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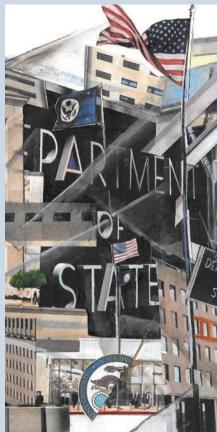
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On the Cover—Art: "A Cubist State" by Josh Dorman

Covering the Bases

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

ne of the best parts of summer is the chance I get to talk to—and hear from—so many members who are taking classes at FSI. If there is one thing that's clear from talking to you, it's that the Foreign Service team was never meant for the sidelines.

The Foreign Service is chomping at the bit to get out on the field—to "the front lines, executing American diplomacy with great vigor and energy," to borrow a phrase from Secretary Mike Pompeo.

Getting adequate numbers of diplomats into the field is made harder by the erosion in funding for core diplomatic capability—down nearly a quarter from 2008. This erosion manifests itself in embassies that are short-staffed, with overstretched sections struggling to produce required reports and handle visits, and section chiefs lamenting the squeeze on time for mentoring and pursuing highimpact diplomacy.

Meanwhile, back at home, Congress has been holding hearings about America losing ground to rising powers such as China. Alarm grows that Beijing, which has increased spending on diplomacy by 40 percent over the past five years, is gaining commercial, economic and, yes,



political ground at the expense of America's global leadership.

These two trends are not unrelated. Reduce funding for America's core diplomatic capability while China's is increasing, and we should not be surprised if it looks like Beijing is running the bases on one continent after another while short-staffed American embassies struggle mightily to cover all the bases.

While our defense spending outstrips the competition—more than 10 times what Russia spends, and more than the next eight countries combined—our spending on diplomacy is decidedly modest, with just \$5 billion going to core diplomacy.

If we care about maintaining America's global leadership—and more than 90 percent of our fellow Americans say they do—it is simply not a good idea to leave second base and shortstop uncovered while China is at bat.

If you will permit me to extend the baseball metaphor—it is the season, after all—during the past decade our country has devoted increasing levels of funding to building and securing the stadium (the embassy compound) while squeezing funding for the players needed to take the field and win the game.

Luckily, we have highly skilled players ready—eager, even—to cover second base and shortstop, ready to step into the game. And luckily, Congress continues to vote to reject cuts to our funding; what's more, for FY 2019, the Senate Committee on Appropriations voted 31-0 to begin to restore funding for core diplomatic capability, increasing funding for the "overseas programs" line item by \$49 million.

That may not be much money—less than half, by way of comparison, of the security bill for our consulate in Basrabut it's enough to cover the overseas support costs for shifting 150 existing domestic mid-level positions overseas. It's enough, in other words, to start to put the team back on the field.

I was very encouraged to see support for getting more members of our team on the field from Brian Bulatao, who is awaiting confirmation as under secretary for management (M). In response to a question for the record from Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Ed Markey (D-Mass.) expressing support for deploying more Foreign Service officers overseas, M-designate Bulatao wrote: "If confirmed, I commit to supporting Secretary Pompeo's field forward approach and will work with each respective Bureau to align our personnel and expertise against the Department's most critical strategic priorities."

Bulatao went on to describe working with Congress "as we develop and implement plans to align additional State Department personnel overseas to advance the security and prosperity of all Americans."

This is good news for members of the Foreign Service eager for a chance to get in the game and prove their worth—and eager to advance the security and prosperity of all Americans. It is also great news for American business, which is calling for increased embassy staffing to help level the playing field so they can compete effectively overseas. And it is great news for the 90 percent of Americans who want to see our country retain global leadership.

Here's to covering all the bases.

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

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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

The Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543). 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly, with combined January-February and July-August issues, by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), a private, nonprofit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the Journal, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by email. The Journal is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. All advertising is subject to the publisher's approval. AFSA reserves the right to reject advertising that is not in keeping with its standards and objectives. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply endorse-ment of goods or services offered. Opinions expressed in advertisements are the views of the advertisers and do not necessarily represent AFSA views or policy. *Journal* subscription: AFSA member–\$20, included in annual dues; student-\$30; institution-\$40; others-\$50; Single issue-\$4.50. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. Indexed by the Public Affairs Information Services (PAIS).

Email: journal@afsa.org Phone: (202) 338-4045 Fax: (202) 338-8244 Web: www.afsa.org/fsj

© American Foreign Service Association, 2018

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Postmaster: Send address changes to AFSA, Attn: Address Change 2101 E Street NW Washington DC 20037-2990



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The State of State

BY SHAWN DORMAN

t's August 15 as I write this note, and I've just come back from hosting a table at lunch with the 194th A-100 class, a glorious group of 82 bright and shining Foreign Service officers. They had Flag Day last Friday and are busy reading up on the posts around the world they will call home for the next two years: Mumbai, Jakarta, Shanghai, Chengdu, Bishkek, Tijuana, Dar es Salaam... And just last week we got to welcome the 148th, a new class of 89 Foreign Service specialists.

Foreign Service hiring has resumed, and not a moment too soon. There is diplomatic work to do, and the pipeline of new hires has finally started to flow again. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo lifted the hiring freeze on family member employment on his first day on the job, another good sign for the future of the Foreign Service.

The loss of dozens of senior-level diplomats during the last 18 months some of the best mentors for this next generation—will be felt for years. But the renewal has begun. The new A-100 class even named itself the "Resurgent 194th."

You won't hear anyone utter the words "Redesign" or "Impact Initiative" in the halls of the State Department today. It's as if that most recent reform



project never happened. But as any observer of the state of State must ask, what was that? And what's the next signature

What did we learn from the latest reform effort? Where does State go from here?

reform plan for this endlessly examined institution? What did we learn from the latest effort and the ones before that? Where does the State Department go from here?

The focus this month, "Beyond the Redesign: Can State Deliver?" takes up this line of inquiry. In his "Blue-Ribbon Blues," Harry Kopp looks back at 60 years of reform efforts and studies to try to understand why so many good (and some bad) ideas go nowhere.

FSO Matt Boland presents a roadmap for effective strategic planning *and implementation*, arguing that U.S. missions already have the tools for getting to successful outcomes, they just need to pick them up and use them.

Then in "E-Hell: Is There a Way Out?" Ambassador (ret.) Jay Anania, a former acting chief information officer for the department, lays out what's wrong with State IT—the perennial topic to end all perennial topics—and how top-level sustained commitment could lead to significant improvements.

Ambassador (ret.) Barbara Bodine, director of Georgetown's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, offers the view from campus on human capital with "Who Is the Future of the Foreign Service?" And, goodness, there was a lot to choose from the *FSJ* archive on reform and the future of the Foreign Service. The excerpts from 1950 to 2015 are a reminder that there may, indeed, be nothing new under the sun.

This month's Message from the Hill comes from Representative Joaquin Castro (D-Texas), who calls for a strengthened Foreign Service and congressional support for greater investment in "rebuilding this venerable American institution" at a time of complex and growing challenges.

Ambassador (ret.) Tom Armbruster takes us on an environmental diplomacy journey to the Marshall Islands. We then visit Camp David, circa 1978, with retired FSO Frank Finver as he helps out during peace talks that led to the signing of the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel—40 years ago this month.

Finally, the discussion of support (and lack thereof) for FS children with special needs continues in Letters-Plus, with an inside look at what's gone wrong in what former State child psychologist James Brush calls "The Demise of MED's Child and Family Program."

As always, we want to hear from you, so please send letters to the editor and submissions on topics of current concern. And don't forget to help celebrate the *FSJ* centennial by sharing (to journal@afsa.org) a photo of yourself or a friend with the *Journal* wherever you are.

Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

LETTERS

Remembering the East Africa Bombings

The July-August *FSJ* stirred memories. Reading about these bombings reminded me of the bombing of our embassy in Saigon in 1965. I was typing in the Communications Center and recall being surprised at how long the BOOM went on. When we hear bombings in movies, it's just "boom" and it's over.

I put my head on my typewriter as did Miki Lovett, a co-worker. As I did so, I looked back and saw a flimsy wall between our distribution center and the file room coming down, with tons of debris behind it.

We were lucky that a woman working in the file room had heard the shooting and raised the window of frosted glass to look out. Because of this we just had bits of glass flying around, not the big shards other offices had.

Our supervisor had been standing in the door of the distribution room just before the blast, and I'd been talking to him. He made a dive for the "back room," and the door was pitted with bits of glass. He was not hurt.

The two women in the file room had some nasty scratches, and the one who'd looked out the window had some permanent damage to her eye. Other than a few miscellaneous scratches on the rest of us, we were unscathed.

We immediately began cleaning up because we knew there'd be a lot of telegrams in and out for the rest of the day. Within just a few minutes another agency, USAID, called to tell us they had some missing telegrams.

I told them I would appreciate it if they'd call later because the embassy was just bombed, and they laughed and said, "Oh, Judy, that's funny—but here



are the numbers." I finally got them to realize it wasn't a joke. It had been a long time since anyone had attacked a U.S. embassy.

When Miki and I finally went for lunch, we automatically walked down the stairs. We could tell everyone else

had, too, from the bloody handprints on the wall. I found out later that the elevator never stopped—in fact there was an employee in it when the bomb went off. It turned out that our building, very old, didn't have steel beams but was put up using pressure. We had virtually no structural damage.

Meanwhile, nearby stores and dwellings were demolished. I hate to think how many Vietnamese were killed. One young embassy employee was killed, Barbara Rollins, and a Merchant Marine walking outside the Consular section also died.

So many of our staff had serious wounds, and some were flown to the Philippines for care. We considered ourselves lucky.

After the bombing we were told that if we were in the building at the time of the bombing, we would have five days R&R, and if we were wounded, seven days. That was our therapy.

Judy Chidester FSS, retired Las Cruces, New Mexico

Keeping Up with Health Care

I applaud AFSA State VP Ken Kero-Mentz for his column, "Deferred Maintenance," in the July-August *Journal*.

Scheduling those routine physical exams is good for your health, your pocketbook (because many health insurance plans already cover those visits), your family and your colleagues. Routine check-ups can identify an area of concern before it becomes a costly, emotionally taxing and possibly lifethreatening emergency.

I've always appreciated it when my managers have encouraged their teammates to allocate the time for routine check-ups, because those signals create an environment for employees to do affordable preventive maintenance and take steps to heal themselves quickly when they do fall ill.

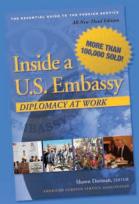
It's good for morale and it's even better for productivity, because healthy employees are more likely to be effective.

Scheduling routine check-ups at home and abroad is an important element of preventive health care. Kero-Mentz's encouragement to tap into MED's network of English-speaking doctors for preventive physical and mental health check-ups abroad is an excellent recommendation.

It's also important to consider designating a person who can advocate for your health care in case you fall ill or are injured. For most of us that is our spouse, but what if our spouse is not present at post when we are ill or injured? Moreover, what if one is single and does not have a spouse?

Maintaining updated living wills, designating power of attorney and making these documents readily available during a health care emergency are important steps to ensure our personal health is maintained when we are unable to do it ourselves.

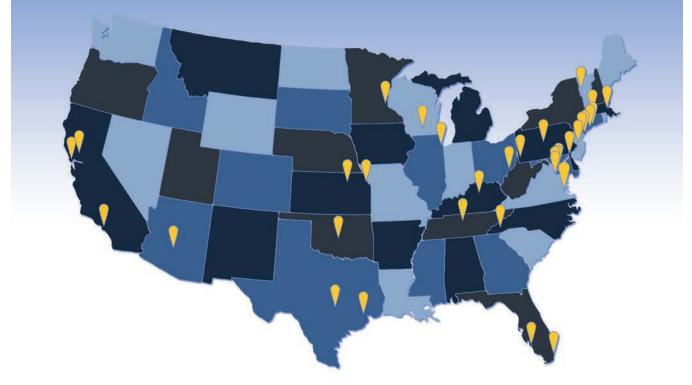
To that end, I hope medical units will consider talking to newly arrived employees and their family members about the status and availability of their living wills and health care power of



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Living abroad is hard, and a small nudge can enhance the preparedness of our community to respond to health care emergencies with efficiency, compassion and humanity.

David S. Boxer FSO Arlington, Virginia

Remembering a Russian Diplomat

I enjoyed reading Phil Skotte's May Speaking Out, "What State Should Bring to the Table: Cultural and Language Expertise."

Not only does he make a great case for regional specialization, but his anecdote about an unnamed Russian diplomat resonated deeply with me.

As a fellow Embassy Moscow alum, I also had the opportunity to work with the diplomat Skotte is referring to—Ambassador Andrei Karlov, whose unmatched diplomatic experience in North Korea provided his U.S. counterparts at that time with fascinating background on working with and in the DPRK. He was a picture of professionalism and bilateral cooperation, and always enjoyed his high-level consular consultations in Washington and Moscow.

Years later, on Dec. 19, 2016, Amb. Karlov was tragically assassinated in Ankara while serving as the Russian Federation's ambassador to Turkey. Particularly now, I remember Andrei Karlov as a committed career diplomat who sought to build bridges between Russia and the United States, treating his counterparts with great respect even amid turbulent relations.

RIP, Ambassador Karlov. Julie M. Stufft Deputy Chief of Mission Embassy Chisinau

JOURNAL

Ambassador Jon M. Huntsman: Foreign Service Leadership

At first, I wasn't certain what it was all about, my email queue bulging with messages from Foreign Service colleagues serving abroad and retired.

Just one of them nicely sums up what all were feeling: "Ambassador Huntsman has done us proud! Welcome back, Foreign Service!"

I hadn't yet read the *Salt Lake Tribune* response from Huntsman to columnist Robert Gehrke's call on him to resign as ambassador to Moscow given the controversy surrounding President Donald Trump's July 16 meeting with Vladimir Putin.

It was that reply, "Why I'm Staying," that infused so much energy in my friends. Indeed, it was the kind of morale-booster the Foreign Service has needed for many years now.

Amb. Huntsman's response gives us all something to be proud of for a change. After such a long period of negativity, almost a "whole-of-government" effort against our president, finally we see something different.

We see an ambassador who is not resigning, but instead speaks out on behalf of the president and the nation. He occupies one of the most important U.S. diplomatic posts in the world—Embassy Moscow—and tells us why it's important that the Foreign Service stand up and stand tall when the going gets rough.

Says Huntsman: "Representatives

of our Foreign Service, Civil Service, military and intelligence services have neither the time nor inclination to obsess over politics, though the issues of the day are felt by all. Their focus is on the work that needs to be done to stabilize the most dangerous relationship in the world, one that encompasses nuclear weapons, fighting terrorism, stopping bloodshed in Ukraine and seeking a settlement of the seemingly intractable Syrian crisis. Their dedication to service to their country is above politics, and it inspires me to the core. It is my standard."

Adds Huntsman: "I have taken an unscientific survey among my colleagues, whom you reference, about whether I should resign. The laughter told me everything I needed to know."

As the ambassador says, the Foreign Service must remain above politics. We serve the flag. Our focus should be but one objective: abiding by the Constitution as chief foreign policy adviser to the commander-in-chief.

This includes providing support to advance America's security, strengthen its unity of purpose and make it an even greater nation. This is our institutional standard. To do anything less is to have failed.

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



LETTERS-PLUS

Response – The Demise of MED's Child and Family Program

BY JAMES BRUSH

he Child and Family Program within the Bureau of Medical Services' Mental Health program was constituted in 2013, when the full team was finally in place after years of planning. I was brought onto the team as one of two child psychologists. By March, we had on board a child psychiatrist director, two child psychologists and three clinical social workers who had experience in treating and managing the needs of children and adolescents.

I was on the ground floor of this program, and our mission was both exciting and challenging. This was the first extensive effort within the State Department to support the specific mental health and developmental needs of children, adolescents and their families living abroad.

We were to bring the various child welfare activities under one roof, allowing for a continuum of care for children and adolescents and their families. This meant that child mental health clearances, administration of the Special Needs Education Allowance (known as SNEA) and child medical evacuations for mental health reasons would be managed as a seamless activity. In addition, a new range of services was to be offered. We were provided telemedicine units and were charged with developing a telemedicine program offering clinical support to the medical providers around the world in U.S. missions. Because the mental health needs of children and adolescents are a specialty that few of MED's providers have, the CFP was to offer guidance and support to those working "on the ground" with State Department families.

We were also to develop a program of brief mental health consultation through the use of telemedicine. This type of support has been requested by families for years and is still very much needed. This program was not only to support families, but to try to reduce the medical evacuations of children and adolescents with behavioral health problems.

The typical medical evacuation of a child or adolescent for a behavioral health problem lasts about six weeks, with evaluations and treatment taking place in the United States. And it usually involves a child or youth who has not been "on the radar" through the clearance system. In other words, the typical behavioral health medical evacuation is of a child or teen

James Brush, Ph.D., is a child and adolescent psychologist in private practice in Washington, D.C. He worked at the State Department as a child psychologist with the Child and Family Program division of MED Mental Health from January 2013 through March 2016. Prior to his work at State, he had a private practice in Cincinnati, Ohio, for 26 years. A past president of the Ohio Psychological Association, he continues to be involved as a committee chair. Here is another contribution to the discussion thread on support for Foreign Service children with special needs that began with the Speaking Out by Kathi Silva in March ("Families with Special Needs Kids Need Support").

