy' to Reach Russians," by FSO Robert Koenig, in the January-February 2014 Foreign Service Journal.

#### Diplomatic Reporting: Adapting to the Information Age

Critics have asserted that while U.S. diplomatic reporting has a rich and noble tradition in our country, it has suffered from the advent of the Internet and easy access to valuable open-source information. Embassy political and economic officers, who generally rejected this line, could now be directed to reduce their substantive reporting activities and take on more of the embassy's operational duties such as managing congressional delegations.

Experienced FSOs and government analysts in Washington were quick to recognize, however, that while the Internet would narrow the diplomat's reporting domain, it could not compete with the Foreign Service's ability to provide policy-relevant insight and invaluable context with regard to local people, events and trends. In fact, bountiful online access to open-source information has the potential to make good diplomatic reporting even better.

-From "Diplomatic Reporting: Adapting to the Information Age," by John C. Gannon, in the July-August 2014 Foreign Service Journal.

#### **Social Media for Reporting Officers**

Think of these platforms [Twitter and Facebook] as the world's largest cocktail parties, where everyone is invited and guests kindle conversations and relationships, just as in real life.

This [is] why, as a reporting officer, I consider my Twitter account essential to doing my job. We're paid to get to know people, to build relationships with the influencers and information gatherers who can help us become better informed. Almost universally, these people are out in force on social media.

—From "Twitter Is a Cocktail Party, Not a Press Conference (or, Social Media for Reporting Officers)," a Speaking Out column by FSO Wren Elhai, in the December 2014 Foreign Service Journal.

### **FS KNOW-HOW**

# Going Home Leave and R&R

t might happen on that first night of home leave, when jet lag awakens you at 2 a.m. in your childhood home. You try to sneak downstairs in search of something to eat, but you trip over the dog and slam headfirst into the bedroom door, awakening your elderly parents, who until that exact moment had no idea you knew so many curse words in so many different languages.

Or it could happen one week into home leave, when your kids are bickering with one another for the fourth time that morning about whose turn it is to use the guest bathroom while your spouse is on the phone trying to find a gym with a decent monthly usage fee. You look up from your task of finding matching socks in the depths of your suitcase at the exact moment that your toddler dumps her juice on your sister's brand-new suede couch.

Or maybe it won't happen until your trip is over, when you're settling in at your new post and you get the credit card bill for that three-week stay in a dingy hotel room, near your relatives but miles from the beach.



Donna Scaramastra Gorman is the Journal's associate editor. A writer whose work has appeared in Time Magazine, Newsweek, The Washington Post and The Christian Science Monitor, she is the spouse of a Diplomatic Security agent. She has lived in Amman,

Moscow, Yerevan, Almaty, Beijing, and currently resides in Washington, D.C.

### For members of the U.S. Foreign Service, "home" is a complex concept, and buying a house can seem daunting.

BY DONNA SCARAMASTRA GORMAN

At some point, it's going to happen. You're going to gnash your teeth and wail, "Why can't I just buy a house that I can go to whenever I have R&R or home leave?"

Some of your colleagues have succeeded in doing just that. And they have some tips for you on how best to make it happen.

### **Know the Neighborhood**

All of the officers and family members interviewed for this story recommend buying in an area with which you are very familiar. Dave Pernal, the spouse of a third-tour officer currently assigned to Bahrain, bought an R&R home in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where he spent most of his summers growing up. He recommends that you buy in a place with which you have a connection. "Having summered down-Cape for most of my childhood and pre-FS life, I knew a lot about the area," says Pernal. "My wife pinned many a house on Zillow in our search, and by looking at the map I could tell if there would be noise issues, green-fly issues (being bitten by those suckers hurts), flooding issues, traffic, etc." The couple also had help from a family friend who is a Realtor in the area.

# **Home Buying: A Quick Start Guide**

Carolyn Connell is a former eligible family member (EFM) and current Realtor with Keller Williams Realty in McLean, Virginia. Named to *Washingtonian Magazine*'s "Top Realtors" list for the past three years, Connell says more than 50 percent of her business comes from the Foreign Service community. Katie Stowe is an EFM and Realtor with McEnearney Associates who recently closed on her own home while her FSO spouse was in Dhaka. Bob Rosenbaum is a senior loan officer with WashingtonFirst who has worked with many FS members over the past decade. Here's what these experts told us about how to buy a house.

**First: Find a Great Realtor.** Get referrals from family and friends, says Connell. Ask potential candidates what areas they serve and how much experience they have helping clients buy a home long-distance. It's also critical, she says, to find out how technologically savvy they are, because "you will be dependent on technology to be able to view every aspect of the house, neighborhood, statistics, etc." Make sure you check their references, and ask if they have connections with other community experts, such as lenders, contractors and inspectors.

"A poor agent can cost thousands of dollars to buyers and cause all kinds of headaches," says Stowe, so choose yours carefully. Because working with a buyer from a distance can potentially be more work for a real estate agent than working with local clients, Stowe recommends that you look beyond the area's high-volume Realtors, who may simply not have the time they need to put in on your behalf.

**Get Pre-Approved.** You will need a pre-approval letter from a lender. Talk to both the State Department Federal Credit Union and the United Service Automobile Association (USAA), but also ask your real estate agent who their preferred local lenders are. Connell says that local lenders "will be more motivated to win your business, because they don't get paid until the home closes, unlike the employees at large credit unions." A local lender might be able to match a valid quoted rate from another institution, and "you might get better service from the local guy." Make sure to compare rates on the same day, as they vary on a daily basis.

To find a loan officer, Rosenbaum recommends asking friends for references and checking out online resources such as AAFSW's Livelines, Angie's List, Checkbook and Facebook. Don't be surprised, he says, if potential loan officers ask you to fill out an application. This doesn't commit you to using that specific officer; but, he explains, "as a loan officer, it's extremely difficult for me to provide you with accurate answers, or my best advice, without having your full financial picture."

One advantage that SDFCU provides, says Connell, is that "they can sometimes treat the purchase of a home as a primary residence if it is your only home or will be your primary residence when you return to the United States." You'll get a lower interest rate on a primary residence.

Why can SDFCU do this when other banks can't? Rosenbaum explains that unlike Freddie Mac or Fannie Mae, "SDFCU holds their loans on their books and therefore can create their own rules." Any bank that lends its own money can decide what rules are appropriate. His own company also keeps some loans in-house and so can decide what amount of risk is acceptable.

Investment properties, such as a home you intend to rent out, present a greater risk to lenders than owneroccupied homes, so banks frequently require at least 20 percent down for such properties.

**Decide What You Want.** Get clear about the details of your ideal home: Connell advises clients to write out the non-negotiables ahead of time so they aren't swayed by a beautiful view or appealing kitchen tile. Imagine yourself in it: Will you be entertaining? How many bedrooms and baths do you want? Do you need a garage, view, etc.? Do you want to be able to walk to restaurants and shops? Do you want something move-in ready, or are you willing to do some updating?

**Research the Rental Market.** Ask yourself: Is this house an investment or a future home? If it is an investment, Connell advises you to "make sure it makes sense from a cash-flow perspective." At the very least, the rent should cover your mortgage plus expenses like homeowner association (HOA) fees and property management fees; you also want it to provide you with income. Unlike purchasing a primary residence, buying a second home is much more of a financial, dollars-andcents decision.

Make sure to consult a tax expert for the tax treatment of your potential second home.

**Before You Buy...** "Eyes and ears on the ground are critical in purchasing a home from a distance," says Connell. Besides your real estate agent, ask a friend or family member whose opinion you value to go and look at the homes for you: "Have them Facetime you while they walk through the house, and stand outside so you can hear the sounds and traffic."

Don't ask your real estate agent to tell you if a specific school is "good" or a neighborhood is "safe," advises Stowe. "We're just not allowed to make those kinds of judgment calls, and we can get in big trouble with fair housing laws if we do." What your Realtor should do, she

dous amount of research. Schools were not an issue for us, but

we wanted to keep expenses down, so we looked for places with

low property taxes." In the end, advises Skeirik, "you have to find

"I think you need to really be careful about where you

will also serve as their retirement home, so they needed to

decade. "We got very lucky with this place. We didn't want

to be too isolated because we want to be able to age in this

think about what would work for them now and into the next

decide to buy," she continues. The house they eventually chose

says, is look up statistics on schools and crime. They should also "take video and pictures of the surrounding areas to let prospective buyers make their own judgements."

When you're starting the process, Rosenbaum advises you to gather your paystubs, W-2s, two years of tax returns, two months of bank and brokerage statements, travel orders if you're moving soon and financial information for any other property you own, such as mortgage statements, HOA fees, taxes and insurance forms.

You can do it all electronically if you're organized. When Stowe did her own paperwork, she says, "we signed overseas, had the American Citizen Services officer notarize, scanned the documents and couriered them to the lender. I would think that if we could do it from Dhaka, people could do it from almost anywhere."

Rosenbaum agrees that closing from overseas is doable. "We just closed for a Foreign Service client in nine days from start to finish, all while she was overseas," he says. "She never saw the house in person; I've never met her; and it was all done electronically."

-Donna Gorman

Lynne Skeirik, currently the consul general in Paris, spent 15 years looking at homes online with her husband before they found a home in Maine, near where she grew up. "At the 10-year point, at the 15-year point, we went out with a Realtor to look," says Skeirik. "My husband did a tremen-

the place that you fall in love with."

All of the officers and family members interviewed for this story recommend buying in an area with which you are very familiar.

house. It's a long winter in Maine, and we don't want to have to trek out."

### Have an Emergency Plan

Dave and Shannon, a fifthtour couple currently serving in Port-au-Prince, bought a house near family in Texas. Shannon

spent one entire summer renovating the house so it would be exactly what she wanted when they came home for R&R the following summer. But just one week before they were scheduled to fly home, the hose connecting the toilet tank to the wall burst. Says Shannon, "That tiny hose dumped more than 5,000 gallons of water into our 1,246-square-foot house in under 10 hours." A neighbor noticed water coming out of the house through the walls and running down the foundation. He cut off the water at the curb and called for help.

"If you buy a house," says Shannon, "make sure you turn off

# Some families rent out their houses when they are overseas; others choose not to.

the water before leaving town. Expensive lesson! And it was not a relaxing summer, with one construction crew after another to fix first the floors, then the walls, then paint, because at that point there was no way I was spending the rest of my summer painting every single wall in the entire house."

Dave and Shannon were fortunate that their neighbor noticed the water. Other FS homeowners also recommend asking property managers or trusted neighbors to keep a close eye on the house when you're away. Skeirik hired someone to close her Maine house in the fall, check on it after every snow storm, and reopen it in the spring. Pernal says he has "a rental agent who takes care of the seasonal rentals for us, and we have a couple of handymen on speed dial if something goes sideways." His parents also check on the house when they go up in the winter.

Kelly Aley and her husband, who are currently based in Las Vegas, bought a house in Puerto Rico back when they were posted there. Aley recommends "getting people you trust to manage your house." For us, she says, this was "cheaper than using a company that charges a percentage of the rental fees. We were going to have to charge more than the market could bear to have a company run it." She recommends locating "an electrician, plumber and handyman that you know you can call. Make sure your pool guys and yard guys are reliable. Our cleaners are our house managers."

### Is Renting an Option?

Some families rent out their houses when they are overseas; others choose not to.

"We use Airbnb, VRBO and TripAdvisor," says Aley. "The first two produce the most rentals. Quality of renters is higher with Airbnb, and I like that you can review the guests easily. Our entire house is coded with locks, so we don't have anyone on the property when guests arrive." She does warn, though, that dealing with renters can be a hassle. When people are on vacation in close quarters, they often bicker with their family members, she says, and "when their vacation feels out of control, it is the homeowner who is attacked. I once got a call because it was too cloudy." Aley recommends that you state in the contract that you "do not give refunds for the electricity going out, for the pool pump breaking, for the weather, if the area is evacuated, etc."

Skeirik doesn't rent out her house, choosing instead to make it available to family members. "Everybody has been great about it so far," she says. "In my family, we have a beach house that my parents built back when I was in college. We've all spent time there, both together and individually, so we all kind of know the drill" in terms of keeping it clean and being respectful of the property.