The May FSJ contained a response from Dr. Charles Rosenfarb, medical director of State's Bureau of Medical Services ("Our Commitment to Foreign Service Families"). Letters in the April, May and July-August editions added to the conversation.

who has not previously been known to be having problems because child and teen behavioral health needs are usually not chronic and crop up because of life circumstances or trauma.

Medical evacuations are extremely disruptive for families, often requiring family separation or entire families leaving post and temporarily relocating for evaluation and treatment of the child or teen and the family. It is also very disruptive to a mission, which often must do without an employee for an extended period of time.

Further, medical evacuations are extremely expensive, when accounting for the costs of relocating and housing a child and perhaps an entire family, the evaluation costs and the treatment costs. The cost savings would occur from improved triage and brief treatment for those with conditions that can be easily resolved or supported at post.

Examples of medical evacuations prevented by telemedicine consultation while we were piloting this program include a preschooler who had toileting probThis program was not only to support families, but to try to reduce the medical evacuations of children and adolescents with behavioral health problems.

lems and a school-aged child who had developed school phobia. I was involved in 10 consultations in our pilot program that were mild problems being considered for medical evacuation simply because there were no local treatment options. All the children and teens improved while maintaining the family at post.

The Child and Family Program was also charged with tightening procedures in the administration of the SNEA program. The SNEA program had been inconsistently administered, and policies and procedures for SNEA had drifted from State Department rules and regulations and from the spirit of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004 law and other disability laws on which it was based.

Many parents were upset by changes in how SNEA was administered. The new CFP worked closely with the Office of Allowances to assure adherence to the policies and procedures governing SNEA and the Foreign Affairs Manual. We scrutinized services paid for by SNEA carefully and communicated more with financial management officers. Our goal was to include all stakeholders in the process, to be more transparent and to be more consistent in decision-making.

Our hope was that in five years, a more comprehensive and robust program of support for children and families would be in place, with clear policies and procedures, so that families would find ample support from MED in taking care of the behavioral health and developmental needs of their children.

We expected growing pains, and we expected there would be a need to educate employees about how to use the various programs being developed. We expected a lot of individual work with families to link them with needed services. We expected a need to request changes to SNEA and other processes that would need upper management direction.

What we did not expect was suspicion and animosity from our State Department colleagues and many in the MED leadership. We thought everyone was on board with this new program. But we found that many MED psychiatrists, some members of the Office of Overseas Schools and some within the Family Liaison Office were prepared to torpedo the CFP from the start. I never understood the opposition to the program by members of the Office of Overseas Schools and the Family Liaison Office.

We had been told when we began that the CFP was part of a strategic initiative developed by MED and upper State Department management that was intended to consolidate support services for Foreign Service children and their parents living abroad: the SNEA process, the child educational clearance and child mental health clearance process, and the medical evacuation process for children and teens.

By 2015, three of the psychiatrists who were opposed to the CFP func-

tioning as a comprehensive support program ended up having leadership roles in MED. Dr. Stephen Young took over as the director of mental health. Dr. Kathy Gallardo took over as deputy director of mental health, and Dr. Aleen Grabow was brought in as a child psychiatric consultant. Together, they worked toward limiting the scope of the CFP, limiting the SNEA program and reducing the opportunities for families with disabled children through more restrictive use of child mental health clearances.

Within a year of their tenure in leadership, we lost our child psychiatrist director, the two child psychologists and one clinical social worker. I and the other providers left because Drs. Young and Gallardo changed the mission and scope of the CFP. It became an unpleasant place in which to work, with the emphasis being on clearances and restricting access to SNEA. Support for families was no longer the focus. Rather, support services were being cut and the clearance process was being used to restrict the opportunities of those with disabled children.

The program is now a skeleton of what it was previously, with only one social worker, one child psychologist and one retired Foreign Service psychiatrist. Telemedicine is forbidden. The program now basically performs an administrative function, processing clearances and SNEA requests.

This was a very sad, missed opportunity for the Department of State to support their employees with families abroad. I hope for the sake of State Department families that the idea of the Child and Family Program can be revived. But, if so, it will need fullthroated support from upper management so that it cannot be subverted by those with a different agenda.

A Foreign Service for America

BY JOAQUIN CASTRO

rom the rise of China, expanded Russian aggression with the invasion and occupation of Ukraine and meddling in the 2016 U.S. election, to the testing of our international institutions like NATO and the European Union, America needs swift diplomacy that adapts to the growing chorus of challenges we face.

To leverage opportunities and stem conventional and unconventional threats, the United States must renew confidence in our leadership, diplomacy and values abroad. At the core of this effort is a strengthened Foreign Service that maintains American engagement with our allies and promotes diplomacy and development in all corners of the world.

But during the last year and a half, we have seen flagging commitment to this important and strategic goal. The Trump administration attempted to cut our diplomacy and development agencies by nearly one-third, but Congress pushed back on that. Congress must restore our commitment to advancing American leadership abroad and equipping our diplomacy with the tools needed to best serve our interests. If we don't, our Foreign Service officers—and our nation—will fall short in ensuring the prosperity and security of American ideals around the world.

Since January 2017, the Trump administration has steadily attacked America's diplomacy and development corps at the State Department and USAID. The hiring freeze, failure to appoint diplomats to critical positions, pushing senior diplomats out the door, alleged vetting of employees for loyalty to the president's foreign policy agenda, consideration of offering \$25,000 buyouts to seasoned professionals (until Congress objected) and a mismanaged "redesign" led by then-Secretary of State Rex Tillerson caused long-lasting damage to the nation's diplomatic abilities.

The mass exodus of high-level employees crystalizes the current morale of the State Department, and this damage occurred at precisely the time we needed the expertise of our diplomats to address growing challenges. These cuts took place as North Korean missile tests flew over Japan, a country we are committed to defend by treaty; as the United States was called to mediate a dispute between Qatar and its Arab neighbors; as Beijing continued its assault on a rules-based order by

Joaquin Castro (D-Texas) represents Texas' 20th district (San Antonio) in the U.S. House of Representatives. Serving his third term, Rep. Castro sits on the House Intelligence and Foreign Affairs Committees and is first vice chair of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. Rep. Castro also serves as chief deputy whip and is a member of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. He is also founding co-chair of the Congressional Pre-K Caucus, the U.S.-Japan Caucus and the Congressional Caucus on ASEAN. Rep. Castro also hosts the foreign policy podcast Diplomatic Cable.



expanding its presence in the South China Sea; and as a newly sworn-in president needed to articulate a professional, welldesigned foreign policy that maintained America's voice on the world stage.

Rebuilding Diplomacy

We saw bipartisan pushback from Congress against the administration's deep cuts to the State Department's budget and workforce, and a mandate to restart A-100 classes and bring Foreign Service officers on board.

We are now in the process of rebuilding this venerable American institution, which will require greater investment in core diplomatic capability, in our Foreign Service. If the administration and Secretary Mike Pompeo refuse to do so, Congress has a moral obligation to step in. These are our frontline civilians, and Congress must have the foresight to give them tools for success. If we don't, we risk sending our sons and daughters into a much more dangerous situation than we see today.

Unfortunately, we have been here before. The period after the end of the Cold War saw a drawdown at the State Depart-

The United States must prepare for an uncertain future by innovating and supporting diplomacy.

ment, with a budget slashed and the U.S. presence abroad significantly reduced.

Times were calm and money was tight, and we ultimately were forced to play catch-up after the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001, forced the United States to engage with a wider range of partners and enemies. We called on an under-resourced Foreign Service to undertake new and expanded missions to ensure the security and prosperity of American citizens—including bureaucratic infighting. Long tours at hardship posts and a burst in hiring that disrupted the natural course of progression within the Foreign Service all strained our core diplomatic capability.

While the current cuts to American diplomacy are not as extensive as what occurred two decades ago, the wise listen to history's best lessons.

We face new challenges today—from the looming threat of trade war that requires careful diplomacy and the prospect of dismantling Pyongyang's nuclear capability, to hostile cyber activity that is below the threshold of all-out war. Any of these could escalate and necessitate a surge in diplomatic capability, as we needed on Sept. 12, 2001.

The norms and institutions that govern our international world, carefully crafted and shaped over decades by members of the U.S. Foreign Service, are increasingly questioned by a rising China, a revisionist Russia and even some within the United States and allied nations. We also must be ready to confront the risks of cyberwarfare, as well as the benefits offered by economic engagement with dynamic regions like Southeast Asia or West Africa.

A Foreign Service for the Future

To invest in American diplomacy now, it is critical we strengthen the Foreign Service and our nation's frontline civilians. This includes sending officers back to the field, restarting the consistent pipeline of new A-100 classes, and expanding training and educational opportunities to maintain and improve skills in a changing world.

New challenges and opportunities demand this reinvention. We must invest in greater technical skills and defend the core values and mission of the Foreign Service. We must also expand the State Department's mandate and resources in a budgetary environment where other departments may be better resourced to address challenges for which State should be the lead.

This is also an opportunity to imagine what kind of Foreign Service the United States needs to meet the challenges and opportunities ahead. If we are to assuage the parts of our country that are losing faith in diplomacy and American leadership abroad, we must strive to make sure they are included in American diplomacy by expanding diversity in the Foreign Service.

The Foreign Service must reflect the growing diversity of our country. I support and have acted to expand programs like the Rangel and Pickering fellowships that bring under-represented minorities into our Foreign Service through a highly selective program. I also commend the State Department's practice of placing diplomats-in-residence in different parts of our country. We must do more to recruit from these under-represented states, cities, universities and communities.

Only by giving Americans from all walks of life a direct say and participation in our country's engagement with the rest of the world can we build a durable constituency at home for diplomacy and American global leadership.

The United States must prepare for an uncertain future by innovating and supporting diplomacy. The Foreign Service has strong allies in Congress who recognize the need for a professional diplomatic corps that puts country over partisanship or politics. Congress will also need allies in the administration, academia and other parts of civil society to make our diplomacy more inclusive, more representative and, ultimately, more effective.

We must adapt to meet the challenges we face today. We will legislate when necessary, for example, to allow FSOs to terminate costly contracts they enter before their service or to account for the latest technology in embassy and consular security policies—such as the Protecting American Diplomats from Surveillance Through Consumer Devices Act (H.R. 4989) that I introduced with Rep. Michael T. McCaul (R-Texas) and which passed the House of Representatives this year.

We all have a duty—Democrats and Republicans alike—to ensure that our government, and specifically our Foreign Service, represents the best of our nation abroad. Conversations such as these help us define exactly what kind of country we wish to be.

TALKING POINTS

Talking Points for U.S. Global Leadership

Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman offered five "truths" to help explain to the American public why U.S. global leadership matters in a July 20 op-ed posted by YaleGlobal Online.

"During almost three decades as a member of the U.S. Foreign Service, I was privileged to play a modest role in the design and nurturing of what many call the 'liberal rules-based international order.' Today, that order—created by Americans and our allies and friends and supported and upheld by U.S. military and diplomatic power—is under attack at home and abroad," Grossman writes.

"As a diplomat, I learned that how one describes things matters. The words 'liberal rules-based international order' mean nothing to 99 percent of the American public. The urgent challenge is to convince a larger audience that the international system the United States created and defended remains a crucial foundation of Americans' wealth and power.

"Those who believe that America remains a powerful force for good in the world must now make this case in new, more forceful ways. Instead of further exhortation to support the 'liberal rulesbased international order,' here are five 'truths' to use in public:

"America's global power and influence are good for Americans. Our economy grows and our country is safer when we have a strong military and strong diplomacy to keep and expand that power and influence.

"America is more powerful and prosperous when there are clear rules and we set them. How many Americans want to live in a world where China or Russia sets the rules—or there are no rules at all? That's what happens when America leaves a leadership vacuum.

"America's power and influence are multiplied when we work with other countries. We need likeminded friends and allies who can assume some of the burdens of global leadership and together solve problems that even the United States can't manage alone. An isolated America is a less successful and secure America.

"America is better off having more democracies in the world rather than more autocrats and dictators. A world growing in freedom is a world where Americans can advance U.S. interests and enjoy greater peace and prosperity.

"Americans are richer when America is the world leader in the global economic system. Estimates are that more than 41 million U.S. jobs are connected to trade with other nations. American workers are not afraid of competition, so long as it is fair and provides benefits to all."

SITE OF THE MONTH: VOX BORDERS

While the world grapples with ever-changing migration patterns, Vox Borders offers human stories from geographical and political borders around the world. The first season's six short videos (each approximately 12 to 15 minutes) highlight some of the daily struggles at six borders, including Haiti-Dominican Republic, Mexico-Guatemala and Russia-Arctic.

Vox journalist Johnny Harris went to each region to do on-the-ground research, bringing the border to the viewer with a video and a brief written introduction to the issues of the region.

Says Harris: "Borders can encourage exchange or instigate violence. They can provide refuge, or they can criminalize those who cross them. Borders symbolize a nation's anxiety about the world, and as political leaders regulate the lines on the map, there will always be human stories at the mercy of those choices." The series shows viewers what life is like for residents of the border regions.



In one episode, Vox shares the story of North Koreans living in Japan while remaining loyal to the North Korean regime. "This isn't a story about a physical border," the website notes. "North Koreans living in Japan experience a much less visible kind of border, one made of culture, tradition, history and ideology."

The show recently started its second season from Hong Kong, where producer Harris sought out locals to contribute ideas for places, stories and connections in the area.

Season One episodes can be found at https://www.vox. com/a/borders. The first two episodes of season two can be found at Vox Borders on YouTube and Facebook.

BCIU BUSINESS COUNCIL /or INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Business Council Calls for Diplomatic Backup

n June 26, the president of the Business Council for International Understanding, Peter Tichansky, sent a letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo urging him to put more diplomats in the field to help U.S. businesses compete worldwide.

A nonpartisan organization with 200 member companies, BCIU aims to expand international trade and commerce by assisting its members to engage internationally.

The letter states: "Since President Eisenhower established BCIU in 1955, we have worked to strengthen embassy effectiveness in leveling the playing field overseas—ensuring contracts are honored, improving government procurement processes and generally bolstering the rule of law so American companies can compete and win.

"We have always counted on State Foreign Service officers, along with their Foreign Commercial Service counterparts, to bring the full weight of the embassies to bear when host governments or government-backed businesses fail to honor contracts or engage in back-room deals to unfairly cut out competition.

"We agree with the president's introduction to the National Security Strategy: the U.S. faces a dangerous and complex world, filled with a wide range of threats that have intensified in recent years. We see it every day in business—our companies face very sharp global competition, and our competitors often don't always play by the same rules as we do. ...

"We need more backup, so we are writing to you to see if you would consider sending more diplomats to help level the playing field. We know that the American Foreign Service Association has been advocating putting more American diplomats in the field—shifting positions that are now in Washington to overseas embassies to fight for our businesses. BCIU would like to strongly endorse this common-sense idea.

"Our members tell us that their private sector and government customers abroad want more American business, not less; more American investment, not less. They want reliability and quality, and they want businesses that operate fairly. American business can answer that demand, but to do so they need to be able to count on fully staffed embassies to help remove the impediments that keep them from doing business abroad. ...

"Mr. Secretary, we want to help you deliver on your vision, and that includes giving our companies every fair advantage around the world—including getting more of our diplomats in the field, working for American prosperity, our businesses and our values."

Facebook Live Event Goes Horribly Wrong

Someone on the State Department's social media team wasn't thinking about the bigger picture when they decided to schedule a Facebook Live Q&A session on traveling with children overseas

titled "Family Travel Hacks" on June 19—at the same time as the Trump administration was under fire for separating migrant families at the border and locking the children up in detention centers in an effort to deter people from trying to cross our southern border. Some 2,300 children were separated from their families.

The event, moderated by the wellintentioned "Carl and Kim" from the Bureau of Consular Affairs, was meant to answer questions for U.S. citizen parents planning to travel abroad with their children this summer. A State Department official told *The Hill* that the campaign was part of a "seasonal outreach campaign," but it came across as particularly tone-deaf.

The moderators weren't prepared for the onslaught of questions such as "When travelling can we pick which size cage we want our children to be jailed in?" and "I have a 4-month-old. What sort of work will he be prescribed when taken into the camp? His skills include rolling over," and "While in your camp, will the children learn a trade...like picking veggies or digging ditches?"—along with hundreds of other comments like those posted to Facebook and Twitter ahead of and during the session.

The administration backed off the practice of separating families following a June 26 court order requiring officials to stop detaining parents apart from minor children and to reunify those who have been separated. A federal judge in San Diego ruled that all families must be reunited within 30 days of that ruling and by July 10 if the children are



younger than 5. These deadlines proved impossible to meet; as of mid-August, the government had reunited hundreds of children with parents, but it was still struggling to locate all parents and children who had been separated.

Mystery Illness Hits Embassy Staff in China Posts

The mysterious illness that resulted in a drawdown at U.S. Embassy Havana now seems to have spread to China. Several employees and family members were evacuated from Guangzhou in June after complaining of similar symptoms.

"We don't know who is responsible, and we don't know what is responsible for this," Kenneth Merten, acting principal deputy assistant secretary for Western Hemisphere affairs, said at a House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on July 11.

A total of 26 Americans have been sickened in Cuba since 2016, according to

Taking Risks to Support the Nation

If you don't want to be in endless wars, if you want to have more tools than dropping bombs, it is essential we have a robust foreign assistance account. It is essential that our diplomats, under your command, serve safely. To the public, I often talk about the military because they deserve it. But I don't talk enough about the State Department and the USAID members who serve in very dangerous locations without

the security footprint that we would like. But they take risks on behalf of this nation every day, and they are very much heroes.

—Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), chairman of the State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Appropriations Subcommittee, from the Senate SFOPs Review of the FY2019 Budget Request for the Department of State on June 27.

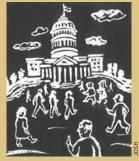
Funding Support for Diplomacy

The committee unanimously reported the Fiscal Year 2019 State foreign operations bill—it's hard to get a unanimous conclusion that the sun rises in the east, but we did it. We rejected the cuts proposed by OMB, and our goal was to enable the United States to be the global leader that so many Americans have sacrificed for over these decades and generations.

It means we have to lead by example. We have to stand up for our values and principles. We have to pay our fair share to support international organization and alliances. We have to protect our interests, support policies and programs that enhance our reputation and credibility.

I will close with this, I think we have two choices. One is to cut the budget for the State Department and USAID by 25 percent, slash our contributions to the United Nations, withdraw from international agreements and treaties, embrace corrupt despots who trample the rights of their citizens, close our borders to people fleeing violence and war, bully our neighbors, ignore the fact that our strongest

Heard on the Hill



competitors are methodically expanding influence as we pull back.

The other approach is to be a leader when we're still the world's only superpower thanks to sacrifices of generations of Americans coming before us. That is the approach the subcommittee has taken. The lion's share of the credit goes to the chairman because he committed at the beginning, and we did it together, that we would try to be bipartisan and try to have a unanimous vote. And we did.

-Ranking Member Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) from the Senate SFOPs Review of the FY2019 Budget Request for the Department of State on June 27

For the Record

According to the non-partisan American Foreign Service Association, funding for core diplomatic capabilities has fallen by about 25 percent over the last decade and, during the same period of time, diplomatic spending by China has increased over 40 percent. Mr. Chairman, I would ask if we could include an article on the subject from the American Foreign Service Association in the record. Without objection. Thank you.

—Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.) at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "Nominations Hearing for Mr. Brian Bulatao and Dr. Denise Natali" on July 18, submitting Ambassador Barbara Stephenson's July-August FSJ President's Views column, "Getting Our Team on the Field," for the record.

Serving in Baghdad

I met with Ambassador [Douglas] Silliman and several Foreign Service officers at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad. Our diplomats abroad are our eyes and ears on the ground in some of the world's most challenging places—and they often put their lives on the line as well.

-Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), on her Facebook page.

Reuters. Their symptoms included hearing loss, headaches, tinnitus and vertigo.

The State Department issued a health alert for China on May 23, according to the *Washington Post*, after an employee of the consulate in Guangzhou began exhibiting symptoms of a brain injury following exposure to "strange noises."

One department employee, Mark Lenzi, told the *Washington Post* that he began hearing the sounds in April 2017. After that he, his wife and his son began experiencing "excruciating" headaches. The family was later evacuated.

The cause of the illnesses is still elusive, with the most common theory being tied to faulty or crossed-wire listening devices.

Statement for the Record on the 20th Anniversary of East Africa Bombings

n July 26 Representative Ed Royce (R-Calif.) issued a statement for the record regarding the bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania 20 years ago. More than 200 people were killed in the attacks, including 12 Americans, and more than 4,000 were injured.

In his statement Rep. Royce recognized the courage of the Kenyan and Tanzanian security and emergency personnel and offered condolences to the Kenyans and Tanzanians who suffered due to the attacks. "History should record that U.S. personnel in both embassies showed extraordinary leadership and personal courage in their response to the attacks, rapidly responding to locate and rescue victims," wrote the congressman. "Their offices were on fire and their colleagues dead and injured—but these men and women responded immediately and quickly restored embassy operations.

"Unfortunately, we in Washington did not respond as quickly to the strategic threats we witnessed that day. The precisely coordinated attacks on our embassies were a declaration of war. ... But we failed to heed that warning and paid a price three years later when al-Qaida took us by surprise and struck again on Sept.



50 Years Ago

Do's, Don'ts and Lots of Compliments

Sample Air France tips and comments to potential French tourists in its "New World 1968."

• Don't hesitate to ask directions from anyone in the U.S. the American is always happy to oblige and is very clear in his explanations.

• Don't take too much baggage. You can easily buy anything you need in an American store when you get there.

• Nothing can give you a better idea of American opulence than a big U.S. department store. You absolutely must see one to believe it, even if you don't need anything definite. There are very good buys to be made in them. If the salesgirl asks, "May I help you?" and you reply, "No, just looking," she will answer something like "You're welcome."

• They are very much on time in the U.S. If you have an appointment or a dinner engagement, be on time or have a very good explanation when you get there.

• Indispensable to the American way of life, the telephone service is practical, quick and not very expensive. There are public telephones everywhere.

• With their marvelous sense of organization and comfort, the Americans have equipped their country for very easy traveling about. Nowhere in the world are there so many good roads and so many cars. Trains are luxuriously organized. Regular-scheduled airlines serve 950 American cities.

• The U.S. is particularly well equipped with hotels and motels, the latter often in a pretty, natural setting.

• American food is pure, abundant, and of excellent quality. Restaurants serve at all hours, which is very practical for tourists. A touching custom: Even before you have placed your order, you will be served a glass of water. This is a practice dating from the time of the pioneers, when nothing gave greater pleasure to the tired horseman than some fresh water to quench his thirst.

•The Americans are very hospitable ... their attitude is naturally friendly. They quickly enter into conversation with you. Encourage this familiarity. But remember that American usages are rather fixed and that American women expect plenty of courtesies. Also that American children are kings and relations with their parents much more free than in Europe.

—From an anonymous Letter to the Editor by the same title, FSJ, September 1968

Contemporary Quote:

Personal diplomacy is not new. It's what Franklin Roosevelt attempted to do with Stalin toward the end of World War II. And, in regard to Putin, it's what George W. Bush attempted to do. ... But personal diplomacy can only take you so far. It can start a conversation, can break through some initial resistance. But after that you really have to have your diplomats and your other members of your national security team sit and begin to work out the issues and the problems, and look for ways to address them. And that really is going to be the challenge here.

> —Ambassador (ret.) and former Under Secretary of State Tom Shannon in a July 17 interview with Vice News Tonight.

Congressional Record,

Congressional Record July 26, 2018

11, 2001—this time killing nearly 3,000 in a series of similarly coordinated attacks in New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

"Our diplomats are often the first to spot threats to our national security before they arrive on our shores. These intrepid professionals defend our national security, enforce our laws, and protect our fellow citizens overseas. And they are often the first Americans our enemies target. Many Americans remember 9/11 as the first time al-Qaida struck the United States, but the first battle in our struggle against terrorism took place on Aug. 7, 1998, outside our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Our diplomats were on the front lines that day, and they continue to serve on the front lines around the world today."

"And the threats continue. In recent years, terrorists have killed American diplomats in Libya, Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan, while hostile intelligence services actively target our personnel in China, Russia, Cuba and elsewhere. Mr. Speaker, the history of the East Africa bombings 20 years ago shows us that we ignore threats to our diplomats at our own peril. Let us therefore resolve to remember those who gave their lives for our country and dedicate ourselves to protecting America's national security by committing ourselves to a strong, secure and effective Foreign Service."

A Question of Diplomatic Immunity

A t a time when following the news is like drinking from a fire hose, the July 16 Helsinki meeting between President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin continues to reverberate. The public, let alone diplo-



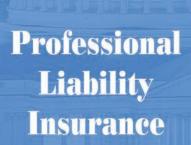
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matic practitioners, still does not know what was said and what promises might have been made in the private meeting without notetakers.

One of the stories to come out of the Helsinki summit was the apparent willingness of President Trump to consider allowing the Russians to interrogate former U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul and 11 other U.S. officials.

The foreign affairs community reacted with outrage. Helsinki Commission Chairman Senator Roger Wicker issued a statement July 19: "Vladimir Putin's suggestion that the United States make American public servants available to Kremlin investigators is ludicrous."

In a July 20 statement, the American Academy of Diplomacy explained: "Full diplomatic immunities are essential to protecting diplomats in their efforts to keep their government fully and completely informed without hindrance from other states and to carry out foreign policy in all its aspects, free of such intervention or the threat of such intervention.

"American diplomats need to be able to trust that their immunities will be fully preserved by both, so long as they are performing their duties and in duties covered by such immunities under

To the suggestion that the United States offer up Amb. McFaul for questioning by Russia, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said, "That's not going to happen."

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Donna Gorman, Shawn Dorman and Jacob Borst.

connection with previously performed international law. Administrations and policies may change, but our diplomats must be confident that our government has their back."

SEPTEMBER 2018 THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Diversity: Not Just a Cause for the Underrepresented

BY JAY PORTER

colleague, who recently served as international narcotics and law enforcement director at an overseas post, described for me a typical situation in her host country. While meeting with beneficiaries of a program to improve police and youth relationships, the men in the room did all the talking. Once the session was over, however, many of the youth and their mothers approached her separately and revealed additional details about the program's success and shortfalls.

Many of the beneficiaries felt uncomfortable sharing their views within the group. My colleague quickly learned she could connect to the female beneficiaries as a fellow mother and sister, and glean important information about how this \$9 million project was being implemented.

Many civil servants, specialists and other officers have had similar experiences, where their common gender, ethnicity, religion or shared background facilitated an encounter that directly enhanced their work. To the degree that we build diverse teams to carry out our work, we increase our access and efficacy as a department.

Diverse Teams Are More Successful

The value of diverse teams in the private sector is virtually uncontested. A 2015 study by McKinsey & Company found that companies in the top quartile of ethnic diversity were as much as 35 percent more likely to have financial returns above their national industry median, while companies that were less diverse were more likely to lag behind their industry median.

A 2013 study in the *Harvard Business Review* found that a team with a member who shares a client's ethnicity is 152 percent likelier than another team to understand that client. In other words, simply being on a team with members who share traits with your client increases your likelihood of better understanding them.

The implications for U.S. foreign policy are significant: Few countries have as diverse a population as the United States. This unique advantage places the United States and the State Department in an enviable position to assemble, in Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's words, "the world's finest diplomatic corps." Other global powers like China and Russia, even some of our European allies, staff their foreign ministries from more homogenous populations.



Jay Porter currently serves as the senior desk officer for Italy, the Holy See and San Marino in the Bureau of European Affairs' Office of Western European Affairs. He joined the department in 2008 and has served with his family in Turkey, Albania and El Salvador. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Porter worked for a nongovernmental organization in the United States and Central America. Where private-sector companies compete with one another to attract diverse candidates to give them an edge, the State Department sits unrivaled by other governments in our potential to recruit and assemble a diverse foreign policy powerhouse—if we put the resources into recruiting diverse candidates.

As section heads, office directors, management counselors, human resource specialists, deputy chiefs of mission and ambassadors, we have a vested interest in assembling and leading successful teams. If we do not recruit a diverse pool of new officers and ensure we have a diverse corps of senior staff leading the department, we cannot continue to build the experiences to maintain and grow this competitive edge.

As employees, we should all want to serve on teams that have the highest probability of success. From an organizational perspective, diversity is not just about equity and fairness; it is foremost about performance and results. Each of us should feel compelled to be part of a diverse organization, regardless of our ethnicity, gender or background.

Recognizing Your Place on a Diverse Team

Individuals who question how they fit into a diverse workplace should remember that the value of diversity is not in an individual's race, gender or ethnicity; it is in the experiences and insights that those attributes often bring. Diversity may refer to innate characteristics, but it can also be acquired. All of us bring unique life experiences to our work, and employees who focus on their lack of physical manifestations of diversity will miss valuable opportunities to contribute to a diverse team.

As I consider my own role in a diverse workplace, I look at facets that may set me apart from my co-workers: my experience as a military brat; my conservative religious upbringing; my growing up abroad; my work experience; and my perspective as a parent and spouse. If prospective supervisors do not see how I might fit into a diverse team, then I have failed to communicate the value my experiences offer.

Leaders seeking to build truly diverse teams recognize the value in recruiting employees from all backgrounds, but some employees—white men, in particular*—may struggle to see how they can contribute to a diverse office, viewing it instead as a zero-sum game that threatens their job prospects.

I appreciate that my current office leadership prioritized recruiting a diverse team. When we gather for staff meetings, we have a mix of backgrounds, races, genders and ethnicities. With fewer people at the table like me, I feel like my opinion has more value. Conversations include a rich variety of perspectives.

When I share my thoughts, I must reflect and provide support for my positions. This doesn't just provide our team with a broader range of ideas; it forces individuals to ensure their proposals are well thought out before they bring them to the group. In other words, I have to think harder and communicate better in a diverse environment. Diversity makes me a better officer and diplomat.

Addressing Concerns that Diversity Disadvantages White Men

It's not an uncommon scenario: You're at the end of a promising interview during bidding season when the hiring official mentions how his or her office is dedicated to building a diverse workforce. For many white men, the messaging seems clear: they would prefer a minority candidate. A 2016 study by professors at the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Washington found that pro-diversity rhetoric in the workplace led most white men to believe that they would be treated unfairly.

The study put two groups of white men through an interview process. For half of the applicants, the recruitment materials made mention of the company's pro-diversity values. The other half received the same materials, but without any mention of diversity. Researchers found that white men interviewing at the company that mentioned diversity expected unfair treatment and discrimination against whites. They also performed more poorly in the job interview, and their cardiovascular responses during the interview revealed that they were more stressed.

The impact is not just theoretical. When employees in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs recently formed a diversity working group, one member related how she was confronted by a few white male colleagues who felt the group would make it harder for them to get jobs. This fear isn't necessarily the product of bias, misogyny or political ideology.

The 2016 study cited above found that diversity messages led to men feeling threatened regardless of their political leanings, attitudes towards minority groups or beliefs about fairness. In other words, even white men who endorse the tenets of diversity and inclusion can feel threatened by diversity messaging.

The study findings provide some personal validation. While I support diversity efforts to improve institutional performance and as a fundamentally moral issue of equality, I also harbored concerns that diversity programs at State were (intentionally or not) designed to ensure there were fewer people like me in offices and missions abroad. I have found that one powerful solution to overcoming this concern is getting more involved in diversity-related efforts.

As a member of EUR Bureau's Diversity Working Group, I am able to contribute to discussions related to recruiting and challenges in promoting diversity effectively and fairly; and I provide a distinct and valued viewpoint to the group. When we, as white men, actively engage in diversity promotion, we become part of the effort to build truly diverse teams that are inclusive and focused on improving the institution. Our participation sends a powerful message to our co-workers about our commitment to create a supportive working environment.

Participating in the Diversity Working Group has also quelled some of my anxiety over the group's aims; and I, in turn, help provide the group a perspective that bolsters its legitimacy. After all, a diversity working group by definition should aim to include as many people from different backgrounds and sectors as possible—including white men.

^{*} The author recognizes that the term "white men" is inherently broad and may include sub-groups that might identify as underrepresented based on sexual orientation, religion, economic background or ideology.

Why White Men Should Help Lead on Diversity

Another reason for white men at State to promote diversity: we can do so without fear of reprisal. A 2016 study by Professor David Hekman, from the University of Colorado, found that women and nonwhite executives who valued diversity were routinely rated as less competent and lower-performing. White male executives who promoted diversity experienced slightly better ratings and were perceived as competent, regardless of their position on diversity.

The study uncovered similar findings for managers engaged in hiring. An *Atlantic* article detailing the study even pointed to the National Center for Women and Information Technology, which encouraged corporations to place a white man in charge of diversity programs because he could ostensibly manage it without reprisal.

The lesson for our nonwhite, nonmale colleagues is clear: Your institution can benefit from being more diverse, but your career will likely suffer if you promote it. In the current environment, white men are in a unique position to help lead the effort to promote diversity at State without negative repercussions to our careers.

The State Department is in an excellent position to form the most diverse corps of professional diplomats in the world. Consequently, our competitive advantage on the foreign policy front is unparalleled; and, as an organization, we should seek to exploit it. Promoting diversity within our ranks is not a zero-sum game or charity effort intended to provide underrepresented groups with expanded opportunities to compensate for social injustices. It is one of those confluences where the *right* thing to do is also the *best* thing to do for our organization.

White men may feel threatened by diversity promotion, but by getting involved we can help shape a workforce that is fully inclusive and provides us with better opportunities to excel within our own fields. Ironically, as white men, we may be the best-positioned to help lead this change. Certainly, we do nothing for our institution or ourselves by leaving it solely to underrepresented groups to bring about.



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FOCUS CAN STATE DELIVER?

Blue-Ribbon

Reform efforts at State are perennial. Several critical institutional issues have been studied again and again for decades to scant effect. Why is change so difficult?

BY HARRY KOPP

here have been many studies of the Foreign Service," said Ivan Selin, the State Department's under secretary for management, in 1989. "We've averaged one per year for the last 30 years." Output has scarcely dropped off in the decades since.