Shannon and Dave don't rent their house out, either. "We offer it up to family who come into the city from out of town," says Shannon, but it's usually empty. They have a friend who checks the mail weekly, and they leave a car at the house that family members use often enough to keep it functional. Pernal has chosen to rent the house on a weekly basis during the summer and offer it up to family members in the off-season.

### **Don't Expect Family Dynamics to Change**

Often, people want to buy a house so that they don't have to spend precious vacation days travelling from relative to relative—they hope that instead they can invite family members to come visit them in a place of their choosing. That's a nice thought, says Shannon, "but it doesn't really work, at least not in our family."

Still, she says, even though family members haven't really been as receptive to her plans as she'd hoped, "I don't regret buying the house here. We have friends in the neighborhood. Friends who left food in my fridge and flowers on my front porch to welcome me home. My son went swimming with a friend yesterday, and the same friend spent the night last night. Having lifelong childhood friends is a rarity in the Foreign Service, and being able to give this gift to our boys is priceless."

Dave Pernal says his house is "about 25 minutes away from family in the summer, and about two hours from my parents' home in Mystic, Connecticut. That said, more days than not, we end up going up to my parents' Cape house to go to the beach with them." He doesn't really mind going to them, but it can be frustrating when "no one really wants to come to our beach."

The moral here? Buy where you want to be, but don't expect family members to rush to see you when you come into town. You might find you still have to travel to them if you want to see them.

### Would You Do It Again?

"We're extremely happy with our decision to buy," says Pernal. "Our first home leave cost us \$6,000 to rent a house for four weeks. That was just the rent. Last summer, a home leave in Eastham, Massachusetts, would have cost at least \$2,000 a week, and we spent 10 weeks in the Cape in our home—that's \$20,000 just for rent." The only negative consequence, he says, is the fact that they won't be able to buy in D.C. if they are ever posted there, so they'll need to find a place they can afford to rent. "We figured we could get a really nice beach house that our 9-year-old son could call home for about the same price, if not less, than a shoebox in the District."

Skeirik is also happy with their decision. "My perspective has really changed since we bought this place," she says. She's been moving around as a federal employee for 27 years. "You spend that time with no place where you can see yourself in five or 10 years," she says. "Now I have a place, and I can picture myself there in my house. We're even planning to look at boats! Something small; nothing fancy. We'll buy a small

# Buy where you want to be, but don't expect family members to rush to see you when you come into town.

sailboat before we retire. It can sit in the garage and wait for us to get there."

Another bonus of owning a home is "having a safe haven when bad things happen," says Shannon. "When Hurricane Matthew came through Haiti and we went on authorized departure, we just came home. We didn't have to even think about where to go. The house was waiting; we didn't have to stay at a hotel or with Mom. We just went home." Plus, Shannon says—and this could seal the deal for many of you—her home in Texas has not a single piece of government-issue Drexel furniture. It's all hers.

# It's Your Legacy!

The Capital's newest, most intriguing museum: United States Diplomacy Center. Join us on Thursday, July 12, 2018, from 4:30 pm to 6:30 pm at 330 21st Street, NW For information and to RSVP: DiplomacyCenterFoundation.org

# EBENEZER BASSETT

# The Legacy of America's First African-American Diplomat

# This pioneering diplomat foreshadowed the critical role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy.

BY CHRISTOPHER TEAL

ntil just a few years ago, Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett ran the real possibility of becoming entirely forgotten to history. As a young diplomat in 1999, I accidentally "rediscovered" Bassett when I began my first overseas tour in the Dominican Republic.

While walking down the hall to the office of our ambassador for a courtesy

call during my first week in country, I scanned the array of pictures on the wall depicting previous U.S. envoys to the island of Hispaniola. While I recognized a few, such as Frederick Douglass, I knew nothing about Bassett, one of the first figures portrayed. Nor did anyone else in the embassy seem to know anything about him.

Christopher Teal, a Foreign Service officer since 1999, most recently served as consul general in Nogales. He is currently at Arizona State University while he completes his Una Chapman Cox Fellowship. In addition to overseas postings in Colombo, Guadalajara, Lima and Santo Domingo, he has served in Washington, D.C., and was a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board from 2004 to 2007. The following year, he published Hero of Hispaniola: America's First Black Diplomat (Praeger, 2008), the first biography of this largely forgotten figure.

Teal is working with filmmakers to complete his documentary, "A Diplomat of Consequence," for release next year to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Bassett's historic appointment as U.S. ambassador to Haiti. More information can be found at www.facebook. com/EbenezerDBassett.



COURTESY OF CHRIS TEA

Chris Teal at the Bassett family gravesite in New Haven, Connecticut, during the film shoot.

My curiosity was piqued and I began researching Bassett's background. What I found was an incredible story, which led me to write his biography: *Hero of Hispaniola: America's First Black Diplomat* (Praeger, 2008).

In 2001, the world celebrated when Colin Powell became the first African-American Secretary of State. But Bassett, who helped blaze the trail that would lead to Powell's appointment, also deserves recognition. Not just because his 1869 appointment by President Ulysses S. Grant as ambassador to Haiti and the Dominican Republic broke the color barrier, but because his courage and integrity would inspire later diplomats and defenders of human rights.

### **A Proud History of Activism**

Born in Connecticut, on Oct. 16, 1833, Bassett came from an activist family. His grandparents were slaves, but his grandfather gained his freedom by volunteering to serve in the Revolutionary War. His father, also named Ebenezer, was mixed race, and his mother, Susan, was a Pequot Indian.

His family worked hard to ensure that Ebenezer would receive the finest education possible. After attending a prep school, Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, the young Bassett did something quite rare in the mid-1800s: not only did he attend college, he became the first black student at the Connecticut Teachers College (now Central Connecticut State University), graduating in 1853.

In 1855, while in New Haven, Bassett married Eliza Park, and developed

Ebenezer Bassett

what became a four-decade friendship with the great abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. He later became a teacher and principal at the Institute for Colored Youth, a Philadelphia high school. It was there that he came into his own as a voice for human rights, advocating equal treatment for black Americans and later helping Douglass recruit black soldiers for the Union Army during the Civil War.

Just days after the Battle of Gettysburg, Bassett and other black leaders organized a recruiting drive for black soldiers. Bassett had the honor of being the second speaker of the night, making his speech immediately preceding Douglass. The following excerpt explains why he, too, was considered such an effective orator:



At left, Bryan Anderson, Ebenezer Bassett's grand-nephew, and Chris Teal discuss the documentary film project.

# The new president was eager to reward leaders in the black community like Bassett who had helped preserve the Union.

"Men of color, to arms! Now or never! This is our golden moment. The government of the United States calls for every able-bodied colored man to enter the army for three years of service, and join in fighting the battles of liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubts and darkness.

"But how the whole aspect of our relations to the white race is changed! Now, therefore, is the most precious moment. Let us rush to arms! Fail now, and our race is doomed on this soul of our birth." That activism proved crucial years later when General Ulysses Grant won the White House in 1868. The new president was eager to reward leaders in the black community like Bassett who had helped preserve the Union.

Correspondence between Bassett and Douglass discloses that Bassett suggested in 1867 that the world-famous Douglass apply for the position in Port-au-Prince when the next president took office. But Douglass instead persuaded Bassett to put his name forward as the American minister to Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which share the island of Hispaniola. (The United States would not begin using the title of "ambassador" until 1893.) This was a time before a professional diplomat corps, and appointments were always based on connections and politics. Nevertheless, Bassett proved himself more than up to the task.

Once Grant won the White House, the new president made history by nominating Bassett as the first African-American diplomat.

### A Difficult Debut

When the 36-year-old Bassett arrived at his posting in June 1869, the country was in the midst of civil war. Even as hundreds

# Bassett's courage in literally placing himself in the line of fire to protect the rights of refugees and noncombatants should still inspire us a century-and-a-half later.

of civilian refugees filled his residential compound in Port-au-Prince to escape the violence, the State Department sent instructions denying Bassett authority to accept any of them, for fear of being seen to take sides in the conflict.

Bassett was stuck in a quandary: Should he force out the women and children that huddled in his residence, or defy official orders? As rebel forces finally overwhelmed the remnants of the old regime, Bassett not only negotiated safe passage for the refugees but personally escorted them to safety.

Over the next eight years, Bassett would face several similar incidents. In all cases, he stood on the side of humanitarian treatment and the rule of law. On a more mundane level, Bassett oversaw cases of citizen commercial claims, diplomatic immunity for consular and commercial agents, and aid to citizens affected by hurricanes, fires and numerous tropical diseases. By virtue of sheer longevity, he eventually became dean of the diplomatic corps, and enjoyed the respect and friendship of his colleagues.

At the end of the Grant administration in 1877, Bassett submitted his resignation, as was the custom with a change of hands in government. Acting Secretary of State F.W. Seward wrote to Bassett, thanking him for his years of service:

"I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing to you the appreciation of the department for the very satisfactory manner in which you have discharged your duties of the mission at Port-au-Prince during your term of office. This commendation of your services is the more especially merited because at various times your duties have been of such a delicate nature as to have required the exercise of much tact and discretion."

In something almost impossible to imagine now, when Bassett returned to the United States, he spent a decade as the consul general for Haiti in New York City, serving as an effective bridge between the two countries. Though Bassett longed for another appointment with the State Department, it was not to be.

However, in 1888, when Benjamin Harrison won the White House, he nominated Frederick Douglass to the position in Haiti. Douglass, who was elderly by that point, knew he was unable to do the job on his own and called upon Bassett to accompany him. In an incredibly unselfish act, Bassett returned to Port-au-Prince as Douglass' assistant when the great abolitionist served as U.S. diplomat from 1889 to 1891. Sadly, unlike many of his peers who broke the color barrier in other professional fields, his accomplishments would soon be forgotten. Ebenezer Bassett died on Nov. 13, 1908, at the age of 75.

#### **Restoring Bassett's Legacy**

Thankfully, over the past several years, more people are beginning to review Bassett's legacy and examine his pioneering work as an advocate for human rights in foreign policy. After my publication of his biography in 2008, his home state of Connecticut began recognizing the contributions of this distinguished native son. Both Central Connecticut State University and Yale University have established scholarships and awards in Bassett's name, including the Bassett Award for Human Rights.

With support from the Una Chapman Cox Foundation and Arizona State University's Walter Cronkite School of Journalism, I now seek to expand upon this trailblazing American's work for broader audiences with my film, "A Diplomat of Consequence." This is not just an historical documentary, however. Bassett's legacy demonstrates what diplomats have accomplished and what they do in today's complicated environment. The film will bring in contemporary voices of minority diplomats as a crucial component of why diversity in foreign affairs still is imperative for successful engagement today.

I began my production shooting in the fall of 2017, filming interviews and footage in both Connecticut and Washington, D.C. During the spring of 2018, I traveled to Haiti and the Dominican Republic for a final round of interviews and filming. My goal is to release the documentary in 2019, in time to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Bassett's appointment.

Bassett's courage in literally placing himself in the line of fire to protect the rights of refugees and noncombatants should still inspire us a century-and-a-half later. Similarly, his eloquence and determination in justifying those decisions to his government are precursors of the key role human rights would eventually assume in U.S. foreign policy.

In the end, this is a story of character. Bassett broke many barriers through his life, and he never hesitated to do the right thing. Bassett was an important individual in tumultuous times for the United States, and his work as a diplomat deserves to be widely known and celebrated.

# AFSA NEWSTHE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

# **AFSA Honors Fallen Foreign Service Colleagues**

On May 4 the American Foreign Service Association held its annual memorial ceremony to pay tribute to colleagues who gave their lives in service to our country overseas.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo addressed the crowd of several hundred colleagues and family members gathered at the memorial plaques in the C Street lobby of State Department. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Tom Shannon offered a eulogy for Michael Andrew Cameron "Andy" Jordan and Selena Nelson-Salcedo, members of the Foreign Service whose names were added to AFSA's memorial plaques that day. AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson presided over the event.

Close to two hundred attendees gathered in front of the plaques listing Foreign Service members who have died in the line of duty since 1780. Erected by AFSA in 1933, the first plaque was unveiled by then-Secretary of State Henry Stimson. The plaques now list 250 names.