Studies of the Foreign Service and the Department of State rarely reveal problems not already widely known. Even more rarely do they produce the results their authors want. Ideas and proposals for change often founder on three obstacles: resistance, impracticality and inertia. Deep research and sound argument may not carry far. One former ambassador, often called upon to serve on commissions whose work was ignored, expressed his



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Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service, *recently published in a third edition by Georgetown University Press, and* Voice of the Foreign Service: A History of the American Foreign Service Association (FS Books, 2015). *He is a frequent* Journal *contributor and recently joined the FSJ Editorial Board.*

Why So Many Great Reports and Good Ideas Go Nowhere

Blues

frustration: "You give 'em books and give 'em books," he said, "but all they do is eat the covers."

This article looks at three tough issues that have been repeatedly studied to scant effect: dual personnel systems, interagency coordination and professional development.

A Single Service

Resistance and inertia thwarted early proposals to merge the State Department's Foreign Service and Civil Service employees into a single personnel system. The Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (called the Hoover Commission after its chairman, former president Herbert Hoover) met from 1947 to 1949 pursuant to an act of Congress. The commission's foreign affairs task force argued for a single service, in which all members would be available for foreign and domestic assignments and subject to selection out. Only a merger, the task force argued, could heal the "cancerous cleavage" between the two services that burdened management and sapped morale.

Dean Acheson, named Secretary of State in 1949, had served on the task force and supported the merger. As Secretary, however, he had his hands full negotiating the creation of new international alliances and institutions in the wake of World War II, and defending himself and his department against vicious attacks from the Republican right. He left the merger question alone. "The Secretary," he later wrote, referring to himself in the third person, "regarded a far-reaching and basic reorganization of every person in the department as General Grant might have regarded a similar proposal for the Army of the Potomac between the Wilderness and Appomattox."

Nevertheless, the idea of a single service across the Department of State seemed so sound that it appeared again and again in various forms for the next 25 years. Studies by the Rowe Committee (1950), the Brookings Institution (1951) and a White House personnel task force (1953) repeated the Hoover Commission's proposal with little variation—but no action followed. When the idea appeared for a fifth time, in a 1954 study by a State Department committee on personnel (chaired by Henry Wriston, president of Brown University), Secretary John Foster Dulles took some 1,500 civil servants into the Foreign Service and opened a like number of Civil Service positions in the department to Foreign Service members—but he kept the two services separate and distinct.

During the mid-1960s, proponents of a single service brought the idea back in altered form in a bill that passed the House. In the Senate, however, former Foreign Service Officer Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, grew concerned that a merger would cost the Foreign Service its elite status. The bill died in committee. Deputy Under Secretary for Management William Macomber then tried to accomplish administratively what the bill would have placed into law; but his efforts were opposed by Civil Service unions and overturned in federal court in 1973.

The cleavage between the department's two personnel systems—not to mention a third system, for increasingly numerous non-career political appointees—remains a challenge for management and a source of occasional workplace friction. Employees with different wages, benefits, rights and obligations mesh uneasily into the "one team" the Secretary of State asks for and deserves. It is a pity that when solutions were offered and possible, they failed to be adopted.

The Interagency

Studies and directives that deal with the problem of policy coordination across agencies, in Washington, D.C., or in embassies overseas, have offered solutions marked by impracticality or wishful thinking. In 1949, the Hoover Commission noted, more than 45 agencies had representatives overseas. The Department of State and the Foreign Service accounted for only about 11 percent of U.S. government civilian employment abroad, and less than 5 percent of the budget for international affairs. With so few resources at its command, said the task force, the Department of State should concentrate on coordination of the overseas work

State's claim to responsibility for interagency coordination in foreign affairs is easy to assert, but hard to enforce.

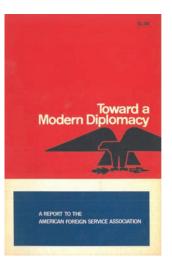
of those agencies tasked with programmatic responsibilities and endowed with the wherewithal to carry them out.

Neither the numbers nor the argument have greatly changed in the decades since. Presidents, Secretaries of State, members of Congress and numerous wise observers have echoed the commission's desire to have State organize the government's efforts abroad. In 1951 President Harry S Truman wrote to Secretary of State Dean Acheson: "The Secretary of State, under my direction, is the Cabinet officer responsible for the formulation of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign relations, and will provide leadership and coordination among the executive agencies in carrying out foreign policies and programs."

In 1961, after years of hearings, Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-Wash.) lamented: "State is not doing enough in asserting its leadership across the whole front of foreign policy." In 1966 President Lyndon Johnson, who tried to manage foreign affairs with a hierarchical system of interagency groups under (usually)

State Department chairmanship, assigned the Secretary of State "authority and responsibility ... for the overall direction, coordination and supervision of interdepartmental activities" overseas.

One of the bluest of blueribbon commissions, Ambassador Robert D. Murphy's 1975 Commission on the Organization of the U.S. Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, urged that consistency in policy required the department to "monitor, oversee and influence



foreign activities of other agencies"—but judged that State was not up to the task. In 1998 the Stimson Center, in a report called "Equipped for the Future," discovered again a "profusion of agencies" operating overseas and found the United States "deficient" in interagency coordination. Another commission, the Secretary of State's Overseas Presence Advisory Panel, complained in 1999 that "though the nation's overseas agenda involves more than 30 federal departments or agencies, there is no interagency mechanism to coordinate their activities." Two years later, a study for the Council on Foreign Relations by Ambassador Frank Carlucci, the Foreign Service officer who rose to become Secretary of Defense, offered a similar judgment: "Foreign policy has been undermined by ineffective interagency coordination."

Calls for the department to assert greater programmatic and operational leadership intensified after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. In December 2005, as the situation in Iraq deteriorated, a presidential directive ordered the Secretary of State to "coordinate and lead integrated United States government efforts ... to prepare, plan for and conduct" stabilization and reconstruction efforts, in Iraq and around the world. But neither the White House nor Congress provided new resources for that purpose, and State's coordinating role remained unclear.

Two years later, the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy, acting as if the 2005 directive did not exist, called on the president to "make an explicit statement underscoring the Department of State's role as the lead foreign affairs agency." In 2010 the department's first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review said that State "react[s] to each successive conflict or crisis by reinventing the process for identifying agency leadership, establishing task forces, and plan-

In 1968 the American **Foreign Service Association** published a lengthy report, "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," containing specific recommendations for improvement in the organization of the nation's foreign affairs. Among other things, the authors stated that training should occupy about 10 percent of a Foreign Service career and be a "virtual prerequisite" for promotion.

ning and coordinating government agencies."

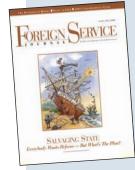
At embassies abroad, the chief of mission is responsible by law (per the Foreign Service Act of 1980) for the "direction, coordination and supervision of all government employees in that country (except for employees under the command of a United States area military commander)." The Foreign Affairs Manual currently contains 19 numbered paragraphs listing chief-of-mission responsibilities: among them are opening markets for U.S. exports, halting arms proliferation, preventing conflict,

countering terrorism and international crime, upholding human rights and promoting international cooperation on global problems such as the environment, narcotics and refugees. And these are just in paragraph one.

Responsibility, however, does not convey authority. As Car-

SOS for DOS: A Call for Action

n an unusual "grassroots" reform initiative, a group of Foreign Service and Civil Service employees presented a detailed "call to action" to Secretary of State Colin Powell in February 2001. Having gathered under the banner of "SOS for DOS," they were convinced that leadership needed to urgently "undertake a long-term, bipartisan effort to modernize and strengthen the Department of State." Here are excerpts from their call.



United States leadership in a post-Cold War world requires a rigorous foreign policy and robust diplomacy attuned to the realities of the present, not the past. ... The Department of State is ill-equipped and ill-prepared to meet the foreign policy challenges of the 21st century. Outdated procedures and chronic resource shortages have taken their toll. The organizational

structure is dysfunctional, its staff is overextended and many of its embassy buildings are crumbling. The State Department's traditions and culture block needed change while its dedicated employees are distracted with trivia and drift without a common institutional vision. Multiple studies have identified the problems. We must act now to make the needed repairs.

We must—

- craft a clear plan of action to modernize and renew our organization, procedures and infrastructure.
- transform our outdated culture and demonstrate a clear commitment to change.
- embrace new technology and managerial techniques quickly.
- integrate policy and resource management in ways that advance national interests and promote operational efficiency.
- make a clear and compelling case for how we will use any new resources needed to underwrite and sustain a modernized and reinvigorated Department of State.

We ask for the support, involvement and leadership needed to undertake a long-term, bipartisan effort to modernize and strengthen the Department of State. The era of quill pen diplomacy is over. At the dawn of the 21st century, we call for bold and decisive steps now to deal effectively with the problems of today while preparing for the challenges of the future—a future that is as close as tomorrow. *—From "Are State Employees Ready for Reform?" by Shawn Dorman*, FSJ, *May 2001.*

lucci wrote in 2001: "Ambassadors lack the authority necessary to coordinate and oversee the resources and personnel deployed to their missions by other agencies and departments." Six years later, a study of country teams by Ambassador Robert B. Oakley and Michael Casey Jr., reached the same conclusion: "Ambassadors do not have adequate explicit authorities to unify the efforts of the country team." In its QDDRs, the department implored ambassadors to lead their missions "in a CEO-like manner" without, however, acknowledging that CEOs, unlike chiefs of mission, control their budgets and personnel. Even within the department, the proliferation of bureaus, not to mention special envoys and other single-purpose entities, has diffused authority and made internal coordination slow and painful.

State's claim to responsibility for interagency coordination in foreign affairs is easy to assert, but hard to enforce. Having ceded policymaking to the White House and National Security Council, the Department of State sees the coordinating role as its central purpose. But its vision is not widely shared. Other agencies do not clamor for State, in Washington or overseas, to constrain their freedom of action or direct their energies away from their own priorities. When State adds value to the work of other agencies, it succeeds in leading whole-of-government operations. But despite years of studies, exhortations and occasional presidential directives, the department has yet to secure a broadly acknowledged, institutional position as interagency coordinator.

Training and Education

For 70 years, studies of the Foreign Service have identified a lack of specialized skills and the absence of systematic in-service training as serious institutional shortcomings. And for 70 years, the department has addressed these problems without much seriousness of purpose. State management may feel strongly about training and professional development, but not strongly enough to place them above other claims on its resources.

'It's Hard to Tend the Tree ... '

Since the end of World War II, "reform"—which is to say, change, for better or worse—has been a permanent feature of the Foreign Service landscape. About every decade a major reform has been proposed and implemented.

Between those initiatives, a plethora of committees, commissions and study groups have kept the State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies under scrutiny, with the threat of further change ever

present. As the great Foreign Service director general, Nathaniel Davis, once noted, "It's hard to tend the tree when every couple of years someone pulls it out of the ground to see if the roots are growing."

Ambassador Davis makes a cogent point. Who among us has not thought, "Why don't 'they' just leave us alone and let us get on with it?" Well, there is one very good reason why "they" won't leave us alone. Contexts change over time, so all institutions, public

or private, must reinvent themselves to deal with new realities—or perish. In the commercial sector the list of iconic companies (think RCA) that have disappeared is long. The list of corporations successfully reinventing themselves (IBM) is much shorter.

The Foreign Service and State Department face the same imperative: adapt or disappear. The reality of the continuing need for reform is directly linked to the rapidly changing world of the 20th and 21st centuries. —From "The 'Reform' of Foreign Service Reform" by Thomas D. Boyatt, FSJ, May 2010.

The Foreign Service Act of 1946 established the Foreign Service Institute to provide a "continuous program of in-service training ... directed by a strong central authority." FSI immediately fell short. In 1954, the Wriston Committee found FSI to be "almost paralyzed: it exists on crumbs that fall from the Air Force table. Career planning is conspicuous by its absence." The Service, said the committee, was "critically deficient in various technical specialties—notably economic, labor, agriculture, commercial promotion, area-language and administrative—that have become indispensable to the successful practice of diplomacy."



The committee recommended that FSI be "revitalized" and "elevated to the level of the war colleges" by revising its curriculum and strengthening its faculty. Under Secretary of State Charles Saltzman, a committee member, said that the Foreign Service needs a "deliberate career training plan" and called on FSI to develop one. Placing FSI "on a level with the various war colleges," said *The Foreign Service Journal*, "received the full support of Secretary [John Foster] Dulles." The department instituted a mid-career course and expanded opportunities for coursework outside FSI.

Fast-forward to 1968. FSI is still not "on a level" with the war colleges, and long-term training remains sketchy. Such training,

said the reform-minded FSOs who wrote "Toward a Modern Diplomacy," should occupy about 10 percent of a Foreign Service career and should be a "virtual prerequisite" for promotion. No steps were taken to make that a reality.

The authors of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 found it necessary to include a legislative instruction to the Secretary to establish a professional development program. In 1986, the department convened a committee (chaired by FSO Ray Ewing, then dean of the language school at FSI) that found in-service training "either non-existent or irrelevant." The training involved inexperienced

teachers and course material that was "outdated or patently not germane to the professional development of the students," stated the committee. In 1989, two studies of the Foreign Service personnel system, one commissioned by Congress and one by the department, called for more training time for FSOs. The departmental study recommended adding 50 positions to FSI and giving monetary incentives to encourage training. "Everyone," said the under secretary for management, "believes there has to be more training" that is "tied in with assignments ... not just for general character building."

"Everyone" still believed that in 1993, when the department released another study, the excellent *State 2000: A New Model for Managing Foreign Affairs.* This study found a "mismatch between what we want to do and the skills of those we expect to do it" and recommended three steps to address the problem: workforce planning to identify future needs, a "requirementsbased hiring system" to recruit to needs that have been identified, and long-term training to develop professionals with "functional/area expertise and managerial competence."

But as Foreign Service numbers fell under the budget-cutting policies of the 1990s (the end of the Cold War's so-called "peace dividend"), training was sacrificed to operational demands. Two 1999 studies, McKinsey & Company's "The War for Talent" and

Studying State

Studies of the Department of State and the Foreign Service come along nearly every year. Here are some from across the decades that still merit attention.

Year	Author	Full Title	Remarks
1949	Hoover Commission	Task Force Report on Foreign Affairs of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government	Commission established by act of Congress. President Harry S Truman named former President Herbert Hoover chairman.
1954	Wriston Committee	Toward a Stronger Foreign Service: Report of the Secretary's Public Committee on Personnel	Committee convened by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Henry Wriston, president of Brown University, served as chairman.
1962	Herter Committee	Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel	Sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Former Secretary of State Christian Herter was committee chairman.
1968	American Foreign Service Association — Committee on Career Principles	Toward a Modern Diplomacy	Graham Martin, committee chair; Lannon Walker, chair of AFSA's board of directors.
1970	Department of State	Diplomacy for the 70s: A Program of Management Reform for the Department of State	The work of 13 task forces convened by Deputy Under Secretary for Management William Macomber.
1975	Murphy Commission	Report of the U.S. Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy	Commission created by act of Congress. Ambas- sador Robert D. Murphy served as chairman.
1993	Department of State Management Task Force	State 2000: A New Model for Managing Foreign Affairs	Study requested by Secretary of State James Baker. William Bacchus was executive director of the task force and principal author.
1998	Stimson Center	Equipped for the Future: Managing U.S. Foreign Affairs in the 21st Century	John Schall, principal author.
2001	Frank Carlucci and Ian Brzezinski	State Department Reform: Report to the President	Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
2008	American Academy of Diplomacy and the Stimson Center	A Foreign Affairs Budget for the Future: Fixing the Crisis in Diplomatic Readiness	Support from Una Chapman Cox Foundation. Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, project chairman.
2015	American Academy of Diplomacy	American Diplomacy at Risk	Project team: Thomas Boyatt, Susan Johnson, Lange Schermerhorn, Clyde Taylor.
2016	The Heritage Foundation	How to Make the State Department More Effective at Implementing U.S. Foreign Policy	Brett D. Schaefer, principal author.
2017	Atlantic Council	State Department Reform Report	Report requested by House Foreign Affairs Committee. Kathryn Elliott, principal author.

a report by the Secretary of State's Overseas Presence Advisory Panel, called for rapid action to improve training and professional development.

Secretary of State Colin Powell (2001-2005), accustomed to the rigorous, systematic training provided to Army officers, was determined to create a "training float"—an excess of people over regular positions—of about 15 percent. His Diplomatic Readiness Initiative added some 2,000 employees to the Foreign Service between 2000 and 2004 for that purpose. And training, measured by student hours, did increase by about 25 percent.

After 2004, however, the need for training gave way again, this time to staffing demands in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2008, a study by the Stimson Center and the American Academy of Diplomacy (an association of former career and non-career ambassadors and senior officials) found that the Foreign Service lacks "to a sufficient degree" such skills as "foreign language fluency; advanced area knowledge; leadership and management ability; negotiating and pre-crisis conflict mediation/resolution skills; public diplomacy; foreign assistance; post-conflict/stabilization; job-specific functional expertise; strategic planning; program development, implementation and evaluation; and budgeting." These shortfalls, the study found, "are largely a result of inadequate past opportunities for training, especially career-long professional education."

Congress approved two more increases in the State Department's Civil and Foreign Service workforce, a modest increase in 2008 and a surge from 2009 to 2013, the centerpiece of the Diplomacy 3.0 initiative of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (2009-2013). By 2015, State's Foreign Service had grown by 40 percent, and its Civil Service by 45 percent, over 2002 levels. A third of the Foreign Service had fewer than five years' experience.

The department's second QDDR, released in 2015, promised to invest in training, including "long-term training that develops expertise and fresh perspectives." The department had on hand a blueprint for deep reform of professional development in a 2012 paper by AAD and the Stimson Center, "Forging a 21st-Century Diplomatic Service for the United States through Professional Education and Training." Once again, the moment seemed right for establishment of a sustainable training float and the integration of training and education into a Foreign Service career. Quick action might have led to progress, but once again the department let the moment pass unseized.

Then a wildly hostile Trump administration slammed the window of opportunity shut. As reported in the December 2017 *Foreign Service Journal*, Ambassador Nancy McEldowney told *The New York Times* that in the early months of 2017, when she was still director of FSI, "My budget was cut. ... I could not hire anyone,

even when I had vacant positions. I could not transfer people within my organization or from elsewhere inside the State Department. ... There was a political appointee sent out ... who reviewed our training materials and objected when there was reference to American foreign policy under the Obama administration."

Clearly, FSI was not to be "elevated to the level of the war colleges." That 50-year old goal remains out of reach, and receding.

Change Is Hard

Why is change so difficult? Donald Warwick, a Harvard sociologist, published the book *A Theory of Public Bureaucracy: Politics, Personality and Organization in the State Department* in 1975. Time has only confirmed his findings.

"Executive agencies," Warwick wrote, "show the influence of organized interests, personal whims, political brokerage and sheer bureaucratic inertia." State Department employees who resisted a Foreign Service-Civil Service merger, or officials in other agencies who resist State's efforts to coordinate them, are highly intelligent people who strive to protect their positions and do their jobs to the very best of their abilities. As Warwick writes, they have "much the same motivation for security and selfesteem as the rest of the population."

In other words, do not blame the bureaucrats: they are people too. Their behavior is predictable and rational. It needs to be taken into account. Proposals for change based solely on considerations of organizational efficiency will have little effect, and managers who act on such proposals will likely fail.

Bureaucratic behavior cannot explain 70 years of shortfall in training and professional development, however. The fault here lies with the department's leadership, which always seems to find assignments other than training more important for its workforce. Perhaps the political leadership of the department, eager for accomplishment before the end of its term, has less interest in improving the long-range strength of the career services than in addressing the issues of the moment. The department has rarely had leaders willing to sacrifice short-term opportunities for benefits that will show up only in some future administration.

History may be depressing, but it is also instructive. Change is difficult, but possible. Reforms must be well thought out and supported by evidence. They must attend to the desire of members of the Foreign and Civil Services to carry out their missions, excel at their work and secure their futures. And they must be driven by a leadership that values the department as an institution, with a past and a future as long as the republic's. Under those conditions, the report of the next blue-ribbon commission or departmental task force will find its audience and lead to action.

FOCUS CAN STATE DELIVER?

You Have A Strategy. Now What?

How to Turn Any U.S. Mission Strategy into Results

Today State has a unique opportunity to reassert leadership of foreign policy by focusing on delivering the outcomes promised by strategies that are now aligned across the department.

BY MATT BOLAND



Matt Boland is an FSO who currently serves as a senior strategy officer at the State Department. He has also served as a diplomat-in-residence for the Boston Consulting Group and is a member of the Strategy Consortium at the Atlantic Council. His overseas as-

signments include Madrid, Islamabad, Panama City and Vienna.

The author wishes to thank the current and former State Department Foreign Service officers, Civil Service professionals and political appointees who shared their insights and experiences regarding strategic planning and performance management, particularly the leaders and staff of the strategic planning teams in the Office of Foreign Assistance Resources and the Bureau of Budget and Planning. He also thanks BCG partners Sharon Marcil, Danny Werfel and Troy Thomas for their invaluable guidance and support.



hy is it that some chiefs of mission and deputy chiefs of mission are better than others at turning policy ideas into results? How do some seem to project a command presence—providing overall direction, interagency coordina-

tion and leadership of U.S. foreign policy in country—while others do not? After all, they are just like chiefs of mission and deputy chiefs of mission (DCMs) everywhere: they have access to the same mission-driven workforce, they struggle against the same outdated State Department technologies, and they face the same pressure to react to events and respond to taskings from D.C.

As it turns out, however, they all follow much the same routine. Many great government leaders think, act and communicate in similar ways. The best leaders at State follow these practices, and we would all benefit if more leaders did so.

The need to improve strategic planning and implementation has been highlighted in every major State Department reform initiative since 1992. One problem is that many at State believe

Strategic planning and implementation are core leadership responsibilities.

they have "policy" responsibility, while "strategic planning" and "implementation" are, they think, someone else's concern. The result of such a mindset was summed up in the State-USAID reform plan submitted to the Office of Management and Budget last September: "Failure to prioritize top foreign policy objectives and plan strategically has led to ad hoc decision-making, ineffective allocation of human and financial resources, and disjointed activities at the Washington and mission levels."

In fact, when it comes to delivering results, strategic planning and implementation are not only inseparable from policymaking, but are its driving force. As Michael Barber, first head of the U.K. Prime Minister's Delivery Unit (an institution created to strengthen the British government's capacity to deliver on Prime Minister Tony Blair's policy priorities), puts it: "Policy is 10 percent and implementation is 90 percent."

Today we have a unique opportunity at the State Department to reassert leadership of foreign policy by focusing on delivering the outcomes promised by our strategies. It is an opportune moment for action—what the Greeks call *kairos*—because we now have coherent strategies across the department. Drawing on the new National Security Strategy, the State-USAID Joint Strategic Plan was finalized in February; that was followed by completion of 46 bureau strategic plans this spring, and integrated country strategies (ICS) for 185 U.S. missions this summer.

Having set clear objectives, developed plans to achieve them and aligned strategies across the State Department, leaders and staff are poised to achieve significant results in advancing American security, interests and values. Here are some suggestions for how to take advantage of this opportune moment.

Build a Strategic Planning and Implementation Process That Delivers Impact

The key to delivering on any strategy is to understand what prevents effective strategic planning and implementation, and then to attack those challenges head on. This is as true for a government official in Britain or Indonesia as it is for an official of the U.S. State Department.

During a yearlong fellowship at The Boston Consulting Group, a global management consulting firm with more than 50 years of experience as a leader in strategy, I had the opportunity to be part of a team that worked to identify such obstacles. We interviewed 31 current and former government leaders around the globe. In a separate project, I interviewed a dozen State Department officials—chiefs of mission, DCMs, Foreign Service officers and Civil Service professionals—to benchmark the State Department's approach to strategic planning and performance management against global best practices.

Our work pointed to key steps mission leaders and staff can take to become more effective at developing and implementing their strategy. There are several obstacles to overcome at the State Department:

A "fire-fighting" and risk-averse culture. Reacting well to unplanned and unforeseen events and crises is some of the most important work we do. However, effective leaders also proactively shape the future rather than simply react to it by setting and driving an agenda. Further, if we avoid taking reasonable risks for fear of failure, we won't get big things done.

Lack of leadership engagement. While many department leaders have policy expertise and focus, they often delegate responsibility for strategic planning and implementation to others. This lack of engagement at the top filters down, leading to members of the mission who don't fully understand or aren't committed to implementing the strategy.

High turnover. Foreign Service officers transition every two to three years, and the average tenure of a Senate-confirmed appointee is only 18 to 30 months. With little time to make a mark, many understandably focus on short-term initiatives, rather than long-term goals and objectives.

Based on our interviews, we identified three actions that chiefs of mission and DCMs can take to mitigate these challenges and turn the mission strategy into results: promote a strategic culture, instill a shared sense of purpose, and establish teams and routines to drive implementation (see graphic, p. 35).

Promote a Strategic Culture

To ensure a shift in the culture—habits, hearts and minds chiefs of missions and DCMs must participate in strategic planning, frontline leaders at post must be involved from the start,



implementation more likely. "If a team is closely involved in developing the strategy they will feel ownership of it," Paul Gerrard, director of policy & campaigns at the Co-Operative Group, told me. "If they feel ownership, then they will want to make it work."

Second, it affords the greatest leverage and promises the most impact. Since the majority of staff at post reports to a section or agency head, these leaders have an outsized impact on shaping the culture, allocating resources and ensuring that the day-to-day actions of the

and the risk-averse mindset at State must be addressed.

Strategic planning and implementation are core leadership responsibilities. Effective chiefs of missions and DCMs personally drive the effort to set strategic priorities, build buy-in, align resources, communicate the strategy consistently and hold people accountable for executing the plan. "Strategy is ultimately the leader's responsibility," according to Salman Ahmed, a former special assistant to President Barack Obama and senior director for strategic planning. "You can't delegate responsibility for leading change."

When she served as DCM at Embassy London, Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (now the president of AFSA) used strategic planning as a platform to break down section and agency silos, build ownership and organize a whole-of-government approach. She led a strategy development process that involved staff from across the mission in the effort. "We deliberately designed mission objectives that required an interagency team to deliver them," Amb. Stephenson told me. "This created a clear sense of where we were going, why, and the role each section and agency plays in achieving our objectives."

The single most important step chiefs of mission and DCMs can take to promote a strategic culture is to draw frontline leaders—the section and agency heads who supervise frontline employees at post—into the effort. Why?

First of all, that's where the work gets done. Frontline leaders can elevate to the attention of senior leadership the practical realities of implementing a particular strategy, making successful workforce are aligned with the mission's objectives. Moreover, it helps develop mid-level staff members who are likely to be the next generation of leadership.

The bottom line: The best way to link strategy with implementation is to ensure that the same people work on both.

In addition, it's important to find ways to reward and protect those who take reasonable risks but achieve less than positive results. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo underscored this when he addressed employees at a May 16 town hall: "I'm prepared to accept failure. ... I will be with you. If we're doing things right and we have an effort and it is right, and it doesn't work, know that's acceptable—indeed, at some level, encouraged. If there are no failures, I guarantee you we're not out working hard against these problem sets." The risk-averse mindset that the department cultivates can undermine the implementation of any given strategy.

Instill a Shared Sense of Purpose

One of the chief of mission's most powerful levers is to mobilize the mission around shared objectives. Foreign Service officers are mission-driven. The ember burns deep within them; all leaders have to do is fan it. If they can ignite a sense of purpose that ripples across the mission, the results will be transformative. Employees will engage in deep learning, take risks, innovate and make meaningful contributions.

Chiefs of mission and DCMs can build a purpose-driven U.S. mission by following three steps:

It's important to find ways to reward and protect those who take reasonable risks but achieve less than positive results.

1. Articulate a clear vision. Ambassadors should articulate a compelling vision for advancing the mission over the next three to five years. This will provide critical energy and direction for the mission. "Vision isn't everything, but it's the beginning of everything," as David McAllister-Wilson, president of Wesley Theological Seminary, puts it.

2. Stay focused on the mission objectives. This may seem obvious, but it is incredibly difficult for officers to stay focused on the mission objectives because of the daily pressure to react to events and respond to requests from Main State and home agencies.

Ronald E. Neumann, who served as ambassador to Afghanistan, Bahrain and Algeria, tackled this problem by providing 'top cover' so that officers could and would say no. He said, "I told my staff: 'Instructions come only from me or in front channel cables. Anything else is a request. If you think a request is wrong or will get in the way of something I told you to do, come see the DCM or me.' If we didn't want to accommodate the request, I would tell the officer to message back, 'I can't follow your instruction because the ambassador says no, but he said you can call him to talk about it.' The phone never rang."

3. Constantly communicate the vision and objectives. Every mission's integrated country strategy needs a consistent communications effort if it is to succeed. Once leaders at the top and in the middle have internalized the strategy, they must help frontline employees see how it connects with their day-to-day work.

Successful missions do things like the following:

Discuss progress on the strategy at every country team meeting. For example, at every country team meeting at the U.S. mission to India, former five-time Ambassador Nancy Powell asked people to cite an achievement from the previous week or an upcoming challenge linked to a mission objective.

Require action memos to link proposals to the mission strategy. "When a section or agency sends a decision memo asking the chief of mission or DCM to participate in something," DCM Eric Khant says, "it should demonstrate how the leader's participation will help advance mission objectives."

Communicate success stories in a monthly front office newsletter, including how the work of staff members contributed to mission goals or eliminated obstacles to achieving key mission objectives.

Organize a "look back and look ahead" town hall, where the ambassador reviews mission progress over the past six months and the key objectives for the next six months. When the strategy is continually reinforced through such meetings and onboarding "check-ins" for newly arrived employees, training sessions and other forums where people at all levels ask questions and share ideas, it draws their support.

Create ICS communications materials to raise awareness. Here's one great example: The U.S. missions to Burma, Mauritania and Uruguay each developed and disseminated a collection of integrated country strategy (ICS) communications materials. Mission goals and objectives were prominently displayed on the intranet site and printed—in English and the local language—on wallet-sized cards, desk cards and posters. These materials were displayed in high-traffic areas within the embassy and could also be included in welcome kits.

Establish Teams & Routines to Drive Implementation

Once the mission strategy is developed, chiefs of mission, DCMs and the country team need to know—on a routine basis how well the mission is implementing the plan and delivering the outcomes it promises. I recommend the following three-part framework for implementation:

1. Establish mission goal or objective teams. Unless it's someone's job, it's no one's job. At the heart of successful implementation of the country strategy are mission teams focused on helping achieve its objectives. They can help ensure that the mission has clear, measurable and outcome-oriented objectives. They can also ensure that programs to implement the ICS outline how the program will contribute to objectives, how progress and performance will be measured and tracked, and how the program will be evaluated. These teams should include Locally Employed staff and be the people at post the chief of mission and DCM can count on to be largely resistant to the crises of the moment, even when the front office has to respond to them.

2. Collect performance data. Doing an effective job of implementing and adjusting the strategy hinges on having the right

The key to delivering on any strategy is to understand what prevents effective strategic planning and implementation, and then to attack those challenges head on.

data. Among the best tools within the ICS are the performance indicators and milestones, which create a link between the mission's strategy and the expected outcomes.

3. Use routines to drive and monitor implementation. Having set the mission strategy, it is essential to establish implementation routines. Three simple but powerful routines create deadlines and a sense of urgency for the mission to deliver results. The first is a regular rhythm of strategic dialogues between the chief of mission, the DCM and the country team to review progress on implementation of the strategy, discuss and solve major challenges, and make decisions to drive implementation forward. The second and third are annual strategic reviews and quarterly strategy check-ins (see chart below).

For example, when a U.S. embassy in Asia wanted to paint a mission-wide picture of what was working, what wasn't, and why, it launched a strategic review designed to test the integrated country strategy assumptions, measure progress and identify challenges. The review showed progress toward

Establish Routine Reviews	Annual Strategic Review In-depth assessment of progress on all mission objectives.	Quarterly Strategy Check-Ins Snapshot of progress on select mission objectives.
What & Who	 State Department guidance requires Chiefs of mission must institute regular reviews to assess progress against all mission objectives and ensure the alignment of policy, planning, resources and program decision-making. The full country team should participate, along with all those who oversee programs that support each mission objective. 	 In addition, best practice recommends Chiefs of mission should convene quarterly strategy check-ins to assess progress against one to three select mission objectives and ensure the alignment of policy, planning, resources and program decision-making. Country team members and staff who oversee programs that support the mission objectives being discussed should participate. Quarterly strategy check-ins help leaders identify issues before they become problems, serving as an early warning system.
The Benefits	 Compare progress on all mission objectives. Help section and agency heads make better decisions about strategic priorities and tradeoffs. Communicate priorities to individual staff members and ensure all work is focused on achieving goals and objectives. Hold employees accountable for delivering results that advance the mission strategy, including as part of their annual performance reviews. 	 Gain a snapshot of progress on one to three mission objectives without making judgments on all objectives. Engage in timely problem-solving and course corrections, helping the team adapt to changing operating environments. Align the day-to-day actions of staff with strategic priorities. Hold employees accountable for delivering results that advance the mission strategy.

ICS goals and led the country team to conclude that remaining results-oriented sometimes means terminating programs that are not working productively toward mission goals.

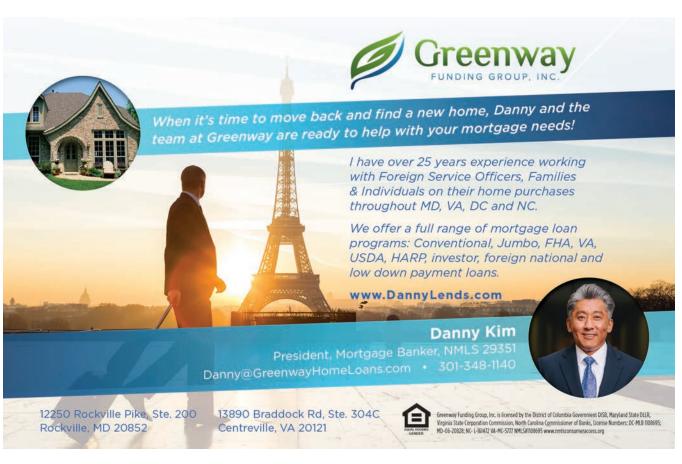
The U.K. Prime Minister's Delivery Unit used implementation routines to focus relentlessly on four disarmingly simple questions: What are you trying to do? How are you planning to do it? At any given moment, how will you know if you're on track to succeed? If you're not on track, what are you going to do about it?