"The Senate in 1996 passed a resolution calling for the first Friday of May to be recognized as American Foreign Service Day," Amb. Stephenson noted in her remarks. "That resolution had 54 co-sponsors from both parties, showing wide bipartisan support for the idea of strong American global leadership—and for the Foreign Service." AFSA holds the



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo offers condolences to Andy Jordan's wife and daughters.

memorial ceremony each year on Foreign Service Day.

Following Amb. Stephenson's remarks. the United States Armed Forces Color Guard presented the colors. Secretary Pompeo then spoke to the crowd in one of his first public appearances at the State Department since being confirmed.

"Today, as we remember the fallen during this solemn occasion, we grieve for these heroes," said the Secretary. "We pray for their families and their friends and colleagues. But we must also keep our eyes fixed, knowing that a more stable and peaceful future is ahead because of the legacy they have helped us

achieve. Every day, we get up with a goal in mind, remembering that the sacrifice we all make makes freedom possible, and we channel their dedication and their commitment to propel us forward."

Under Secretary Shannon spoke next. Of the 250 names on the memorial plaque, he observed, "112 have been added since the day I raised my hand and swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States in 1984. Each of these names, from William Palfrey, the very first in 1780, to those we will add today, has a compelling story. Each had a family and friends and colleagues who mourn their death. This year we mourn and honor two more members of our Foreign Service family. I want to share with you the stories of Selena Continued on p. 48



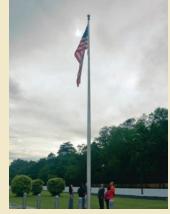
Foreign Service colleagues and family members of the deceased at the ceremony.

# **Rolling Moment of Silence Across the Globe**

In honor of Foreign Service Day, which, according to a 1996 Senate resolution, falls on the first Friday in May, embassies and consulates around the world paused to offer a moment of silence in memory of fallen Foreign Service colleagues.

Members of the Foreign Service joined AFSA in observing a moment of silence at almost 50 posts. In addition to those pictured here, ceremonies were held in Abu Dhabi, Accra, Ankara, Athens, Baghdad, Bratislava, Cairo, Canberra, Dakar, Djibouti, Dublin, Georgetown, Harare, Kabul, Kolkata, Lagos, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Luanda, Maputo, Montreal, N'Djamena, Oslo, Panama City, Port of Spain, Praia, Rangoon, Reykjavik, Singapore, Sofia, Tbilisi, The Hague, Vilnius and Warsaw.

Addressing participants in the global event from Wash-Continued on p. 48



Bandar Seri Begawan

Bratislava





Conakry



New Delhi

Podgorica



Caracas



Lima



Kuala Lumpur

#### Fallen Colleagues Continued from p. 46

Nelson-Salcedo and Michael Andrew Cameron "Andv" Jordan, two outstanding examples of the very best of the Foreign Service."

Selena Nelson-Salcedo died on June 4, 2017, while serving as consular chief



Two new names have been added to the plaques.



at the U.S. embassy in

Bratislava, Slovakia. Her

husband, Jorge, and young

Gaia, attended the ceremony.

Selena was just 38 years

daughters, Antonella and

old when she died. Fluent

in five languages, she had

also served in the Dominican

manager, died on Dec. 8, 2016, in Juba, South Sudan. He was 43 years old. Andy's previous posts included

Andy Jordan,

an informa-

tion resource

Baghdad, Brussels, Karachi, Tel Aviv, Lusaka, Tbilisi and Nairobi. Andy's wife, Deborah, and daughters, Madi and Helena, attended the ceremony.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, a wreath was placed at the memorial plaques and a moment of silence was observed. Secretary Pompeo, Under Secretary Shannon and Amb. Stephenson then spoke informally with the families.

Following the memorial event, AFSA hosted a reception at the AFSA headquarters building, where Amb. Stephenson welcomed more than 100 members and guests.

"Today is about more than loss," Amb. Stephenson told attendees at the reception. She talked about AFSA's focus in the months aheadrebuilding America's diplomatic capability, restoring staffing to embassies overseas, reducing bureaucratic drag, and managing risk smartly so that members of the Foreign Service are able to do the jobs they love. She urged all present to honor the memory of our fallen colleagues by keeping the American flag flying proudly at posts around the world, a fitting symbol of America's global leadership.

#### Moment of Silence Continued from p. 47

ington, D.C., AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson observed that "this moment of silence that we observe each year is never easy. Our losses are real, and we feel them deeply."

But, she continued, "the pride we feel in our mission is also real. We know that, for America to lead, we must be present. I am confident that those we honor today would want us to remain steadfast, be present and keep the American flag flying at posts around the world."



Amman





Ouagadougou



Madrid





Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP. Contact: KeroMentzKA@state.gov | (202) 647-8160

# **A Fresh Start**

Well, that was fast. With the drop of a tweet, Secretary Rex Tillerson was out.

As this column goes to press, Mike Pompeo has just been confirmed. It's a good time to reflect on a number of the issues AFSA has been working on over the past year, and what we hope can be resolved once the 70th Secretary of State and his team are up and running.

Redesign: Do it right, or don't do it at all. When Secretary Tillerson arrived, despite the fact that he admitted that he did not "know anybody in the State Department," he decided that we were long-overdue for an "employee-driven" redesign. We're not sure what will happen with all the ideas considered by the since-renamed "Impact Initiative," but I've met with a lot of people who either gave suggestions or actually worked on the redesign. A lot of ideas were put forth by a lot of really earnest folks working to make the department a better place. And while the roll-out, roll-back and reworking of the redesign was messy, the department should always strive to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of our work to achieve our global mission.

**Hiring Freeze:** Lift it, please. Let's face it, the freezes and partial thaws have been a disaster. The number of Foreign Service officers and specialists hired since February 2017 is at an all-time low. Employment opportunities for civil servants, eligible family members (EFMs) and reemployed annuitants (REAs) were slashed, making the work of the State Department more difficult and more dangerous.

One small example is MED, which is so understaffed that the most courageous of efforts is insufficient to manage the backlog of work or even staff key posts overseas. And what about all those serving around the world who are spending parts of their days doing not just their own work, but also the work for which post would typically hire an EFM? It's high time to end the freeze and return to planned hiring levels, period.

**Promote the Best:** We're an "up or out" system, after all. In 2017 promotion numbers were way down across the board, particularly for FSOs and especially for those entering or in the Senior Foreign Service.

If last year was an aberration, the damage done (including to morale) from that one year should be minimal. If it continues, excellent officers and specialists will begin to hit their "time in class" ceilings, and that will be a real loss to this institution we love. With low promotion rates and, in addition, the large number Our department functions best when our employees are respected and engaged, from ambassador to new hire.

of retirements—especially from the senior ranks—over the past year, it is urgent that State promote the next generation of leaders. Make full use of their talents and experience; that's what we're here for.

**SNEA:** It's time for a change in how the Special Needs Education Allowance is managed. The most heartbreaking and hair-pulling stories we hear are from members whose families and careers have been turned upside down over the past two years due to MED's non-review of this program, which supports the education of children with special needs.

Simply put, we need a program that is familyfriendly and supports parents and children so we can do what we were hired to do—serve overseas. Life in the Foreign Service is already tough, and MED should be providing assistance and support, not roadblocks.

**Engage AFSA:** We're here to help, honestly. AFSA and the department collaborate to resolve issues, both big and small. Whether it's discussing post traumatic stress disorder or the need for lactation rooms at the Foreign Service Institute, or how to improve the 360-reference program for bidding, or how to soften the blow to those pulled out of posts for myriad reasons, AFSA is here to help. We understand the nature of our business, the expected hardships and unexpected challenges. We can offer useful ideas, ensure our members' concerns are heard and provide valuable insight.

My list could go on, but our new Secretary already has a lot on his plate—critical challenges on a global scale. We wish him well. I wish him well. Whether officer or specialist; whether married, part of a tandem couple or single; whether early in one's career or getting close to retirement, the men and women of the State Department are here to work.

We hunger for leadership, vision and purpose. Our department functions best when our employees are respected and engaged, from ambassadors to new hires. It's what good leadership is all about, and it's what the American people deserve.



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP. Contact: daniel.crocker@trade.gov | (202) 482-9088

# How SelectUSA Connects Foreign Investors with U.S. Companies

Economic security in the United States depends on continued business investment and job creation. The United States is an \$18-trillion economy with 330 million consumers. With low energy costs, outstanding logistics networks, a transparent legal system, and now fewer regulations and lower corporate tax rates, it is no wonder that the United States continues to be a prime destination for foreign direct investment (FDI).

But we can't afford to take a passive, "Field of Dreams" approach to recruiting FDI. Other countries have compelling investment climates, as well. And even in developed countries like Spain, impressions of the United States based on social media and political battles may distort the ability of foreign investors to see potential opportunities objectively. So we need to be proactive in our work with these investors and businesspeople.

The Commercial Service's SelectUSA program takes the lead on all U.S. government recruitment of FDI. Commercial Service offices in 76 countries and throughout the United States identify leading foreign companies and work with them, often in coordination with U.S. state and local governments. The Commercial Service's SelectUSA activity helps more than 6,000 foreign companies each year and contributes \$7.7 billion in foreign direct investment.

We talk to existing foreign investors about their ongoing needs to see if we can help address their concerns. Our foreign investors increasingly use the United States as an export platform, which means that our international network may be called on to go to bat for them in yet other countries.

Recruiting investment takes work—within each country, the Commercial Service team identifies key prospects and works with the U.S. ambassador to put on targeted receptions, host state governor-led investment missions and arrange ad hoc visits to prospective sites in the United States.

And every year, Commerce uses its convening authority to host a SelectUSA Summit in Washington, D.C., where foreign companies have the opportunity to meet with a critical mass of state and local governments, in addition to relocation, tax, human capital and regulatory experts, all under one roof.

Our contacts in foreign companies often ask us where in the United States they should look to do business. Our SelectUSA program won't pick winners and losers among the states.

But we do have online tools that allow companies to game out investment scenarios with such factors as energy costs, sectorspecific clusters and labor rates using over 50 million open data records, which Commerce developed in conjunction with Harvard Business School's Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness. We also facilitate conversations between these foreign companies and specific state and local governments.

During the past two years, this SelectUSA activity has helped more than 6,000 foreign companies each year and has contributed to \$7.7 billion in FDI. Our worldwide and domestic network is dedicated to selling the United States as an investment destination. The work is intensive, but it clearly pays off in jobs here at home.

# New Specialist Class Members Join AFSA

On April 19 AFSA welcomed 37 members of the 147th Specialist Class to a luncheon at the association's headquarters building.



Ambassador

Beth Jones hosted the luncheon, while AFSA Governing Board members Josh Glazeroff and Tricia Wingerter were on hand to speak with the new Foreign Service members and answer their questions about AFSA and the many ways the association can assist, protect and advocate for them. Almost 90 percent of the class members chose to join AFSA at the event.

### RETIREE VP VOICE | BY JOHN NALAND

#### AFSA NEWS



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA Retiree VP. Contact: naland@afsa.org | (703) 437-7881

# **Progress Report**

As the current AFSA Governing Board nears the halfway point of its two-year term, here is a progress report on what AFSA staff and I have done in service to our nearly 3,500 retiree members:

**Retiree Newsletter:** We have expanded the bimonthly digital newsletter to include more "news you can use" on benefits issues. We also added active-duty employees to the distribution to help them prepare better for retirement.

**Retiree Directory:** In the introductory guidance section, we included a new essay, "Reviewing Your Retirement Plans," detailing 25 topics meriting your review to determine if any mid-course corrections are needed in your retirement plans.

Federal Benefits Series: We continued AFSA's lecture series, which provides expert advice to retirees and preretirees. The presentations are recorded for later viewing on the AFSA website, and one presentation was offered via live webinar, viewable worldwide.

**Member Advocacy:** We revived the practice of meeting with the director of the State Department's Office of Retirement to raise issues affecting Foreign Service retirees.

**Defending Earned Benefits:** We are actively participating in the 30-organization Federal-Postal Coalition, lobbying Congress to oppose cuts to federal retirement benefits.

**Retiree Counseling:** We have provided one-on-one assistance to members who have questions about, or problems with, their retirement benefits.