Effective Leaders Own the Mission Strategy

To marshal action on their priorities, we see successful chiefs of mission and DCMs spend time on their integrated country strategy. They adapt it, communicate it, reinforce it and help people see when they may be drifting from it. Employees recognize their commitment to the strategy, begin to believe in it themselves and reorient. The change starts at the top and spreads across the mission. As former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michèle Flournoy told me, "If the leader owns strategy from the start, communicates it clearly, rewards people for executing it and holds them accountable when they don't, that's the most powerful way to mobilize an organization."

Good strategy is not about drafting the perfect plan on paper. It's about giving employees clear objectives, empowering them to lead and fostering a culture of continuous improvement in order to achieve greater mission impact. As Secretary Pompeo urged at his town hall in May, "People talk about delegating authority. I want you out there demanding it. Say 'I have this. I can take on this task. I'll keep you informed, I'll seek your guidance, and then I'll go execute the heck out of it!"

To learn more and access resources and tools for strategic planning and performance management, State Department employees can visit the Managing for Results intranet site at cas.state. gov/managingforresults.





Efficient and secure information technology processes and platforms are the primary requirements for State's operational modernization. Here is a candid look at the challenges and suggestions for a way forward.

BY JAY ANANIA

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irst, the good news. For all the justifiable



Jay Anania retired in 2015 after a 31-year career as a management-coned FSO at the Department of State. His final tour was as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Suriname from 2013 to 2015. Among his earlier assignments, Ambassador Anania served under Secretary

of State Colin Powell as director of the Offices of Management Policy and Rightsizing the USG's Overseas Presence, and as the Bureau of Information Resource Management's acting chief information officer. He was executive director for the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs and the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, and then served as management counselor for U.S. Mission Iraq (2011-2012). In Iraq, Amb. Anania led the successful management transition as State took responsibility from the U.S. Army for supporting 17,000 personnel at 12 locations throughout the country. He also served in Tijuana, Havana, Amman, Abu Dhabi, Hong Kong and Berlin. The opinions and characterizations in this piece are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government. The author can be reached at Parbonia-1@yahoo.com. complexities faced by the department. That accomplishment is worth appreciating, especially given some of the inherent and unusual challenges briefly mentioned in this article.

Is There

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And yet the performance of State's information technology systems remains a sore spot for many employees from all serviced agencies. Customers accustomed to rapid developments in e-commerce and mobile computing chafe at using systems that often don't share data or simplify routine processing. At many overseas posts, personnel are frustrated by poor performance as applications become more centralized, outrunning the quality of the connections to servers in the United States. Worse, malevolent intruders constantly threaten State IT systems as they seek (and at times, obtain) sensitive information and opportunities to derail U.S. initiatives. Even a cursory glance at the Office of the Inspector General's online archive reveals persistent problems with State's IT planning and execution, including issues that affect system performance and the integrity, confidentiality and access to data.

At the heart of the difficulties is the fact that State, like many other federal agencies, lacks a centralized authority that is empowered to establish and enforce an enterprise-wide IT architecture for domestic offices and overseas missions. Such a centralized authority is needed to set standards for efficiency and data sharing, to guide specific IT initiatives, to prioritize spending and to direct cybersecurity operations among the myriad IT systems "owned" by individual bureaus, departments and posts.

There are no easy solutions to the strategic failure of State's IT systems. In this article, I discuss the various challenges, how they

State lacks a centralized authority empowered to establish and enforce an enterprise-wide IT architecture for domestic offices and overseas missions.

arose and their implications for efficiency and security. Finally, I offer some recommendations that—if backed by sustained, high-level management commitment—can set the department on an effective path for the future. Revamping the organization to reshape and manage State's information technology underpinnings is critical to supporting overdue, broader management reforms necessitated by dramatic changes in the nature of foreign affairs challenges.

Past as Prologue

The current situation reflects the history of IT at the State Department and the consequences of decisions, and non-decisions, taken over the past three decades. Broad-scale computing at State started in the early 1980s with the introduction of Wang mainframe and word processing systems, often at the initiative of "early adopters" who saw the utility of computers over typewriters. There was little centralized capability or organization to manage these systems, and individual offices and bureaus purchased them and used them as they saw fit. Bureaus paid for these computers, typically made the decisions about what and when to buy, and expected employees to share computer terminals.

State management gradually recognized the utility of having a unified information technology organization. In 1998, it created the Bureau of Information Resource Management from some but not all!—elements of the Bureau of Administration's Office of Information Management. From the start, IRM was playing catch-up: State IT was already decentralized, and bureaus continued to fill the vacuum by creating solutions to meet their needs. "Functional" bureaus (including the Bureau of Administration) set about building core IT systems for accounting, human resources, logistics, etc. This decentralization had the advantage of putting bureaus in charge of systems that met their specific needs; but it came at the cost of duplicating efforts, and creating and institutionalizing inefficiencies. With no coherent centralized initiative to unite systems "owned" by various bureaus and posts, it was the Bureau of Consular Affairs—with its obvious requirement for consistent consular systems globally, and utilizing funds retained from consular collections—that finally set a consistent standard for desktop computers, albeit only for consular personnel. Finally, with the (mostly imaginary) Y2K threat looming, IRM was funded to establish consistent global standards for Microsoft-based desktop computers.

As federal IT evolved, laws came into force creating chief information officers (CIOs) at each agency and defining their roles. But, like other federal agencies, the State Department was slow to adjust its policies and bureaucracy and is still far from complying with current law and standards. State first created the CIO as a solely advisory position in the Office of the Under Secretary for Management, only later making the CIO the head of IRM, a bureau still focused on managing core communications systems. Even today, State's CIO is often viewed as akin to the head plumber or electrician rather than a critical business leader. By contrast, law and executive orders direct agencies to empower CIOs with broad authority over IT investments and cybersecurity.

Given the functional bureaus' responsibilities, it is reasonable that they should serve as "business owners" and play a major role in managing IT systems. However, a weak CIO and the lack of effective enterprise-wide strategies led, perhaps inevitably, to a reality in which individual bureaus zealously guard their traditional prerogatives and funding. With IRM's history of budget and human resources limitations, it is no surprise that other bureaus continue to directly create and manage core IT systems to carry out State's critical HR, financial, consular, logistics, security and other functions.

A Tower of Babel

In practice, then, absent direction and assistance in aligning investments for the greater good of employees and organizational efficiency, bureaus can and do develop systems that respond to narrow requirements. Many vendors offer similar IT applications and platforms. Without the strategic guidance they often yearn for, bureaus inevitably end up picking differing, sometimes incompatible, tools to the detriment of overall efficiency and cost-effectiveness.

This is especially damaging to operations at overseas posts, which typically do a better job than headquarters of integrating internal and interagency operations. Unfortunately, the "Washington solutions for Washington problems" approach, in which bureaus focus on their own narrow requirements, leads to IT systems that actually hamper these needed collaborative efforts.

Indeed, bureaus and posts have created thousands of systems—some from scratch and others using commercial software modified to meet "unique" requirements (perceived or legitimate). The result is a technical Tower of Babel that the department's limited technical workforce cannot properly understand, manage or even catalog.

Contractor personnel created and still manage most major systems. State never invested in or retained the technical staff needed to properly document and apply the knowledge associated with both the administrative policies and technical details of these systems. The recent hiring freeze exacerbated the problem, as bureaus watched critical personnel—both technical and subject matter experts—retire, transfer or take lucrative private-sector positions. This lack of staffing continuity makes it impossible for State to effectively manage its IT systems.

Further, bureaus struggling with staff and budget shortages are understandably hesitant to make major changes given the risks of "breaking" increasingly obsolete systems or, worse, opening up new cyber vulnerabilities and exposing themselves to public criticism from Congress and the media. Some bureaus have literally dozens of interrelated applications, built using different tools over many years.

This is a root cause of the frustrations employees feel when trying to accomplish seemingly routine activities, especially when the tasks cut across bureaucratic lines. An obvious example is the difficulty of the Foreign Service transfer process, which requires human resources, finance and logistics personnel and systems to work together. Instead, many IT systems reinforce bureaucratic lines and impede productivity.

A Positive IRM Initiative, But...

While IRM's consolidation of productivity tools on the Microsoft Office 365 platform should prove a highly positive initiative, individual bureaus continue to create systems based on other commercial products from competing companies. In many cases, customizations over time make it difficult to upgrade these systems or migrate and/or share the data in a manner compatible with department-wide objectives. Bureaus have the money to maintain current systems, but neither the resources nor the direction to develop and implement strategies to modernize them to make customers' jobs easier.

The good news is that modern IT application development tools permit greater flexibility to configure systems without customizing underlying applications. This permits managers to plan for the inevitable "like it or not" technical upgrades required by commercial vendors without upsetting integration with other applications.

The bad news is that by permitting bureaus to choose from a smorgasbord of competing products, with little encouragement or incentive to consolidate systems, the department continues to increase IT complexity. Bureaus develop systems using different tools, in some cases migrating from State-managed data centers to competing commercial cloud-based platforms, such as those managed by Amazon and Microsoft. Worse, some bureaus operate software so altered to meet State's needs that it cannot be updated away from obsolete technology, exposing data to cyber-intrusion and the more mundane risks associated with software no employee understands how to manage.

Attempting to track, control and set realistic configuration standards for so many systems (including data-center platforms) and manage the interconnections between them is a Sisyphean task, as critical OIG reports document. For example: so-called customer relationship management (CRM) software underlies many modern applications. There are several excellent options, including Remedy, ServiceNow, SalesForce and Dynamics. But lacking an enterprise IT architecture, the department is choosing *all* of them, "hosting" some applications on department-managed infrastructure while outsourcing others to competing commercial "cloud" data centers.

This exponentially multiplies complexity and perpetuates the past mistake of institutionalizing "fragmented decentralization."

The Data Management Spider Web

Some State Department IT leaders now tout a data-centric approach to systems. This is long overdue, because information data—is the asset at the heart of the department's programmatic and administrative missions. Data—not IT systems—should be the starting point. System "owners" must understand and demonstrate a commitment to properly integrating data to ensure efficient, State-wide operations. Maintaining overlapping data sources with disparate underlying systems is wasteful, hurts data quality and increases the risk of data loss.

Yet, with individual bureaus "owning" these systems, there has never been an effective scheme to share data among them. Bureaus and posts, both internally and among themselves, implement "point-to-point" connections to share (or worse, not to share) data, creating hundreds of unique connections using multiple tools—a spider web of uncontrollable complexity. The department can neither track nor manage these data flows, which increases costs (it takes highly paid people to manage these systems), decreases efficiency (customers must work through The department already has commercial middleware (known as an enterprise service bus) software to coordinate centralized data sharing, but isn't using it widely.

multiple systems) and exposes data to the possibility of loss or misuse. This makes the job of the IRM chief information security officer nearly impossible.

Amazingly, the department already has commercial middleware (known as an enterprise service bus) software to coordinate centralized data sharing, but isn't using it widely. In this software's hub-and-spoke configuration, each application connects to a central system. With data "on the bus," IRM could work with system owners to appropriately share it, securely and efficiently, eliminating hundreds of current connections.

But without an effective, empowered CIO directing implementation, this isn't happening. Nor is there a clear plan to make it happen. This is, quite simply, a strategic failure.

Moving Toward a Solution

Based on the observations and discussion above, there are a number of seemingly obvious steps that could be taken to overhaul, strengthen and rationalize State's IT architecture.

1. Define goals. Codify department-wide "first principles" to affirm that the purpose of IT systems is to enhance the efficiency of secure global operations. Systems are tools to reduce employee and customer effort. Data is a corporate asset that all IT systems owners must share appropriately, eliminating duplicative data stores whenever possible. IT systems must enhance secure global access to data and meet defined performance levels.

2. Empower the CIO, consistent with federal law and executive orders, to establish and enforce an enterprise-wide IT architecture, prioritize spending and direct cybersecurity operations. Make the CIO responsible for advancing enterprise goals.

3. Direct the CIO, in consultation with bureaus, to set standards and limit the number of options for software applications, development tools and IT platforms. Set short-term and longer-term goals to converge systems, especially critical core systems.

Strictly limit cloud platforms and duplicative tools, permitting exceptions only where standard assets cannot be used. Expand department-wide licensing agreements, replacing bureau-by-bureau purchasing, to reduce overhead, improve internal controls and increase incentives for standardization.

4. Invest in hiring, retaining and continuously refreshing the skills of State's IT employee workforce. While building a strong cadre of Civil Service staff who can manage core systems, integrate Foreign Service personnel with expertise managing overseas systems throughout IRM and other bureaus that manage major IT systems. As a priority, strengthen IRM's core capacities to properly manage IT strategy and core IRMmanaged systems while providing guidance and oversight to bureaus managing other critical systems.

Provide career paths to ensure the department can count on an experienced team with strong technical and managerial skills and, critically, a broad understanding of enterprise business requirements and interrelationships between bureau missions. Especially for core financial, human resources, consular and logistics systems, ensure that managers are subject matter experts, with substantive experience, who can expertly inform system development carried out by qualified IT staff.

5. Replace fragmentation with federation. Maintain a degree of decentralization, with bureaus continuing to play lead roles in defining business requirements for IT systems; but empower the CIO to enforce strategy and funding flows, insisting that bureaus receive consistent, achievable direction and resources based on agreed priorities.

Over time, transfer technical resources to IRM to permit the bureau to properly provide technical support, reducing IT elements within other bureaus. Assistant secretaries, their deputies and executive directors are not and never will be IT experts. Just as they should manage bilateral relations, consular affairs, security, intelligence and financial operations, the CIO and IRM should manage the underlying technical aspects of IT.

Information technology processes and platforms are the primary requirement for State's operational modernization. Unfortunately, there is no magic bullet to resolve the IT challenges State and other agencies face, which go back many years. But with a serious, sustained commitment from top-level management, a decisive start can be made toward significant improvement in this critical area.

Is the Future of the Foreign Service?

he State Department, like the roads in Washington, D.C., seems to be in a constant state of repair, with new potholes for each successive Secretary to fill as he or she deems best. No one knows better than those who work there that State could use some fixes; that structures, technologies, missions and mandates become outdated and need rethinking.

Over time, State has gone through its fair share of such projects. Some of the repairs are right and proper; and they do, in some small way, make the wheels go 'round a bit more smoothly. Many are well-intended but poorly planned and poorly executed, with an inevitably poor result. Too often the repairs focus on the wiring diagrams; too infrequently on the mission, the funding and, most important, the people. And some, such as those initiated by former Secretary Rex Tillerson, seem designed by a ditch digger bent on just tearing it all up.

In the months preceding Secretary Mike Pompeo's tenure, the well-documented realities of the administration's rhetoric and

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Career public servants at all levels and specialties make diplomacy work. How do we find them, keep them, grow them?

BY BARBARA BODINE

broader actions discouraged and, in some cases, drove away the very people whom the Secretary, the department and the country need to restock our ranks and provide the quality workforce pipeline to go forward.

Secretary Pompeo's selection of a respected senior career officer as under secretary of State for political affairs, his day one reversal on employment of eligible family members (EFMs), the lift of the hiring freeze (albeit without restoration of abolished positions) and reinstatement of intake classes (including Pickering and Rangel Fellows) at credible levels, among other changes afoot, signal an understanding that the bedrock of the department is our people, both Foreign and Civil Service. It's the career public servants at all levels and specialties who make diplomacy work. This is good. A strong—swaggering?—call to serve is back. Who will answer that call? More precisely, can we recruit and retain the quality of officer needed to meet the demands of this new era in ways that serve our interests for the long haul?

Without the right people, the best plans, the noblest intentions and the most stirring rhetoric will all fail. Who are those people? Too often the repairs at State focus on the wiring diagrams; too infrequently on the mission, the funding and, most important, the people.

How do we find them, keep them, grow them? I recently attended a retirement ceremony for one of our most senior and respected officers. He addressed this question, not in terms of the official "competencies" but in terms of "core principles," which came down to knowledge, ideas, impact and integrity, along with a passion to serve.

Who Are They?

In the decade and a half since I left the Service, I have undertaken a wholly unscientific study of those we seek to recruit and those who seek to serve. In more than 15 years, including 18 months as a diplomat in residence at the University of California Santa Barbara and a writ for the entire state, I have met hundreds of students, former military members, lapsed lawyers and others interested in careers with the Department of State.

While my work has been primarily at schools along the east coast, with travel to institutions well beyond that, the students themselves come from across the country. They come from geographically diverse undergraduate institutions and represent the best of this diverse experiment called America. My "study" has spanned three administrations and several Secretaries of State. Granted, there was no control group. I have not spent comparable time with those who have no interest, not even idle curiosity, in the department. They may come to an information session, but there is no follow-up.

Who, then, are these people who want to join our ranks?

The simple answer: they are overwhelmingly millennials. This technically accurate term for those born roughly between 1981 and 1996, however, is a distorting generalization—reductionism, in the jargon of the academic world—and one that millennials themselves find disparaging, conjuring up images of entitled, gadget-addicted, avocado toast-eating snowflakes, unable to make a commitment and more than a little whiny. While I'm certain there are some who fit this profile, the stereotype misses the unique realities of these remarkable people. They do share some common world views shaped by shared world events. Like most coming-of-age adults, they believe the world began the day they became politically aware; still, there is little naiveté about the world in which they grew up.

They are of the post-9/11 world. My most recent test subjects—otherwise known as undergraduates—were still in diapers at the time of the attack. They are a generation that has known nothing but endless and inconclusive wars. They are also the generation for whom mass school shootings and lockdowns are all too common. They understand the world can be a dangerous and sometimes hostile place. For them, the Soviet Union and the threats of the Cold War era are so far back in the rearview mirror as to be meaningless.

This generation understands the dangers posed by serving their country abroad. Those we seek to recruit and need to retain are not put off by the challenges of living abroad. Such challenges are to them a given.

They have firsthand memories of the Great Recession. They saw within their own families the betrayal of promises made by employers to lifelong employees, homes lost, and retirements deferred. They are less likely to assume that there is a reciprocal set of obligations between employer and employee and, thus, less likely to think of any career as forever. That trust has been broken.

They have grown up in a world where established institutions are suspect if not discredited.

Diversity and Entrepreneurship

Millennials have come of age in an increasingly diverse America and are aware of and connected to this diverse world. A security clearance investigator asked me if my student "knew any foreigners," and was explicit that he saw that possibility as a bad thing. One does not laugh in that circumstance; it may hurt the student seeking clearance. But the reality on most campuses, especially in schools of public policy, international relations or the like, is that a sizable percentage of students and faculty will not be native-born Americans, and may very well be non-white and non-male. The old "male, pale and Yale" no longer exists—not even at Yale.

These aspiring members of State, like their classmates and professors, may be immigrants, first-generation Americans. Others will be international students on academic exchange programs. They are or have friends who are LGBTQ, and friends who are Dreamers. Diversity of all sorts is the norm, not the exception.

The schools and professions from which we seek to find the next generation of civil servants and FSOs are now at least half women (though this is less so for military veterans coming in, regrettably). These women assume they will have a seat at the table and at least an equal voice in the deliberations.

Our millennial recruits came of age in the era of the entrepreneur, of the small team or the extraordinary individual who makes big changes, who disrupts the conventional. They value impact over money.

Perhaps the most important common thread, the one that weaves the rest into a tapestry of service and ties them to previous generations, is that they have an abiding passion to make a difference. They understand the cost of maintaining our security, our economy and our values; they understand that a domestic and global environment marked by disruption and discontinuities results in violence and human hardship.

They are comfortable working and living in a diverse world; they are charged by belief in the entrepreneurial spirit that an individual can make a profound difference; and they have the passion to try to be that person. Their commitment to serve their country is without question. The words of our oath of office—our sworn duty to "protect and defend the Constitution against all enemies foreign and domestic"—inspire pride and humility.

What Are Their Questions and Concerns?

But they have questions that reflect this same impulse to serve and to make a difference. Some are valid and should be part of recruitment and retention reform proposals; some are based on misperceptions that can be ameliorated through more effective outreach efforts; and some reflect issues and concerns that extend beyond the purview of State but are nonetheless valid for discussion.

The cynicism about established institutions extends to the State Department. "Cog-in-a-wheel" is not a status to which they aspire. They are eager to learn; they seek mentors and guidance; and they look for role models. Many first learned about the department and the Foreign Service from a former practitioner. They understand this is a profession one learns through apprenticeship. What is not clear to them is when and how does one move from entry-level to policy influencer. Must they wait 20 or 30 years to become an ambassador? (Answer: No, senior-level positions recognize but do not create the policy influencer.)

At one A-100 swearing-in a few years back, a senior officer reminded the newly-minted officers that they had been selected through a process designed to identify intelligence, knowledge and character, and that they were charged with bringing those same qualities to work every day. It was a reassurance of noncog'ism. Still, it is in our own best interest to be candid about the realities of working within a bureaucracy: there are rules, processes, policies and procedures, most, some, of which exist for a reason. Operating outside of these processes (freelancing) is not an option. It can be dangerous.

But it is also in our interest to actively encourage and support initiative and policy entrepreneurship at all levels, even the most junior. State "grows its own." We bring people in at the bottom and hope to end with seasoned, experienced officers and policy leaders. One cannot go from cog to policymaker in one promotion. That transition evolves over time with guidance, experience and leadership. We ourselves ought to more clearly understand what that process looks like and convey to our new Foreign Service members what they can expect, what the opportunities and encouragement for growth are.

Those who seek to join the Foreign Service choose it because of the "foreign" nature of the work. They want to serve, work and live abroad. They recognize we live in a sometimes dangerous world, and that diplomacy is a high-stakes, high-risk profession. They also understand that effective diplomacy is based on effective relationships. They may not fully appreciate the unique security challenges of diplomacy or the unique profile of an American diplomat abroad—as distinct from a student abroad, an NGO worker or a tourist—until they start their FS career, but within those realities they want to get out there and do their job. Like many seasoned FSOs, they will chafe at the trade-offs in the balance of security and diplomacy abroad.

What is not new is the question of balance between professional obligations and personal integrity, between unquestioned loyalty to national interests—remember our oath to uphold the Constitution—and specific policies or actions that violate that trust. There is a line beyond which even a soldier may disobey an order. That is no less true for Foreign Service members. Where that line is, and what action, up to and including resignation, is the right action, is deeply personal; but everyone at State must understand that the line is there and must be respected.

What Are Our Obligations?

The flip side of this question is what value our leadership places on people who "speak truth to power" through countervailing data, inconvenient but well-grounded analysis, and alternative policy recommendations. No one expects every policy recommendation to be approved. You will not win every policy debate, and perhaps in some cases shouldn't. You are not always right. But are competing analyses and approaches given a fair and reasonable hearing? Is the process open, transparent and accountable? Again, are creativity, initiative, risk-taking and intellectual entrepreneurship seen as instituThe schools and professions from which we seek to find the next generation of civil servants and FSOs are now at least half women.

tional values that support a more rigorous policy process, or as threats to orthodoxy?

Finally, there is a bundle of questions that comes under the heading of "work-life balance." Here the State Department has a good track record, but with significant room for improvement. Tandem couples have been a norm at State for decades. LGBTQ staff have served with distinction for nearly as long, and they have served openly at State far longer than at our sister agencies. Issues of education and spouse employment are legitimate factors in assignments. We don't always get the "balance" part right: spending long hours and long weeks managing a world that refuses to synchronize with our workday and workweek or recognize our holidays is proof of that.

But we have long understood that the Foreign Service is more than a job. It is a lifestyle that demands service and sacrifice not only from its members, but also from their families. We also increasingly recognize that the configuration of our families has shifted from the traditional trailing wife plus kids, to encompass dependent elders, trailing husbands and same-sex couples. We don't always hit the mark, and we sometimes miss badly. But we deserve credit for trying.

As Secretary Pompeo and his team gear up for the next round of reforms, budget justifications, wiring diagrams and mission statements, we need to keep in mind that it all comes down to "We, the people" who make our diplomacy effective and secure our country's interests. We must work to ensure that the very best people still strive to join our team in the years to come; and that once in, their talents and their passions are recognized and rewarded.

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The Future of the Foreign Service— As Seen Through the Years From the FSJ Archive



Change As a Means to Improved Foreign Relations

We must never forget that from the nation's point of view the only thing that really matters is whether or not the foreign affairs job is performed ably and successfully. There is nothing sacred about either the department or the Foreign Service; they are administra-

tive mechanisms to serve the national interest. They can and should be altered from time to time to remedy their deficiencies and to improve their effectiveness.

We cannot, then, logically object to change, provided that change is a means toward the objective of more effective conduct of American foreign relations. We must assume, however, that even the most ardent administrative prestidigitators will sooner or later have to take morale factors into consideration. No administrative mechanism can be better than the people who staff it, and the devotion of these people to their duties. Over the long pull, changes cannot be so frequent or so drastic as to keep employees in a state of uncertainty and unrest. There needs to be enough stability through the years so that the foreign affairs organization can consistently recruit topflight talent, provide genuine career satisfactions, and keep its employees working with maximum loyalty and devotion.

What I do argue, however, is that we must adjust ourselves to the frustration of never being popular and never being fully recognized for our efforts and our achievements. It is no use to say that the department falls down on its public relations and doesn't know how to tell its story effectively. In future years we may do a better job in this respect than we are doing now, but the problem is by its nature inherently not subject to a full solution.

-Frank Snowden Hopkins, assistant director, Foreign Service Institute, from "The Future of the Foreign Service," FSJ, April 1950



A Broader Definition of the Diplomatic Calling

The crisis confronting diplomacy in the 1980s can only be understood as part of the much larger crisis confronting the nation-state. Despite all the frenzied manifestations of nationalism and the proliferation of new nations, the basic reality to the latter part of the 20th century is that

"One World" is rapidly becoming a fact. The steady and inexorable shrinkage of the planet to the dimensions of a global village, combined with quantum leaps in the advance of technology and the social and economic development of hitherto backward regions is daily making the nation-state more obsolete at every level of international intercourse. As this process accelerates, the traditional modalities and instrumentalities have become too narrow and stereotyped to accommodate the traffic.

If the State Department wants to assume primacy over the full range of official relationships binding the United States to other nations, its personnel will need to concentrate on non-governmental levels of host country societies to a greater extent than has hitherto been regarded as part of the diplomatic function.

This can only be done by broadening the personal contacts of mission personnel to include youth, labor, intellectual and clerical circles at one end of the spectrum, and private financial, business and celebrity circles at the other. Investment patterns and currency transactions are especially important.

There is scarcely a society in the world where indicators of impending change are not visible in every comer—provided an embassy officer speaks the local language, keeps himself open to unofficial contacts, and spends some of his time with intelligent citizens instead of his bureaucratic counterparts.

—Charles Maechling Jr., from "The Future of Diplomacy and Diplomats," FSJ, January 1981



How Can the Foreign Service Remain Effective for the Next 60 Years?

In 1984 the Journal asked a group of prominent individuals for their thoughts on the future of the Foreign Service. Here are excerpts from a selection of responses from the November 1984 FSJ.

I can confirm your assumption that the Foreign Service is currently effective in the development and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. As we face the future, however, the big question is whether the Foreign Service will evolve as dynamically as the international environment in which it operates.

The key words for the future are high technology, multilateralism and economic interdependence. Bilateral relations will always be important; but most new problems overflow national boundaries and straddle domestic and international affairs. The complex issues of technology transfer, international debt and terrorism are current cases in point.

FSOs should consider broadening their horizons as much as possible. Assignments outside areas of specialization, outside the department and, indeed, outside of government will be extremely valuable to officers who will face difficult issues in the high-tech, electronically fused world of 2000 and beyond.

Increasingly, government will have to work closely with the private sector to achieve foreign policy objectives. The Foreign Service will have a unique role in bringing the best assets of both to bear on the continuous process of pursuing U.S. interests around the world. Foreign Service officers and specialists must expand their horizons to develop and maintain the necessary skills and intellectual mobility.

-George P. Shultz, Secretary of State

To remain effective for the next 60 years, the Foreign Service should strive to set ever higher standards of professionalism and dedication, and the Congress must encourage and help the Service in this quest.

The Service must seek constantly to increase the number of officers who speak needed foreign languages. More emphasis must be placed on achieving higher language skill levels and on maintenance of those skills.

The Service must recruit the best candidates—highly intelligent persons willing and able to serve under difficult and dangerous conditions abroad. But we must be willing to pay what it costs to attract and keep them. The Service must deal with the professional interests of its members' spouses. We do not want a Service of separated families—it would not be sustainable over the next 60 years or project adequately our American values of family and home.

Finally, each administration must responsibly choose only well-qualified political appointees. There have been many superb political appointees named for high State Department and ambassadorial posts, but others have not had the background or experience for the job. The Foreign Service has problems, but they are manageable. I am sure that the Service will improve upon its already distinguished record of dedication and achievement over the next 60 years.

> —Charles H. Percy, chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

In the years ahead, the Foreign Service must adapt to major additions to the diplomatic agenda. Our record in this is not good. Our traditional view of diplomacy as essentially political did not prepare us to assume roles in development and information in the postwar years. Our inability to convince others of our dedication to trade lost us the commercial function. Political leaders' doubts regarding our sensitivity to domestic currents have seen us bypassed in foreign policy.

Already we have many new agenda items: arms control, transfer of high technology, allocation of radio frequencies. Others lie ahead in potential conflicts over transnational data flow, the availability of positions in space, the impact of outer space development on national sovereignty and the implications of biotechnological innovations. The Foreign Service must begin to develop officers who understand technology and speak the language of the technicians. If not, others will replace us who can.

Perhaps only after one has been out of the Service for a few years does the awareness dawn of how isolated the Service is, immersed in its own pressures, concentrating on other societies, and rooted in the protection of traditions and turf. Presidents and political leaders may not wait for such a traditional service to catch up. They will look elsewhere for the help they need. It is time for the Foreign Service to prepare itself to be responsive to the needs of the future. —David D. Newsom, former under secretary for political affairs

One of the major recent changes affecting the Foreign Service is the heightened participation of Congress in foreign policymaking. I believe this trend will continue for the foreseeable future. In recent years, the Service's isolation from the legislative

domain has been breaking down. More and more mid-level

FSOs have served in exchange programs with the Congress and have become directly involved in congressional testimony. This enhanced contact and communication between two branches of our government means that future FSOs will have to be more than researchers, drafters of cables and policy papers, and able negotiators: They will have to become effective advocates of executive policies and programs. Selection and promotion procedures should reflect this new and added requirement.

Administrations, it is said, have varying programs and policies, but nations have permanent interests. The Foreign Service needs to develop public recognition of, and support for, its basic and continuing mission—which is to defend and promote the U.S. interest abroad, in the fullest sense of that term.

—Dante B. Fascell, chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee

One thing is certain: if humanity survives on this planet, political structures and foreign affairs will still be moved by people acting and reacting with each other. This is what the Foreign Service is about. Our people are our only asset, and we must devote increasing attention to them. We must increase our capability to understand and anticipate the changes that science and technology are bringing to human relations in finance, economics, politics and military affairs so that we can be ahead of the curve instead of frantically trying to catch up. We must also better develop our domestic constituency to give our citizens and political leadership confidence that our objective is the protection and promotion of the interests of this country in their largest and best sense. If we are successful, we should regain that primacy in foreign affairs under the president to which we should aspire.

-U. Alexis Johnson, former under secretary for political affairs

The problem, as I see it, is not what the Foreign Service needs to do to remain an effective force in the next 60 years, but what the United States government needs to do to the Foreign Service to give it that possibility. This, in my opinion, would be to return to the sound principles of the Rogers Act of 1924: to make the Foreign Service—a highly selected and unashamedly elite body of professionals, held to high standards of discipline, performance and deportment, but respected accordingly—a self-administering service, to be entered only at the bottom and by strict and impartial competitive examination.

The Foreign Service should not be confused with the various bodies of technicians and specialists that are involved in other capacities in the external relations of our government, and it should be quite immune to political manipulation. It would be desirable that it be regarded as the normal and primary, though not exclusive, source of appointment to ambassadorial positions and to senior positions in the Department of State, these latter to include, incidentally, the position (yet to be established) of a permanent under secretary of state, on the British pattern, wholly divorced from political affiliation or influence.

-George F. Kennan, retired ambassador

The Foreign Service has only one asset—its people. To remain effective over the next 60 years, more work must be done to maintain the current high-quality FSO corps. In the face of declining attractiveness of government as a career, the increasing role played by other agencies in foreign affairs, and the mounting personal disadvantages in living overseas, the Foreign Service must run harder to stay even. Not only must we address such issues as pay, benefits, and working conditions, including greater opportunities for working couples; but we must come to grips with the seemingly intractable obstacles to maximum performance during the last two decades: mission definition, a more rational allocation of personnel resources, and an organizational structure that clarifies lines of accountability and responsibility.

The good news is that foreign affairs is becoming more central to our country's interests, indeed even its very survival. The president can and should look to the Foreign Service as his instrument to orchestrate our foreign policy resources. No recent president has fully accepted us in this role, but future presidents may find the need overwhelming. Let's position ourselves to take advantage of the opportunity when it arises. The first priority is to get our own house in order.

> -Frank C. Carlucci, former FSO, chair, Commission on Assistance



Train to Deal with the World As It Will Become

The fundamental purpose of America's foreign policy is to protect our citizens, our territory and our friends. As we look ahead, we know that increasingly, this will require an effective response to problems that extend far beyond our borders. To function successfully in this

diverse, fast-paced and rapidly changing environment, we will need women and men trained to deal with the world not as it was, but as it is, and as it will become.

We will need people who can find the needle of information that counts amidst the haystack of data that do not. We will need people who can function in partnership with those from elsewhere in our government, in other governments and from the private sector. We will need people who can think and act globally—because that is what the American interests require. We must try to improve our record of recruiting qualified women and minorities.

Here at FSI, we will need more focused training in issues such as trade, climate change, refugee law and information management, while maintaining a high standard on cultural studies and language skills.

While so doing, we cannot and will not ignore the more traditional aspects of diplomacy. We will maintain our focus on key alliances and relationships around the world. But we also know that, in the future, our FSOs and other professionals will be asked to range far from the bargaining tables and communication centers of our largest embassies.