**Retiree Outreach:** We have enlisted retirees across the country to help tell the story of the Foreign Service to local audiences to build broad support for funding for diplomacy and development.

As one of 20 Governing Board members, I have taken on additional duties, including chairing the AFSA Scholarship Committee, being a member of the AFSA Political Action Committee and serving as AFSA's lead negotiator in nominating retirees to positions on the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Looking ahead to the final year of the current Governing Board, we plan to update and expand the AFSA website's retiree services section to provide more information and guidance on retiree benefits issues.

I will work with AFSA's professional staff to ensure that the expert one-on-one assistance we have been providing remains available.

If you have suggestions or comments, you can always reach me at naland@ afsa.org.

# AFSA Hosts Expelled Diplomats

On April 10 AFSA invited the Foreign Service members who were recently expelled from U.S. missions in Russia to AFSA headquarters to discuss the impact their expulsion was having on their careers and families.

More than a dozen members of the Foreign Service from the embassy and consulates stopped in to share their experiences and catch up with the colleagues with whom they'd been serving in Russia just a few days earlier.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson attended to explain to attendees what AFSA can do and is doing on their behalf as they settle into their new normal.

# CALENDAR

June 3-8 AFSA Road Scholar Program Chautauqua, N.Y.

June 7 12-1 p.m. AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson Speaks to Oasis Lifelong Learning Group in Maryland

> June 20 12-1:30 p.m. AFSA Governing Board Meeting

July 4 Independence Day – AFSA Offices Closed

> July 18 12-1:30 p.m. AFSA Governing Board Meeting

August 15 12-1:30 p.m. AFSA Governing Board Meeting

September 3 Labor Day – AFSA Offices Closed

September 7 7:05 p.m. Third Annual Foreign Service Night at Nationals Park: Nationals vs. Cubs

> October 10 4-6 p.m. Annual AFSA Awards Ceremony

# A Fresh Approach to Member Services

AFSA has embarked on a reorganization of the association's member services in an effort to improve engagement, enhance service and benefits, and become more proactive than reactive in the way we communicate with our members.

Communication with members is the most important avenue of engagement for AFSA. Recognizing this, the membership function has been combined with the communications function to form the new department of communications and membership. Longtime AFSA staff member **Ásgeir Sigfússon** has taken on the role of director of communications and membership. Ásgeir has been with AFSA for 15 years and has a deep knowledge of the association's history and a strong understanding of member needs.

AFSA has hired Ashlev Dunn as member accounts specialist. With a background in customer service and association member engagement, Ashley acts as the primary point of contact for all members. She will respond to member inquiries as quickly and comprehensively as possible, relying on colleagues across the association for more complex inquiries. She also oversees AFSA's post representative program. When she isn't at AFSA, Ashley runs her own catering company.

**Christine Miele** continues in her role as retiree outreach coordinator. As such,



Ásgeir Sigfússon Ashley Dunn

she engages with our retiree members across the broad spectrum of the association's work, ranging from speakers' bureau activities to recruitment and local advocacy efforts. Christine will also oversee moderation of AFSA's new online community, launching early this month.

For the last two months, AFSA has been engaged in a study of the needs of retiree members when it comes to individual casework and coun-





Christine Miele

seling to better understand what is required and thus to ensure that this function is properly resourced and supported.

We look forward to implementing the recommended course of action resulting from this study, making sure that our retiree members experience the best possible customer service, and that all member needs are met at a high level.

# **AFSA Welcomes New Staff Members**



AFSA has welcomed several new staff members over the past few months.

Our new director of advocacy, **Kim Greenplate**, will take the lead on all our congressional relations efforts and will serve as a close adviser to AFSA leadership. Kim comes to AFSA from the Hill, where she was most recently legislative director for Representative Frank LoBiondo (R-N.J.). Kim was the representative's lead adviser on the House Armed Services Committee and House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. During her time on the Hill, Kim championed national security issues, focusing on military readiness, training and veterans.

Kim has both a B.A. and B.S. from the University of Florida and attended the U.S. Air Force Air Command and Staff College. In her spare time, Kim enjoys cycling and trips to the beach. Kim can be reached at greenplate@ afsa.org.

AFSA also welcomes new grievance counselor **Heather Townsend.** Heather brings 29 years of Foreign Service experience to her new position.

A career management officer, she retired in November 2017 as a member of the Senior Foreign Service. Her domestic assignments included executive director of the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs and the Bureau of International Organiza-

principal deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Overseas Buildings Operations. She served overseas in Moscow (twice),

tional Affairs and

and in Slovakia, Bosnia, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Heather has an M.A. from the University of Michigan

and a B.A. from Yale University, both in Russian studies. She enjoys baseball and classic movies, and tries never to miss an episode of "Noir Alley" on TCM. Heather can be reached at townsendha@ state.gov.



David Bloom has been hired as our strategic mes-

saging

and advocacy manager. He will support the advocacy director with congressional engagement and information management, and will also work on the Journal's advertising sales program and refresh AFSA's member discount program. As AFSA has become the go-to source for authoritative material on the Foreign Service, we need effective management of content across the organization-a requirement David will fill.

David comes to AFSA most recently from his role as director of research and policy analysis at the Moroccan American Center for Policy. He is an experienced writer and researcher who has worked with Congress in both an advocacy role and in congressional campaigns.

David has a bachelor's degree from the Miami University of Ohio and a master's degree from the American University of Paris and the Sorbonne. David and his wife opened a restaurant

and wine bar in D.C. in 2016, where he helps out in his spare time. David can be reached at bloom@afsa.org.

### Linnea Gavrilis joins the AFSA

team as

chief of

strategic

initia-



tives. Prior to joining AFSA, she was a managing director at Deloitte and Touche LLP, where she was a leader in the Strategic Risk and Human Capital Practices division.

Linnea is responsible for developing, communicating, executing and sustaining AFSA strategic initiatives, ensuring that all activities performed by the AFSA team are in concert with the approved AFSA strategy and supported by agreed-upon budget priorities.

Linnea has led multiple teams that have assessed, designed and supported U.S. government strategies in high-threat environments, in particular.

Linnea has a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago and a master's degree from Columbia University. She spends her spare time coaching Girls on the Run and as a Girl Scout troop leader. She can be reached at gavrilis@afsa.org.

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# MARY CORNELIA GINN

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# **Congress Comes Through for the Foreign Service**

Writing this last column to you in something other than the conditional tense is cause for celebration. After months of continuing resolutions and debate over whether the Department of State and USAID would be cut by the 32 percent the administration proposed, or by some lesser amount, I can finally write in declarative sentences:

• Congress appropriated \$55.9 billion for the fiscal year 2018 international affairs budget. This is an increase of \$2.1 billion (3.8 percent) compared to FY 17 (not including the supplemental funding of \$5.3 billion approved to combat the Islamic State and provide famine relief).

• The appropriations bill contains language that protects the Foreign Service. This includes setting a floor below which personnel cannot be cut, requiring State and USAID to provide reports justifying 2017 personnel cuts and detailing personnel required to implement the new National Security Strategy. Congress also tasked the Office of the Inspector General with reviewing the effects of the hiring freeze on operations and morale.

• Congress prohibited the State Department from obligating funds to suspend, eliminate or downsize programs or offices without providing advance justification.

• Congress approved the appropriations bill by votes of 265 to 167 in the House and 65 to 32 in the Senate. In so doing, Congress sent a strong message to the administration about the value of diplomacy and Congress's determination to require transparency and to exercise its oversight.

How did we go from a proposed 32 percent cut to a 3.8 percent increase? In my months on the Hill, I heard the same story over and over again, from Republicans and Democrats alike. They want America to win. They want America to lead.

They know that America's power comes from the combined punch of diplomacy, development, the military, our shared national values and the strength of our economy. They want to ensure that we have adequate personnel to achieve our foreign policy goals and that any changes make us stronger.

What I saw on Capitol Hill I also see among my Foreign Service colleagues: patriots, united by love for the red, white and blue, for all this country stands for, and for a desire to serve the American people and preserve America's global leadership.

With this bill passed, it is time for me to leave advocacy to others at AFSA. I leave grateful for the opportunity to serve, grateful to my colleagues at AFSA, to the board and the president, to the amazing U.S. Global Leadership Coalition and American College of National Security Leaders-and to you, our members. So many members of Congress think well of the Foreign Service because they have met you abroad and seen the work you do for this country. Thank you!

-Mary Daly, Director of Advocacy and Speechwriting



### AFSA Governing Board Meeting, April 18, 2018

It was moved and seconded that before finalizing the AFSA Employee Handbook, the chief operating officer would seek input from the Management Committee, who would in turn present the Employee Handbook to the Governing Board for approval. After a discussion, the motion was adopted by unanimous consent.

On behalf of the Management Committee it was moved "to amend by substitution the motion adopted on July 19, 2017, creating the Management Committee." After discussion, the fowllowing language was adopted:

Authority and Responsibility of Management Committee

**Budget:** Discuss the association's budgetary priorities. Review and revise annual AFSA budget proposal. Present annual budget proposal to the GB for review and approval.

Staff: Discuss staffing matters that impact core functions

of the association. Serve as the reviewer of performance for AFSA staff members who report directly to the president or the State VP.

**SOPs:** Discuss new and existing association SOPs. When necessary, bring SOPs to the GB for review and approval.

Administration: Discuss matters and activities impacting the association's ability to serve the interests of its members and the association. Bring to the GB, for review and approval, proposals on matters the MC deems important to the efficient and effective administration of the association.

**Member Interests:** Discuss matters impacting the interests and well-being of the association's members, as defined in Article III, Sections 1–3 of the bylaws. Bring to the GB, for review and approval, proposals the MC deems important to the interests and well-being of the association's members.

# AFSA Outreach: Retirees Across America

AFSA members remain impressively engaged in outreach programs around the country. In recent weeks, retired FSO Laurie Meininger spoke to the Durango, Colorado, Rotary Club; Ambassador (ret.) Gary Grappo gave a talk at the University of Wyoming Center for Global Studies in Laramie, Wyoming; and Ambassador (ret.) James Bullington spoke at the U.S. Coast Guard Yorktown Officers' Association in Yorktown. Virginia.

Further, eight retired diplomats—Ambassador (ret.) Gordon Brown, James Bullock, Ambassador (ret.) Ron Neumann, Phil Wilcox, Bill Milam, Ambassador (ret.) Richard McKee, Andrea Farsakh and Larry Mandel spoke to attendees at AFSA's April Road Scholar program in Washington, D.C.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson continues to engage in AFSA's outreach efforts, as well. In September, she will travel to California to speak at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco and at the San Diego Diplomacy Council's annual meeting. She will also meet with the Foreign Service retiree associations of Northern California and San Diego.

During the first week of October, Amb. Stephenson will speak at AFSA's Road Scholar program in Chautauqua, New York, where she will be joined by retired Ambassadors Robin Raphel, Kenton Keith, Charles Ray, Shari Villarosa and Shaun Donnelly.

For those who participate in these programs, we want you to know that AFSA continuously updates and adds to resources available for your use in outreach. Please visit www.afsa.org/resourcesspeakers for the most up-to-date information, or email AFSA Retiree Outreach Coordinator Christine Miele at miele@afsa.org for the latest version of AFSA's talking points document.

In early May, AFSA offered a workshop on best practices in being an effective advocate for the Foreign Service in your community. Part of the workshop focused on how you can use the resources AFSA offers to reach out in your community. We plan to offer that workshop in a webinar format in the near future.

Finally, we also urge those of you who are speaking with groups in your communities to report back to us here at AFSA so that we have a sense of the great work you are all doing. Visit www.afsa.org/ telling-foreign-service-story to fill out a quick webform that allows us to collect feedback from you.

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# Foreign Service Student Guide to Creating a College List

Changes in student demographics and school admissions procedures point to a new approach to college applications.

BY HANNAH M. MORRIS AND LAUREN M. STEED he landscape of college applications has changed drastically in the past 20 years. A Foreign Service parent recently described the college application

process today as "a shot in the dark"—she felt her child had applied to as many schools as he could with the hope of getting into one. Not only were we sad to hear how disheartened this parent was; we were concerned that too many families feel there is no guidance on how to create a realistic "great-fit" college list.

The changes in admissions statistics over the recent decades reflect changes in admissions procedures, as well as a new reality for college-going young people. This new reality suggests a revised approach to college applications. (We use "college" throughout this article to refer to all twoand four-year postsecondary academic institutions.)

When the parents of today's high school students were preparing for college, the typical applicant applied to three or four schools. Today, many students apply to more than 10. That three- to four-fold increase in applications received by colleges has diminished acceptance rates proportionately. Where, for example, Stanford's acceptance rate was just under 20 percent in 1995, it hovers around 5 percent today.

On the other hand, demographic trends in the United States mean that the number of U.S. high schoolers is shrinking, and less competitive schools are working hard to entice freshmen into their classes. Schools are increasingly offering



Hannah Marie Morris (left), an FS family member preparing for her next tour in Khartoum, worked in the United States and abroad in university teaching, counseling and admissions prior to earning a doctorate of philosophy in higher education administration. She is the cofounder of Intercultural Transitions, a nonprofit offering education services to international schools, communities and families with globally mobile students.

Lauren MacKinnon Steed, an FS family member in Kigali, is the founder of Nomad Educational Services, an educational consulting firm helping TCKs find their best college match. She also works at Bridge 2 Rwanda, a nonprofit helping students from East Africa prepare for and apply to university in the United States. Prior to the Foreign Service, she served on the academic faculty and on admissions committees at a midsized state university and has a doctorate of philosophy in ethics and social theory.

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With full-time, part-time, and single course options, students customize their experience based on needs and interests.

### What to Look For in a College Search

n advising Foreign Service kids, we have found that it's best to reframe the entire college search. Don't hunt for prestige and glossy marketing; look instead for schools that fulfill specific criteria. Globally mobile students can reach out to their admissions counselor and review the university website to help answer the following questions:

■ Access to a community on entering college: Does the school have an honors college, fellowship program, living-learning community, first-year success programming, sports teams?

■ Active campuses: What percent of students live on campus during their first year, and what percent stay active on campus during weekends? Is there night and weekend programming on campus?

■ Mental health services that understand the challenges faced by globally mobile students: What programming exists to support cultural adjustment? Connect with the international center to learn about programming there.

■ **Opportunities for academic success:** What programs does the school have to identify student learning styles, to encourage further exploration, to support international and third culture kid students?

■ A diverse array of interesting programs and majors, allowing freedom to possibly change majors without transferring: What are the international study options, opportunities to double major and add minors, access to internships and other hands-on learning?

■ Schools with opportunities to stay during holiday breaks: Are there faculty mentors or peer buddy programs that welcome international students during the holidays? Do dormitories stay open during breaks for students who cannot go "home"? ■ **Opportunities to see the world:** Does the school have 1+3 or 2+2 programs that allow students to go beyond a semester of study abroad and spend a full year or two at a different international institution?

### Resources

#### Online Resources:

Colleges That Change Lives (also a book) College Confidential College Week Live The Center for Global Education's List of Colleges with Innovative International Student Support

Virtual Tours and Reviews by Current Students:

College Click Unigo eCampusTours YouVisit

### Books:

8 First Choices: An Expert's Strategies for Getting Into College, by Joyce Slayton Mitchell Hidden Ivies, by Howard Greene and Matthew W. Greene Where You Go Is Not Who You'll Be, by Frank Bruni

The College Finder, 4th edition, by Stephen Antonoff Admission Matters, by Sally Springer Fiske Guide to Colleges, by Edward Fiske

—HMM & LMS

healthy discounts to students they'd like to enroll—even if the family does not need financial aid—in the form of merit grants.

The average admittance rate for firsttime freshmen to four-year institutions in the United States during the fall 2016 cycle was 66 percent, according to the 2017 State of College Admissions Report from the National Association for College Admission Counseling. What does all of this mean for the current applicant? Simply put, it means that "fit" is more important than ever before. It is not only essential for the student to identify schools that are a good fit for them; it is becoming increasingly important to demonstrate to the school that they will be a valuable addition to its freshman class. While a school that admitted 20 percent of its applicants in 1995 had a wider range of admitted students, today schools admitting only 5 percent have the luxury of taking in only those students who balance the class the college is trying to build.

In addition to the changed reality suggested by recent statistics, Foreign Service students often face challenges that their U.S.-based peers do not. In her book, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition*, Tina Quick, an adult third-culTexas Tech University boasts more than 100 bachelor's, master's and doctoral degree and graduate certification programs available fully online.

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**Stephen Peterson, Ph.D. (USAF Colonel, Retired)** Instructor of Industrial Engineering Texas Tech University Whitacre College of Engineering

Discover more at elearning.ttu.edu/FSJ ture kid (TCK) raising four TCKs of her own, highlights the challenges globally mobile students face when they leave the family unit for university.

Those challenges include frustrations making U.S.-based friends, struggles with cultural imbalance and encounters with mental health issues. The "best fit" concept can help alleviate those challenges before TCKs ever walk into their first college class.

### Challenges of Searching from Afar

For the Foreign Service kid, the college search is often limited to knowledge of the Ivy League and the colleges

Possibly the worst tools to use are the many ranking systems that pop up in the news every autumn.

> their parents attended more than two decades ago. A mobile lifestyle precludes taking a summer course at the local community college or participating in the middle school trip to the nearby state university.

And yet, come spring of junior year many students are expected to have a list of eight realistic colleges to consider applying to by the beginning of their senior year. How can they compile that list?

Possibly the worst tools to use are

the many ranking systems that pop up in the news every autumn. Rankings do not measure the quality of the education provided in any useful way; they give no insight into student satisfac-

tion with a particular school or degree, the likelihood of employment upon graduation or the diversity of programs available at the school.

To understand how universities manipulate their rankings, take a look at the 2017 article by Northeastern University President Emeritus Richard Freeland in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* ("Stop Looking at Rankings. Use Academe's Own Measures Instead").

Another ineffective strategy is to look



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entirely at past admissions numbers. Students often categorize their college choices in three simple categories—Reach, Likely and Fallback—based on how their test scores and grade-point average (GPA) fall into a scatter plot. After

a student narrows this list down based on simple factors such as academic areas of study, proximity to an international airport and attractiveness of the admissions website, he or she often feels pleased with the resulting list.

But Becky Konowicz, assistant dean of undergraduate admissions at Santa Clara University and president-elect of the International Association for Col-

Students beginning the college search should reflect on their high school experience. Which style of class did they learn best in?

> lege Admissions Counseling, highlights how imprecise the categories "likely" and "fallback" truly are.

"Those terms leave out the unpredictability of enrollment management and the fact that no university wants to be a student's 'fallback' option," Konowicz says. "University enrollment goals and priorities do change year to year. It is important to realize that shifts can occur strategically or by fluke for a university, impacting admission decisions."

"When you use terminology like 'reach,' 'likely' and 'fallback,' the focus is on selectivity rather than fit," explains Sarah Loring de Garcia, who has more than a decade of experience as a high school counselor. So we

recommend doing away with the idea of "fallback" and "reach" schools, and instead supporting students to identify six to eight "strong match" colleges for their list.

Strong matches are those schools for which there is a strong fit of selection criteria and interests, and for which the student's history of academic rigor, GPA and test scores (where required or

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# Thorough research on which schools are a match for the student should take place before the application season.

recommended) are on target.

Thorough research on which schools are a match for the student should take place before the application season. Don't waste your money applying to schools where you'll struggle to stay competitive, to schools that do not match your academic profile, or to schools you wouldn't attend even if they gave you a full scholarship. The Foreign Service student's college list should focus on places where both the student and admissions committee agree the student will be happy and thrive.

### Where You Go Is Not Who You Are

Success comes from being given the opportunity to thrive, to do things like be a big fish in a small pond, have one-on-one attention from professors, participate in undergraduate research projects, learn skills through a mentored internship or create a community in a living learning residential program-the list goes on.

Quincey Malauulu, admissions adviser at Westminster College in Utah, reminds the students he mentors that they only spend 15 hours a week in the classroom, and that college is about learning to become a lifelong learner, both inside and outside the classroom.

Students beginning the college search should reflect on their high school experience. Which style of class did they learn best in? Which course topic were they most excited to learn about? Did they

excel in courses where they had extra advantages, or did they shine when competing with their peers? How did students supplement their education through co-curricular or out-of-school learning experiences? Do they learn best by actively doing (e.g., part-time job, internship, co-op), or by reading and reflecting? Do they prefer to listen to a lecture and study on their own, or actively participate in a seminar discussion?

Simple, dinnertime conversations on these topics can help students uncover their best learning environments, which are what they should be searching for in a college.

With a wealth of top international secondary schools to attend, most Foreign Service kids are academically prepared for admission to college after high school graduation. And yet, when these students are interviewed later, they highlight that although the academic part of the university transition came easily, the rest of the pieces did not fall into place as easily.

From the overwhelming feeling of having so much free time to the challenge of relating to peers who have 18 years of shared pop-culture references, the transition can be difficult. But it does not have to be if the college search is carried out with the aim of identifying institutions that will support the whole student: academically, emotionally, socially, professionally and physically.

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# Foreign Service students are also often in need of a stronger support system on entering university.

community, finding academic support, building a healthy routine and contributing to the world around them they begin to lay the building blocks for a successful adulthood. In the college search, then, students should be looking for schools that offer them opportunities to continue the activities that have helped balance their lives during high school, as well as new opportunities that they might like to take up or engage in.

Carl Gavin, an academic adviser at KIS International School in Bangkok, reminds applicants that they should also actively consider class size when considering what will help them do well in college. "All too often I have big fish in my small pond, but a kid who knows all the answers in his HL Physics class of 13 can all too easily get lost in a Science 101 lecture hall with 500 other students," says Gavin. "And this can lead to all sorts of other problems."

The globally mobile student is accustomed to smaller, highly interactive classes. These students may not fully understand the learning differences between a competitive academic program that attempts to "weed out" weaker students with online classes and dramatic bell-curves, and a cohortbased program focused on supporting students through difficult studies.

Foreign Service students are also often in need of a stronger support

### **The Magic Number**

Why do we suggest students identify six to eight colleges? According to Barbara Conner's "Five First-Choice Colleges Approach," a limited list will reduce stress and improve outcomes (both in admissions decisions and collegiate success). Conner, director of college counseling at the Foxcroft School, contends that when students focus on schools where they will thrive in different aspects of their lives, they are setting themselves up for success in university and beyond.

If, however, students are deciding between different academic systems (such as the U.K. and U.S. systems), there may be a need to apply to more institutions. Students should always discuss their application plan with their college counselor at high school to ensure they are aware of the various application requirements and deadlines.

-HMM & LMS

system on entering university. The transition to a U.S. university involves a period of re-entry for students who have lived a cross-cultural life overseas in tight-knit international school communities.

"Honors programs, international student clubs and other groups can help them re-enter U.S. culture more smoothly, especially if the college they are at is really big (e.g., a state university)," John M. Evans, upper school counselor at the International School of Prague and an adult TCK, reminds students. "Honors programs give students a smaller cohort to go through college with, and a benefit typically includes closer relationships with professors."

Students who seek out universities where they will have an option to be a part of a community-be it an honors college or a minority scholars societywill have access to academic, professional and peer mentorship throughout their early years, and will grow into leaders as they continue throughout their university studies.

### Making the Match Work for You

Sometimes we hear of students with great profiles and scores being turned down from institutions whose recent average admitted scores are lower than those of the applicants. Though it may appear that the schools are suddenly getting more selective, that is not necessarily the case.

"Yield," something of a buzzword among college admissions professionals, is the issue; it is the measurement of how many of the admitted students eventually make a deposit and choose to attend the university. Universities don't want to accept students who are unlikely to enroll (because they are likely to be accepted at and attend a more selective college), as yield is also a significant factor in how

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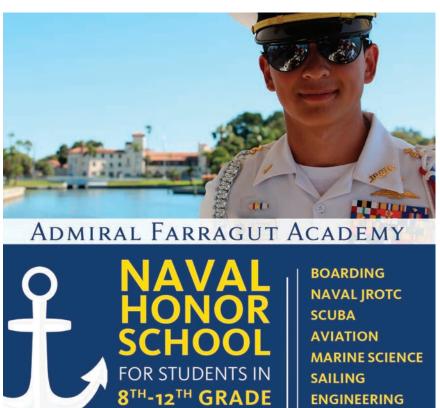
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Students can make this work for themselves by being clear in their application materials that they are particularly wellsuited to the campus and student population. Though it can be harder to visit campuses, FS applicants can demonstrate significant interest in the school by emailing the admissions office, requesting an interview (if available), asking specific questions, attending informational webinars, joining interest groups hosted by the university on social media and interacting with the university in other ways.

While most application essays (like the Common Application essay prompts) are still student-focused, many universities ask supplemental questions, such as "Why are you choosing to study at our institution?" or "How will you become an involved student who gives back to the campus community?" This allows the applicants to show they have thoughtfully considered their fit at the university. In addition, students can tailor each essay and additional information section (even in the Common App) to ensure they're writing an essay that is appropriate for the university they're applying to.

Jacqui Brelsford, an adult TCK and currently the university counsellor at the British International School of Phuket, reflects on how a student's experience and needs as a TCK could factor into a great application package: "Look for unique or specific activities or events the university has that match their interests. For example, if the university is known for its spectacular international day, and the student is brilliant at playing the traditional instrument from their home country, they could be a part of this day. They can also mention that they have spoken to international students already attending the university—this shows initiative, and that they have heard more than just the university sales pitch."

Students who work best in individualized learning environments, such as honors colleges or in specialized fellowship environments, should include these opportunities in their search and be eager to discuss them with admissions advisers (check the school website for a list of admissions officers and which region

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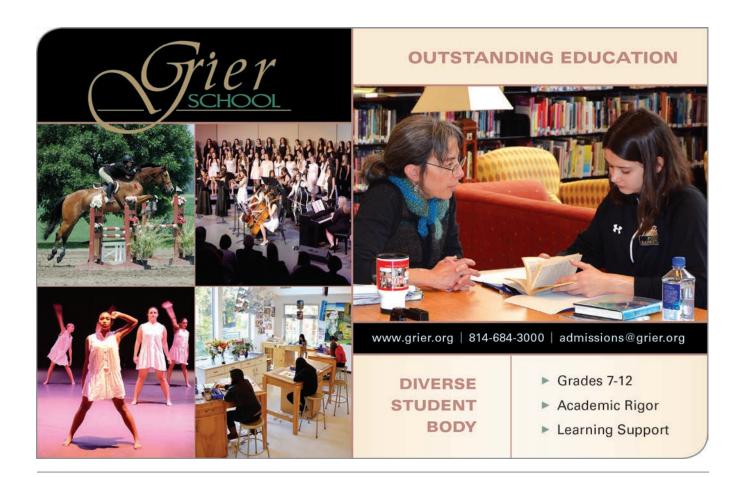
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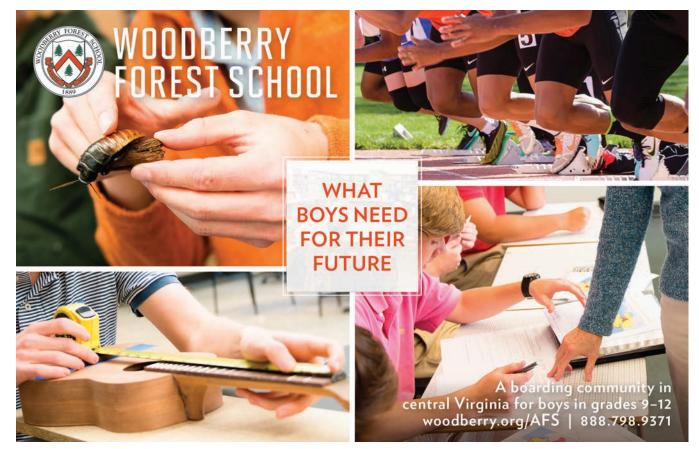
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of the country or world they cover) and with current students in those programs. Admissions staff should welcome emailed questions that aren't addressed on the website.

Many colleges will require a supplemental essay or application for these special programs, and they can be due as early as Nov. 1 (a common Early Decision or Early Action application deadline). Acceptance to these programs often happens in early spring, giving the student time to weigh the program opportunity into their ultimate decision.

### Support in College and Beyond

We encourage students, families and communities to change the language they

use to frame the college search. Instead of "applying to as many schools as possible with the hope to get into one," students should focus on applying to colleges where there is both an academic fit and the healthy learning environment a student needs to succeed.

When students discuss the importance of being able to swim yearround, for example, or participate in a religious group, they are identifying college choices where they will build the networks to support a successful experience. Making this kind of match, rather than opting for a recognized name brand, is a win-win for both the college that will want to admit such a great addition to the next freshman class, and to the applicant who knows that they will be happy at any of the schools to which they are admitted.

We also encourage families to listen to the advice of experts such as high school counselors, university admissions advisers and educational consultants. Carl Gavin reminds students that their high school counselor is the most knowledgeable person on their campus about the university application process—not their science teacher, not their mother's accountant friend and not their peers.

Finding six or eight "great fit" schools can take time, but the process of identifying individual success factors, personal interests and student needs will pay off when students are accepted to and attend colleges where they will truly thrive.





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Wilbraham & Monson    65    354    55/45    50    33    8-12    Y/N    Y    Limited    22    Y    NP    60,80      Woodberry Forest School    69    385    All boys    100    10    9-12    Y/N    Y    N    73    Y    N    55,60      OVERSEAS    82    591    50/50    NA    NP    PK-12    Y/Y    N    Y    21    Y    N    13,93      Berlin Brandenburg International    65    700    50/50    20    65    K-12    N/Y    N    Y    15    Y    N    42,00		63	435	50/50	48	26	9-12	Y/N	Y	NP	21	Y	NP	59,400
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International		82	591	50/50	NA	NP	PK-12	Y/Y	Ν	Y	21	Y	Ν	13,933- 30,334°
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\*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate \*\* Dec. 25-Jan 1. NA, Not applicable NP, Information not provided a Sibling discount b Financial aid available ° Dollar value subject to exchange rate "Aid for federal employees" Gap year "Need-blind admission; will meet full financial need "Host families



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11

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School	Page Number	Enrollment	Gender Distribution M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent Int'l.	Levels Offered	AP/IB*	TABS common application	Accept ADD/LD	Miles to Int'l. Airport	International Students Orientation	Holiday Break Coverage**	Annual Tuition, Room & Board (US \$)
OVERSEAS (	сонти	NUED)											
EF Academy Dxford	73	160	50/50	100	100	11-12	N/Y	Ν	N	43	Y	N	46,425ª
F Academy orbay	73	300	55/45	100	100	9-12	N/Y	N	N	26	Y	N	46,425
rankfurt nternational School	63	1,800	50/50	NA	80	K-12	N/Y	N	Limited	19	Y	N	22,120
akarta ntercultural School	67	2,500	50/50	NA	85	PK-12	Y/Y	N	Limited	24	Y	N	19,500 32,100
lohn F. Kennedy School Berlin	62	1,617	50/50	NA	47	K-12	Y/N	N	Limited	15	Y	N	None
eysin American School in Switzerland	79	340	50/50	100	80	7-12, PG	N/Y	Y	Limited	75	Y	N	88,000
St. Stephen's School	70	295	47/53	15	62	9-12, PG	Y/Y	N	N	12	Y	N	40,850
	EDS												
he Gow School	60	150	87/13	87	33	6-12, PG	NA	N	Y	20	Y	N	65,800
DISTANCE L	EARNI	NG											
Stanford Online High School	57	Enrollment is 704, with a boy/girl distribution of 50/50. State Department covers tuition. WASC Accredited, diploma-granting independent school (7-12). Global and academically motivated student body, American college-preparatory education. Advanced Academic program (AP and university-level courses). Student services and vibrant student life. State Department covers tuition. ohs.stanford.edu											
Texas Tech Jniversity	79	Texas Tech UniversityIndependent School District offers Kindergarten-12th grade and accredited HS diploma; K12.ttu.edu/fsj											
Texas Tech Jniversity Worldwide eLearning	59	Texas Tech University Worldwide eLearning offers online bachelor's through graduate programs. elearning.ttu.edu/fsj											
OTHER													
AAFSW Associates of the American F.S. Worldwide	30	Publisher of <i>Raising Kids in the Foreign Service</i> . A volunteer organization that supports Foreign Service employees, spouses, partners and members of household. www.aafsw.org See FSHub.org.											
FLO	66	Family Liaison Office: Information and resources for Foreign Service families. Contact FLOAskEducation@state.gov, or go to www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/c1958.htm.											
FSYF	80	Fore	ign Service	e Youth Foi	undation: J	A support r	network fo	or U.S. Forei	gn Servic	e youth wo	rldwide. G	o to www.f	syf.org.

\*Advanced Placement/International Baccalaureate \*\* Dec. 25-Jan 1. NA, Not applicable NP, Information not provided a Sibling discount b Financial aid available ° Dollar value subject to exchange rate "Aid for federal employees" Gap year "Need-blind admission; will meet full financial need "Host families



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## LAKE MARY PREPARATORY SCHOOL

# The Vocational Education Option **A Student's Search for Meaning in Today's Economy**

The vocational-technical path can make a lot of sense in today's changing economy.

ere's something all parents have in common: they want what is best for their children. This goes for both educational pursuits and career

aspirations.

The trick is, how does one define what is best? Parents want their children to be happy, successful and thoughtful. So how do they channel their children's natural strengths and abilities into the ideal posthigh school educational path?

One option that is often overlooked is the vocational technical post-secondary path for Foreign Service children. This could be in lieu of, or in addition to, a traditional four-year college track.

Contemporary society offers complex educational choices—choices that can leave parents and students feeling overwhelmed. While reviewing educational options, they might find themselves



Marybeth Hunter is the education and youth officer in the State Department's Family Liaison Office. She traveled overseas with her Foreign

Service family for more than 21 years, and has worked as a teacher and a community liaison office coordinator abroad.

#### BY MARYBETH HUNTER

pondering the true purpose of education. How does one navigate the financial cost of college and the troubling implications of student debt for young adults? And how can parents ensure—or at least increase the odds—that the skills young people gain relate to the demands of the competitive job market?

Several Foreign Service families have addressed these difficult questions by exploring vocational technical school options. (See Resources, page 78, for a start.)

Here are some reasons why vocational technical schools can be considered an attractive choice.

First, they teach concrete skills that graduates can apply in the job market. Many technical skills are in short supply today and are sorely needed by industry due to the changing nature of labor demands. For example, technical skills such as those used in the construction trades are now in high demand and cannot be outsourced. The work must be done on site, with the available local labor.

Second, this path to remunerative employment is typically faster and targeted to a specific career. Students take anywhere from two to five years (often including apprenticeships or other working periods) to complete a program to become certified or to earn a degree. Unlike most four-year college students, vocational technical students are free to take only those classes that are required for a specific degree or certificate. As a result, vocational technical schools tend to cost less than the traditional four-year college.

#### Many Benefits

For some, "trades" might translate to specific occupations (also known as "new collar" jobs) requiring a very specific skill set. Students might look to gain these skills via training in the form of apprenticeships or internships sponsored by vocational technical schools and community colleges.

If the goal is achieving a high salary, some of the highest-paid skilled trades in America include construction management, rotary drill operations for the oil and gas industry, plumbing, the electrical industry, the commercial diving industry, HVAC work, carpentry, welding, auto mechanics, the funeral service industry and a host of options in the medical field, including medical sonography and respiratory therapy.

At some schools, the entire curriculum revolves around mastering skills based on community needs. The American College

Continued on page 80

### Parents and Students Who've "Been There" Talk about the Vocational Path

Some Foreign Service families have chosen to pursue an interdisciplinary path and incorporate vocational education and apprenticeships to round out an otherwise traditional college route. Here's what they have to say on the topic:

[My daughter's] internship as a line cook at a large catering company led her to her current job as an assistant to an event designer at the same company. She's putting together individual and corporate client proposals for events and working under a great mentor who is teaching her the trade. She combines her marketing/business degree from the University of Denver with her knowledge of cooking, special events and menu planning. She is in her element and loving it.

—Foreign Service parent of a University of Denver/ Stratford University School of Culinary Arts and Hospitality Management graduate

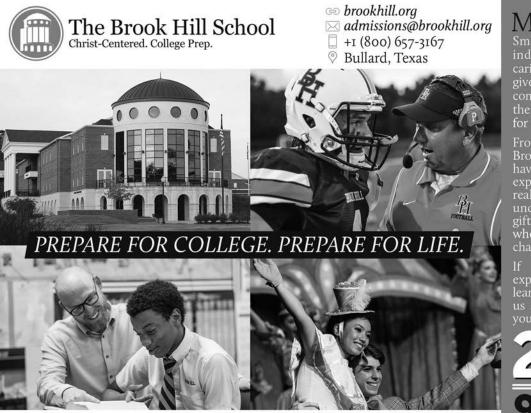
I wish I'd done this sooner. It was so exciting to be able to pull in everything [I've] learned and actually build something functional. Every aspect [of the process] was so rewarding, I really could not love this school any more, and am really excited about starting a career in coding. The skills are so empowering, and I really feel like I've gotten back that 'I can do anything' feeling you have as a kid.

–Jonathan Mines, a graduate of Coding Bootcamp and now a Coaching Fellow at the Flatiron School Now more than ever, one must make this decision on a case by case basis ... look at professions that are likely to stay. Do your research. There are certificates, vocational schools, internships and apprenticeships. Use the internet and talk to people. Join professional trade associations and groups, reach out to experts in your chosen profession.

See if you can try it out first. Get an internship or work with a master in that trade; easier said than done, but well worth asking. Be willing to be rejected many times, and once you do meet a master in your career field, don't be afraid to ask to shadow them as they work. Ask questions about how they became who they are. Ask their advice.

[Finally, realize] that pursuing a vocation is more of a commitment than going to university. [By] pursuing a vocation with the right certifications, you are guaranteeing yourself to have work, but only in one field. Whereas [by receiving a degree from a] university, you are not guaranteed to have work, but there are possibilities in many different fields.

–Nicholas Williams, pursuing apprenticeships and vocational degrees in watchmaking

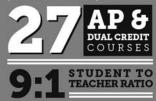


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#### Resources

**Association for Career and Technical Education:** Activities focus on professional development, program improvement, policy development and marketing.

**Career and Technical Student Organizations:** List of career and technical student organizations.

**Center on Education and Work:** Research, development and service programs designed to improve vocational-technical education, career development and other work-related programs.

Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education: Resources and publications focusing on adult and continuing education; career education, childhood through adult; and vocational and technical education, including employment and training.

**Institute for Educational Leadership's Center for Workforce Development:** Works to strengthen ties among workers, learning institutions and the workplace. CWD activities provide assistance to federal, state and local governments, as well as to schools and employers.

**National Association for Tech-Prep Leadership:** Encourages career development, professional involvement and networking among members who are Tech Prep leaders.

**National Association of State Directors of Vocational Technical Education Consortium:** Provides leadership for vocational technical education for all youth and adults at the national, state and local levels.

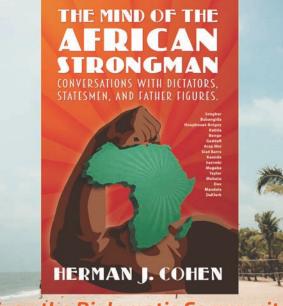
**National Career Development Association:** Assists the public and professionals involved with or interested in career development, including professional development activities and publications.

**National Centers for Career and Technical Education:** Conducts research and evaluation activities for career and technical education projects.

-From the U.S. Department of Education

## "I could not put it down."

-Amb. John Campbell, Council on Foreign Relations



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#### Continued from page 76

of the Building Arts is one example. Located in Charleston, South Carolina, ACBA was created out of necessity in 1999, when the community experienced a lack of skilled workers to repair the many historical buildings destroyed by Hurricane Hugo in 1989.

According to its website, the mission of ACBA is to "educate and train artisans in the traditional building arts, to foster exceptional craftsmanship and encourage the preservation, enrichment and understanding of the world's architectural heritage through a liberal arts education." Twenty-six of the 32 students who graduated between 2015 and 2017 are employed

## This path to remunerative employment is typically faster and targeted to a specific career.

in their field of study.

A head start on career training might be just the ticket for the curious Foreign Service student. Many public high schools in the United States offer academies or specialized programs that feature courses for students interested in preparing themselves (both academically and through hands-on training) for their career of choice.

Enrolling in specialized classes gives students a chance to learn from business leaders while exploring firsthand all of what a career entails. Students might also consider apprenticeship programs for highly skilled occupations that combine supervised, paid on-the-job training with classroom instruction.

Students interested in vocational technical options should think carefully about their living arrangements. In contrast with traditional four-year colleges, community colleges and technical schools often do not offer dormitories, social activities or meal plans for students.

#### New Trends, Old Models

In whatever manner parents choose to guide their children, it is important to prepare them to address the recurrent







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Now in its third century, Milton develops confident, independent thinkers. In an intimate, friendly setting, dedicated faculty give students the structure to learn and the support to take risks. Aware that every encounter affects a young person's development, Milton faculty surround students with opportunities for intellectual and personal growth—in and out of class. Inspired by their teachers and classmates, Milton students probe new areas of interest and maximize their strengths.

With a clear sense of themselves, their world, and how to contribute, Milton students graduate extraordinarily well prepared to take full advantage of all that college offers. Milton alumni put their well-developed skills to work in the most competitive colleges in the country.

Milton's motto, "Dare to be true," describes Milton's culture. Teaching and learning at Milton are active processes that recognize the intelligence, talents, and potential of every individual.

"I've gotten to experience life in Dallas, Texas. It's a huge city with so much to do. I've met girls from all over the world and there is a great camaraderie among us. There is a sisterhood at Hockaday and it feels like family."

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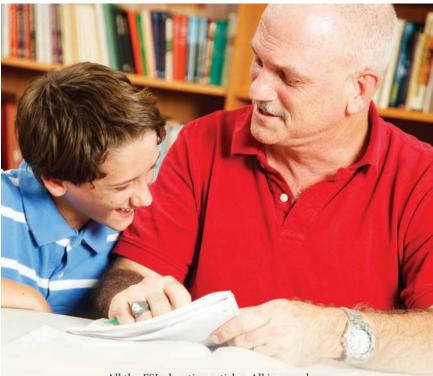
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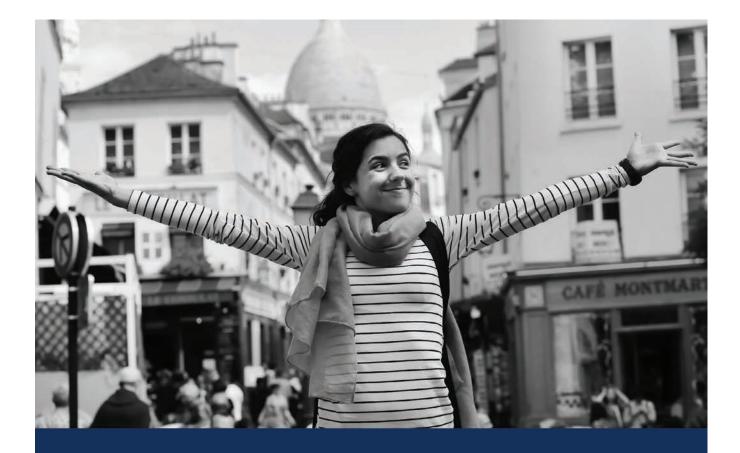
In the past, conventional thinking separated education and career into either blue-collar or white-collar tracks. This model may be increasingly obsolete. In the future, the more appropriate model may be a trichotomy: jobs that can exist solely on the internet, those that require a physical presence and those blending both. (To quote Princeton economist Alan Blinder: One "can't hammer a nail through the internet.")

At any rate, students need instruction beyond what the curriculum of either academic or vocational education offers. Solid character, interpersonal skills, spiritual wisdom and community involvement complete the package in the young adult on the road to personal and professional fulfillment.

Versatile communication skills combined with app savvy make for the ability to engage comfortably with others face-toface, as well as online. Perhaps it is a healthy combination of both thinking and doing that constitutes a more complete education.

Why not merge together a keen understanding of the significance and context of work and valued technical skills? Such a blend can build confidence in the student so that he or she feels well prepared to contribute meaningfully in the modern world.

Consider the following words by John William Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson: "The society which scorns excellence in plumbing as a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy: neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."



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### BOOKS

#### Telling America's Story: Before USIA, There Was Buffalo Bill

#### Lakota Performers in Europe: Their Culture and the Artifacts They Left Behind

Steve Friesen with François Chladiuk, University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, \$39.95/hardcover; \$34.95/Kindle, 276 pages.

#### The Popular Frontier: Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Transnational Mass Culture

Frank Christianson, editor, University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, \$32.95/hardcover; \$26.95/Kindle, 264 pages.

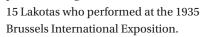
REVIEWED BY EDWINA S. CAMPBELL

For 46 years, the U.S. Information Agency's mission was to "tell America's story to the world," and American diplomats in Europe were doing that long before USIA was established in 1953. Still, it was not from diplomats, but from a variety of Americans who crossed their path that many Europeans formed their expectations of the United States.

The American with the most enduring impact on those expectations was perhaps William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, whose Wild West show visited Europe on three extensive tours in 1887-1888, 1889-1892 and 1902-1906.

Over nearly two decades, Cody made a lasting impression on his audiences, from Britain (Queen Victoria's 1887 Golden Jubilee) to France (the 1889 centennial of the French Revolution) and Spain, Italy and the eastern reaches of the Hapsburg empire.

Two new books in the Buffalo Bill Center of the West's series on the "History and Culture of the American West" explore Cody's impact. With more than 100 pages of color photographs, *Lakota Performers in Europe* tells the story of how 157 Lakota (Sioux) artifacts found a home in a private Belgian collection, most of them purchases or gifts from



The original collector meticulously annotated the provenance of each artifact, and the present owner, co-author François Chladiuk, spent years finding photos and ephemera from the exposition, and from earlier Lakota European tours, to link the artifacts to the families who wore them.

Two generations of Lakotas, like many other Americans before and since, found in Europe popular acclaim, economic opportunity and a new perspective on the United States by seeing their country through European eyes.



guages like French and German, was a part of that change. The 1935 Indian village with its dances and feats of skill heralded the rise of rodeos and powwows as new presentations of culture rather than of conflict. This shift would be finalized by the advent of World War II, which brought sweeping changes to both the United States and Europe." In Cody's heyday a half-century

earlier, there had been equally sweeping economic, political and cultural changes. *The Popular Frontier*, edited by Frank Christianson, explores the ways in which the content and logistics of the Wild West evolved in response to the shifting global political order. This included the United States' conquest of overseas territories and the revolution in connectivity and mobility led by telegraphy, steam power, newspapers and spreading literacy.

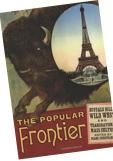
The American story Cody told in his final European tour, during which Japan defeated Russia in the Far East and the United States brokered the 1905 Treaty

#### Two generations of Lakotas, like many other Americans before and since, found in Europe popular acclaim, economic opportunity and a new perspective on the United States.

Their Brussels appearance came 18 years after Cody's death and was not associated with his original Wild West exhibition, but many of the Lakota performers had been. "Men like Stabber, Lone Bear and Black Horn, at one time the youngest to have lived that [performance] life, were now old. Their departure from Europe at the end of 1935 marked the end of the Wild West as a living reality for the people of Europe," Friesen and Chladiuk write.

"Lone Bear, with his understanding of European ways and his facility with lanof Portsmouth, was both similar to and a radical departure from the one recounted in 1887, when Britain's flirtation with the Confederacy was recent history.

If the Wild West show had never left the United States, "the Buffalo Bill phenomenon" would still have "exemplified a culture of mass spectacle ... dramatizing an image of the Western frontier just as Americans experienced a growing nostalgia for this mythic place and time." But after "the first visit to England, the exhibition would be forever defined, in large measure, by its internationalism."



Every chapter offers a new and interesting perspective on European reception of the Wild West.

Cody found his message enmeshed in "the interplay

of performers and consumers across linguistic and cultural divides"; the "symbolic narratives" had to be "adapted to the interests and needs of the local population." And although the Wild West left American shores with its "version of frontier history," Cody "could not control its meaning for the extraordinarily varied [European] audience." Such issues remain today at the heart of every public diplomacy endeavor.

Every chapter offers a new and interesting perspective on European reception of the Wild West. The editor and 10 contributors' topics include the role of Cody and Oscar Wilde in shaping trans-Atlantic national identities; Annie Oakley's impact on Anglo-American womanhood; and the claim of Mussolini's Italy in the 1930s that Cody was an Italian emigrant.

A particularly fine chapter explores the simultaneous German encounter with "Buffalo Bill's Indians" and the novels of Cody's contemporary, Karl May, noting that "the appeal of the American West has helped shape the relationship between the United States and Germany from the formation and expansion of both countries to the present day."

Another outstanding chapter examines the origins of a stereotype that began with European conflation of Cody and Theodore Roosevelt, that of America's "cowboy" presidents and their allegedly bellicose foreign policies. Visiting Europe in 1910, "Roosevelt continued to play up his Rough Rider [a term originated by Cody in the 1890s] image," but discovered that "there was a downside," because "the Buffalo-Bill side of American life" that is, the European interpretation of it—"overshadowed Roosevelt's scholarly interests and a more nuanced diplomacy."

Chances are good that today's diplomats, unless they grew up west of the Missouri, are "telling America's story" to foreign audiences more familiar with an important piece of it than they are. Across the Atlantic, Buffalo Bill and the Lakota performers who carried on the Wild West performance tradition until the eve of World War II wrote an important chapter in that story.

These two outstanding books help us understand how they did so, and why American diplomats should care.

Edwina S. Campbell is a former FSO and retired professor whose publications include Germany's Past and Europe's Future (1989) and, most recently, Citizen of a Wider Commonwealth: Ulysses S. Grant's Postpresidential Diplomacy (Southern Illinois University Press, 2016). The latter was included in the November 2017 Foreign Service Journal's "In Their Own Write" compilation.

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## An Interview with My Son

BY JESSICA POWLEY HAYDEN

naccompanied tours have become a fact of life in the Foreign Service. According to State's Bureau of Human Resources, 14 percent of the State Department's FS overseas positions are at posts designated as unaccompanied or limited accompanied, and there are approximately 1,000 Foreign Service employees who serve in locations too dangerous for families to join.

We all know how hard the separation can be for both the employee and the family left behind, but what does it actually feel like for a kid? I sat down with my 8-year-old son, Alex, to discuss his experience this year while his father has served in Iraq. We have stayed on at post in Ankara, Turkey.

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JH: Tell me about yourself. What are your favorite things to do?

AH: I like to play with Legos, eat and drink. And read. I really love "Percy Jackson and the Olympians" right now.

JH: What would you like to be when you grow up?

AH: An archeologist. I love learning about ancient Egypt and Greece and Rome.

JH: Where does your dad live right now?

AH: (Looking a little unsure...) Iraq? Yes, Iraq.

JH: What does he do for work? AH: He works in the embassy.

JH: What do you miss doing most with your dad?

AH: Just being with him. Lots of stuff. Like, everything. I just want to be with him.

**JH:** What's it like when you talk to him on the phone? AH: It's funnnnnnnnnnnnnn. (Make sure you write down all those n's.) I really like talking to him. We just Facebook Messenger.

There are these little pictures, and I press them and make little faces with them. It is really cool.

JH: And what do you enjoy doing with him when he comes home and visits?

AH: Everything! We went to the beach once, and another time we went skiing. It was great.



Jessica Powley Hayden, an FS spouse, is a lawyer and writer. Her work has appeared in Slate, The Christian Science Monitor and The Foreign Service Journal. She has lived with her family in Almaty, Washington, D.C., Salt Lake City, Baku and Ankara. Her husband is finishing a one-year unaccompanied tour in Iraq while she is staying in Ankara with their three young children.

JH: What has he missed this year that made you sad?

AH: He missed Christmas, and that was really sad. And my play. I was in this play at school called "Panto Pandemonium,"

and I had one of the main parts. I really wish he could have been there and seen that one.

JH: What do you and your mom get to do more of now that your dad is away?

AH: Actually, I have less time to play with my mom because she has to do a lot more. You have to do a lot more with Caroline and Ryan [his younger siblings]. And that is hard.

JH: But you've really stepped up around the house. What kind of things have you done to help out?

AH: Yeah. I take out the trash, make my bed; and I'm really good at helping with the bags when we travel.

JH: Yes, you are. I loved that one time when we came back from a trip and you insisted on loading all of the bags into the back of the van, and the Turkish driver was amazed at how strong you were.

AH: That was funny.

JH: So what would make this year easier for you?



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AH: Daddy coming home. And if that can't happen, making two of mommy. Two people so you can do a lot of things at once.

**JH:** I like your thinking! I've wished for two of me for a long time! Okay, I'm going to ask you a few more questions. What makes you happy?

**AH:** When mommy comes and plays with me.

JH: What is your biggest worry? *AH: That daddy will die in Iraq.* 

**JH:** Do you really worry about that? I didn't know that.

*AH:* There are wars in Iraq, and I know there are a lot of refugees. So I worry.

JH: You don't need to worry about that. Daddy is really in a safe place and has lots of people looking out for him. And listen, if he dies, I'll kill him because I want him back home. (We both laugh and I give him a big hug.)

Okay, so, what are you looking forward to doing when we are all back in America together?

*AH:* Being with daddy and mommy all at once.

**JH:** What are three things you can't live without?

*AH:* Water, food and sleep. And books. But that's four.

JH: If you could change anything about our family, what would it be? *AH: Daddy never going away.* 

JH: And if you could change anything about the world, what would it be? *AH:* To have no war. And that the Greek gods were real. I'd just love that.



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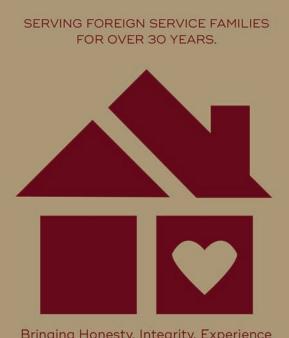
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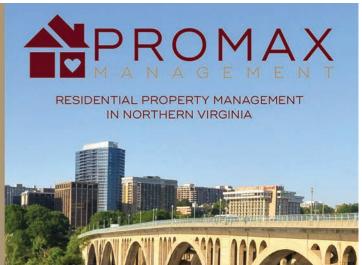
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## A British Baptism in a Russian Church, in 1968

BY JONATHAN B. RICKERT

eorge Hambleton, son of Pan-American Airways co-founder John Adams Hambleton, arrived in Moscow early in 1968 to serve as the airline's first resident director there. The initial PanAm and Aeroflot flights between New York and Moscow were to take place that July.

I met him early in his stay, and we became friendly. George and his lovely British wife, Janet, had a son, James, who had been born recently in Helsinki, where George had previously resided.

George was determined that James should be baptized in the Soviet Union in a Russian church, but by Dr. Eric Staples, an Anglican priest based in Helsinki who was a good friend of both of us.

Permission finally was granted after George made numerous interventions with the Russian Orthodox Church bureaucracy, which he claimed had gone all the way to the Patriarch.

George had leased a weekend cottage at Zavidovo, on the Volga River nearly 70 miles north of Moscow, in a state-owned recreation complex known popularly as "the diplomatic dacha."

Though modest by Western standards, this facility provided an escape, limited sporting possibilities (e.g., tennis, skeet shooting, boating, snowmobiling) and fresh air for foreign businessmen and diplomats.

On Sept. 21, 1968, a beautifully sunny autumn day, a smallish group of the Hambletons' guests arrived at Zavidovo for the baptismal ceremony. Once assembled, we embarked in open boats powered by outboard motors for the short ride to a nearby village where the church was located. I was asked to serve as the unofficial interpreter.

The Russian priest was waiting for us at the church near the riverbank. Though cordial enough, he appeared nervous about what was about to transpire and, no doubt, about having a bunch of Western foreigners in his church.

It should be recalled that in those days the U.S.S.R. was still very much a closed society, where citizens were strongly discouraged from having contacts with (noncommunist) foreigners. Moreover, America's involvement in Vietnam was a major focus of Soviet criticism and propaganda efforts.

Nevertheless, the priest chatted amiably with Father Staples and explained how best to conduct the service in the space available, though he politely declined George's invitation to participate.

Just before the ceremony began, a large group of working-class Russian tourists disgorged from one of the riverboats that



Retired Senior Foreign Service Officer Jonathan B. Rickert spent the majority of his 35-year career in or dealing with Central and Eastern Europe. His final two overseas posts were as deputy chief of mission in Sofia and then Bucharest. He served as Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson's staff aide at Embassy Moscow from 1967 to 1968. plied the Volga and sought to enter the church—the village must have been a standard rest stop for such outings.

The arrival of the tourists clearly upset the Russian priest, who tried to shoo them away. George, however, told him that we viewed a church as a public place, and that the tourists not only should not be barred from entering but, indeed, were welcome. That settled, the service began.

Father Staples and the Hambletons stood with baby James in an open space to one side of the church, with the Russian priest hovering in the background nearby. The Hambletons' guests formed a semicircle around them. As the service was about to begin, however, perhaps 30 or 40 of the tourists approached and formed their own semicircle facing the invited guests. They watched silently yet respectfully and with rapt attention as the brief ceremony proceeded.

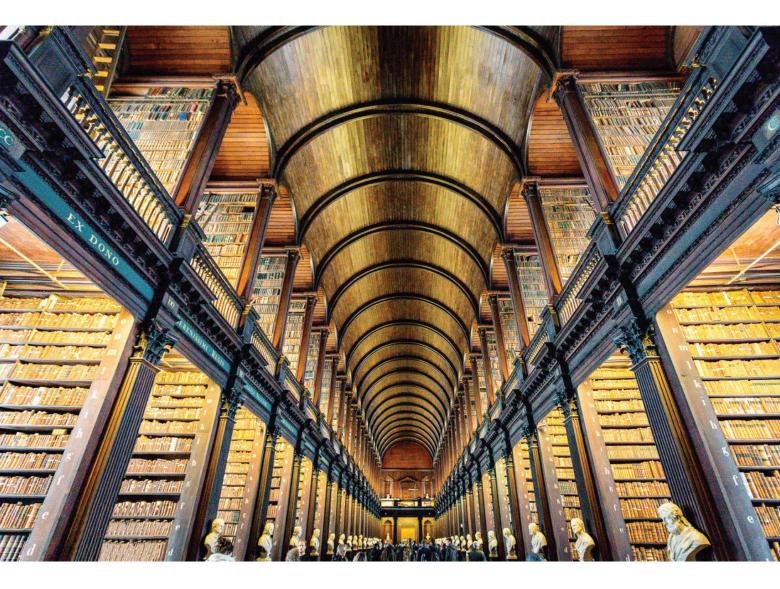
Once it was over, many of them rushed forward to greet the Hambletons, wishing them health, happiness and a long life for their son. It was the most genuine, spontaneous and moving outpouring of human feeling that I encountered in my two-plus years in Russia.

Ordinary people who understood not a word of the service they had observed nevertheless grasped the importance of the occasion and responded in a deeply human way.

Whenever I hear mentioned the warmth and friendliness of the Russian people, I think of what I witnessed that sunny day on the Volga and the flood of good wishes from ordinary citizens for foreigners whom they did not know.

### LOCAL LENS

BY MATTHEW L. HORNER 💻 DUBLIN, IRELAND



Please submit your favorite, recent photograph to be considered for Local Lens. Images must be high resolution (at least 300 dpi at 8" x 10", or 1 MB or larger) and must not be in print elsewhere. Include a short description of the scene/ event, as well as your name, brief biodata and the type of camera used. Send to **locallens@afsa.org.**  his image is of the Long Room in the Trinity College Library in Dublin. The largest library in Ireland, it is truly impressive. The library was built between 1712 and 1732; and, at nearly 65 metres in length, it is filled with 200,000 of the library's oldest books, including the famous *Book of Kells.* 

Matthew L. Horner is currently the sole consular officer at U.S. Embassy Reykjavík. He has also served in Cambodia, Mexico and Barbados. He took this photo recently, while on a long weekend in Dublin, with his handheld Canon 6D, using an EF 17-40mm wideangle lens.

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