Today, the greatest danger to America is not some foreign enemy; it is the possibility that we will ignore the example of the generation that founded FSI; that we will turn inward; neglect the military and diplomatic resources that keep us strong; and forget the fundamental lesson of this century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended, will all too often come home to America. —Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, from "The FSO of Tomorrow," FSJ, May 1997

Resources for Diplomacy Have Become Inadequate

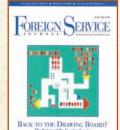
Diplomats will not be replaced by CNN, e-mail or telephone calls between political leaders. Human contact and informed analysis on the scene will remain essential to making and implementing foreign policy. The new international agenda will place greater premium than before on professional skill in cross-cultural communication, negotiation and coalition building.

Resources for diplomacy have become inadequate. For fiscal 1998, the Clinton administration has requested restoration of some cuts, but further reductions in subsequent years proposed by both the administration and Congress will, if enacted, cripple America's ability to promote its international interests. For budget purposes, diplomacy must be addressed for what it is: a central component of our national security.

The United States no longer confronts a superpower rival, but the issues faced are more frustrating, more technical, more diffuse. Americans will be concerned primarily with challenges that must be addressed by coalitions of nations, often in multilateral forums. Most of these issues are not susceptible to unilateral American action.

The mission of the Foreign Service will thus extend beyond its traditional responsibilities. Since the national interest calls for coherence and balance in foreign policy, another central role of the Foreign Service becomes clear: to coordinate and guide American specialists from a variety of agencies, and sometimes the private sector, in the international dimension of their work. In fact, foreign affairs experts will sometimes find they must mediate among conflicting domestic points of view to arrive at consensus on national positions.

> —William C. Harrop, from "The Future of the Foreign Service," FSJ, May 1997



The Professional Training Imperative

The zeal with which the Foreign Service constantly re-examines its structure and missions and reappraises its training needs honors our passion for our profession, but also makes it difficult to reach conclusions about how effective such changes have been over the years.

The most widespread method within the Foreign Service for imparting wisdom about how to do the job and pursue a career continues to be mentoring, whether conducted formally or simply through the example set by more senior officers.

This is famously illustrated by the story of Secretary of State Colin Powell, who spent more than 20 percent of his military career undergoing professional development that he found useful. When he asked his under secretary for political affairs, Marc Grossman, how much time he had spent in professional training over the course of his Foreign Service career, Grossman replied: "Two weeks, aside from language instruction."

While considerably more training has been added since this exchange, mentoring remains the core of our professional development. But that model has already begun to break down in the face of rapid personnel increases, and is manifestly inadequate for future needs.

As retirements continue and the influx of desperately needed new officers expands, we are at the point where almost two-thirds of Foreign Service officers have spent fewer than 10 years in the Service; 28 percent have spent fewer than five. We simply no longer have sufficient experienced officers to serve as mentors and trainers. And this reality will not be changed by mandates that each deputy chief of mission find time to mentor all entry-level officers at his or her post—an approach that increasingly resembles King Canute's orders that the sea withdraw.

> -Ronald E. Neumann, from "The Challenge of Professional Development," FSJ, May 2010

The Power of Decency and Diversity

The world is obviously an increasingly complicated place. Compared to the moment when I entered the Foreign Service in January of 1982, power is more diffuse in the world—there are more players on the international landscape. Diplomacy is no longer, if this was ever the case, just about foreign ministries and governments. It's about nongovernmental players. It's about civil society groups and private foundations, as well as the forces of disorder, whether it's extremists or insurgents of one kind or another.

And on top of all that, information flows faster and in greater volume than at any time before. So the challenges for professional diplomats are, I think, as great as I've ever seen them. But I continue to believe that our work matters as much as it ever has. Our ability to add value and to help navigate a very complicated international landscape in the pursuit of our interests, remains enormously significant.

That should be a source of pride, not just for our generation of Foreign Service officers, but for succeeding generations, as well. And, fortunately, as I speak to A-100 classes and to our colleagues around the world, I am continually struck by the quality of the people with whom we work. I'm impressed when I see the range of experiences in the A-100 classes, not to mention diversity of ethnicities and gender. I wouldn't say these issues have been overcome, because we still have a long way to go, but I think we're making progress. And that's important.

In my experience overseas, I've seen that we get a lot further through the power of our example than we do by the power of our preaching. When you see a Foreign Service that looks like the United States, and which is the kind of living embodiment of tolerance and diversity, I think that sends a much more powerful message to the rest of the world.

I think we're learning about how to serve in the often-disorderly world of the 21st century. We've still got a way to go. There's some hugely important issues, like how to manage risk. We've sometimes learned very painful lessons. There is no such thing as zero risk in the work that we do overseas.

We can't connect with foreign societies unless we're out and about. But making those judgments about what's a manageable risk, and what isn't, is increasingly difficult. So we're still wrestling with a lot of those kinds of challenges, as well. I do think we've learned a lot. As a Service, we're better positioned to deal with those types of challenges than was the case a decade or so ago.

> —William J. Burns, from "A Life of Significance: An Interview with Deputy Secretary of State William J. Burns," FSJ, November 2014

THE SERVER JOURNAL



America's Front Line

Since 2002, the Foreign Service has grown 42 percent, with 22-percent growth since 2008. (On a parallel track, State's Civil Service has grown 45 percent since 2002.) One-third of the Foreign Service now has fewer than five years of experience, and more than two-thirds have served or are now serving at hardship posts.

That earlier surge in hiring has now screeched to a halt, barely keeping pace with attrition. And the outlook is for continued fiscal tightness, even as we risk losing seasoned employees with exceptional experience and expertise to retirement, selectionout or resignation as the economy improves and large cohorts compete for a relatively static number of promotion opportunities at higher grades. The large intakes from the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative and Diplomacy 3.0 now confront the predictable tightening of promotion rates as the number of highergraded positions naturally tapers at mid- and senior levels.

We can predict with high confidence that over the next quarter-century, the world will continue to be a messy place that requires U.S. leadership. We can also forecast that more, not fewer, U.S. stakeholders will look to participate in foreign policy formulation and execution. That means we as a department must be much better managers, especially with regard to our talented employees.

The Foreign Service is America's front line. We are in the information business: identifying, analyzing, disseminating and making recommendations to prevent, preempt or solve problems. We are also in the networking business: identifying and cultivating programmatically influential people in all fields. And we are in the advocacy business: discussing, negotiating, persuading and convincing others to act with and for us. None of that will change.

At the same time, we know we are not the Foreign Service of 1950, 2001 or even 2010. We need the very best people: the ones who see past the horizon; who are curious, innovative, tenacious; who show initiative, judgment, resilience, adaptability and perseverance. We've always had those employees, but it's more important than ever to attract and prepare a workforce for the future, bearing in mind that such attributes are often best learned and honed through real-life experience.

—Arnold Chacón and Alex Karagiannis, from "Building a Foreign Service for 2025 and Beyond," FSJ, May 2015



Practicing Environmental Diplomacy

Early childhood experiences and a commitment to environmental stewardship served this diplomat well throughout his career.

BY TOM ARMBRUSTER

n my eighth-grade environment class, our teacher encouraged us to do field work rather than write a paper. I chose to work alongside and interview a Chesapeake Bay oysterman, who showed me how the oysters filter the water and explained the vital role they play in the bay's health. I also learned being an oysterman is cold, wet, hard work! A few years later, I worked on the charter fishing boat Breezin' Thru, where Captain Harry told me about the old days when he would see acres of fish feeding on the surface of the bay.

In the Marshall Islands they call such a feeding frenzy an *unok*. That simple word describes a natural phenomenon in which the big fish force the little ones to the surface, where they are then divebombed by seabirds. Seeing a healthy marine environment is one of the great joys on Earth.



Thomas Armbruster was U.S. ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands from 2012 to 2016, his last assignment before retiring after a 28-year diplomatic career. Ambassador Armbruster joined the Foreign Service in 1988 and served overseas in Russia (where he was the only U.S. diplomat ever to arrive by kayak), Tajikistan, Mexico, Cuba and Finland. He received

career achievement, meritorious and superior honor awards from the State Department, as well as an award from President Hilda Heine of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

Prior to joining the Service, Amb. Armbruster was a journalist with KGMB-TV in Honolulu and Hawaii Public Radio, as well as Maryland Public Television in Owings Mills, Maryland. His publications include a chapter in the book Inside a U.S. Embassy (FS Books, 2011) and articles in The Foreign Service Journal, State Magazine, Chesapeake Bay Magazine, Above and Beyond, OpsLens, The GeoStrategists and The Ambassadors REVIEW.



A Marshall Islands unok, or feeding frenzy, in progress.

Many environmentalists trace their awareness back to such youthful encounters with nature. The image of the *unok* and my experiences on the Chesapeake Bay stayed with me during my career as a journalist; then as an Environment, Science and Technology officer with the State Department; and through my service as U.S. ambassador to the Marshall Islands from 2012 to 2016.

Defining Moments

Former Marshall Islands Foreign Minister Tony deBrum had a far more dramatic defining moment. He grew up with whales, dolphins and all manner of marine life, but perhaps his most seminal experience came when he was just 5 years old. On March 1, 1954, he witnessed the Castle Bravo nuclear test, the first of 67 tests the United States would conduct on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. Tony said the flash from the blast was like seeing a second sunrise.

Tony deBrum died of cancer in 2017, but his environmental legacy lives on. He championed one of the world's largest shark sanctuaries; he crusaded against nuclear proliferation; and he was one of the leaders of the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris. There he led the "high-ambition coalition" of countries hoping to set strong climate change goals to keep sea levels from rising and swamping low-lying island countries like the Marshall Islands.

As the U.S. ambassador, I didn't always agree with Tony. But I loved hearing his stories of the old days. And, since I was there during the Obama administration, we had a common cause in climate change.

Still, what could I do from a small country so far away to support President Barack Obama's and Secretary of State John Kerry's climate agenda? Not much, I thought—until 2014, when a Finnish documentary filmmaker friend of mine, John Webster, asked if there was someone from the Marshalls he could interview for his next film. He planned to cover the United Nations Secretary-General's climate summit coming up in New York and mentioned that the U.N. was looking for a civil society speaker to address the heads of state. Could I recommend someone?

Booyah! I knew just the person—not Foreign Minister deBrum, since the U.N. was looking for a private citizen, but a young Marshallese poet named Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner. I nominated Kathy and sent in her 2011 poem, "Tell Them." The selection committee was reviewing submissions from more than 500 applicants, but as soon as they saw Kathy's work, the panelists wiped away tears and said, "We've found our speaker."

The poem Kathy presented at the climate summit, which she was still finishing the morning of the performance, was called "Dear Matafele Penem." Dedicated to her 6-month-old daughter, it brought world leaders to their feet and helped pave the way for the historic signing of the Paris Climate Accord a year later.

Tell **Them** By Kathy Jetřil-Kijiner

l prepared the package. for my friends in the states the dangling earrings woven into half moons black pearls glinting like an eye in a storm of tight spirals the baskets sturdy, also woven brown cowry shells shiny intricate mandalas shaped by calloused fingers Inside the basket a message:

Wear these earrings to parties to your classes and meetings to the grocery store, the corner store and while riding the bus Store jewelry, incense, copper coins and curling letters like this one in this basket and when others ask you where you got this you tell them

they're from the Marshall Islands

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show them where it is on a map tell them we are a proud people toasted dark brown as the carved ribs of a tree stump tell them we are descendants of the finest navigators in the world tell them our islands were dropped from a basket carried by a giant tell them we are the hollow hulls of canoes as fast as the wind slicing through the pacific sea we are wood shavings and drying pandanus leaves and sticky bwiros at kemems tell them we are sweet harmonies of grandmothers mothers aunties and sisters songs late into night tell them we are whispered prayers the breath of God a crown of fushia flowers encircling aunty mary's white sea foam hair tell them we are styrofoam cups of koolaid red waiting patiently for the ilomij tell them we are papaya golden sunsets bleeding into a glittering open sea we are skies uncluttered majestic in their sweeping landscape we are the ocean terrifying and regal in its power tell them we are dusty rubber slippers swiped from concrete doorsteps we are the ripped seams and the broken door handles of taxis we are sweaty hands shaking another sweaty hand in heat tell them we are days and nights hotter than anything you can imagine tell them we are little girls with braids cartwheeling beneath the rain we are shards of broken beer bottles burrowed beneath fine white sand we are children flinging like rubber bands across a road clogged with chugging cars tell them we only have one road

and after all this tell them about the water how we have seen it rising flooding across our cemeteries gushing over the sea walls and crashing against our homes tell them what it's like to see the entire ocean level with the land tell them we are afraid tell them we don't know of the politics or the science but tell them we see what is in our own backyard tell them that some of us are old fishermen who believe that God made us a promise some of us are more skeptical of God but most importantly tell them we don't want to leave we've never wanted to leave and that we are nothing without our islands.

Our country has the expertise and resources to lead in environmental diplomacy. We should.

Doing Our Part

In her poem, "Tell Them," Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner says: "We've never wanted to leave." That line refers to the evacuation of Bikini. Although King Juda of Bikini told the U.S. Navy, "It is in God's hands," the use of the Marshalls as a testing ground was a foregone conclusion. The U.S. government had determined that atomic testing was necessary for our national security during the Cold War, whatever the consequences for the islanders. Six decades later, the Marshall Islands faces a devastating threat to its national security, in fact to its very existence: inexorably rising sea levels. So it's time for the United States to help address the crisis instead of adding insult to injury.

Now, you could say that such a sentiment sounds like it's coming from an ambassador who has gone native. What do *we* care if sea levels rise a meter or two? But environment, science and technology issues truly are national security matters. After all, the Pentagon continues to keep an eye on climate change as a driver of conflict. Our country has the expertise and resources to lead in environmental diplomacy. We should. Environmental issues may not always get first priority, but they aren't going away.

Still, if you want hard-power reasons for acting to reduce the pace of global climate change, I can name two in the Marshall Islands alone. One is the Ronald Reagan Space and Missile Defense facility on Kwajalein, one of the jewels in the U.S. defense architecture. That's where intercontinental ballistic missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Base in California are tracked and targeted to land in the lagoon in Kwajalein. Those missiles deter North Korea and could be deployed in the case of hostilities.

The second incentive for us to act is the fact that the Runit Dome nuclear repository in the Marshall Islands could be swamped by rising seas. Runit is the concrete-capped dome that encapsulates nuclear waste from some of the tests. If seas rise, the dome could be swamped and release those materials. I do not think such an accident would be enough to endanger the world, as some alarmists have claimed, but it would clearly not be good. Such an outcome would represent yet another failure to secure nuclear material, a theme in the global nuclear legacy.

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U.S. Ambassador Tom Armbruster finds coral from a construction site in the Marshall Islands (below); and, with the help of a fellow diver, retrieves it for relocation elsewhere.

Further, the Marshall Islands is one of the main transshipment points for tuna, and its marine life is stunning. While scuba-diving all over the world, I've seen sharks, rays, turtles, barracuda and morays—but never in the abundance I saw during my four years in the Marshall Islands. Fish don't need passports, so improving the health of the global seas and giving future generations a chance to see these marine wonders has to be an international effort, with environmental diplomats working to find common ground.

Reasons for Hope

Fortunately, to be an environmentalist you really only need one credential: the desire to build a better future for the next generation. That goal poses real challenges, to be sure; but I'm optimistic, especially because young people get it. If the Parkland generation has taught us anything, it is that once they get hold of an issue, look out, world!

In addition, the climate change issue isn't going away, thanks to poets like Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner, statesmen like Tony deBrum and eighth-grade teachers all over the country.

I'm also optimistic because I've seen what the United States can do. As a polar affairs officer in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs in the department, I saw Washington take the lead in the creation of the Arctic Council, a now-powerful multilateral forum of all Arctic countries dedicated to the environment and indigenous issues. And as a nuclear affairs officer in Moscow, I worked on U.S. programs to safeguard Russian nuclear material and to take highly enriched uranium from Russian nuclear missiles and blend it into low-enriched uranium to burn in American nuclear plants.



And there is one more reason for hope. I've been to Bikini, the site of some of the most destructive nuclear bomb blasts ever conducted on Earth. And the marine environment there is thriving—enough so that the Discovery Channel went to Bikini in 2016 to film Shark Week's Nuclear Sharks program. Their crew was amazed by the hundreds of sharks they saw.

Nature can come back—if we let it, and if we each do our part. As Tony deBrum once said at the United Nations: "Each one of us is responsible for a drop of ocean. You take care of that drop, and he takes care of his drop, and she takes care of her drop, we can take care of the world."

AFSA NEWS THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

George F. Kennan Award Winner Announced



Former AFSA Governing Board member Josh Glazeroff, at left, and NDU Commandant Major General Chad Manske, at right, congratulate Kennan Award winner FSO Mark Fleming.

Every year, AFSA sponsors the George F. Kennan Strategic Writing Award, which is given to a Foreign Service officer and graduate of the National War College in recognition of the cumulative effort of his or her Individual Strategy Research Project and overall writing throughout the year at the college.

The award is presented at the National War College's distinguished graduate award ceremony at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C.

White House Chief of Staff John Kelly, a fellow alumnus and retired general, was the keynote speaker at this year's ceremony. Kelly emphasized the importance of staying connected with fellow classmates; as the premier interagency foreign policy thinkers, he said, their insights will be invaluable to graduates as they continue with their careers.

There were 20 members of the Foreign Service in the class of 2018, four of whom were distinguished graduates of the class.

The winner of this year's Kennan Award was FSO Mark L. Fleming. He was recognized for six of his papers, including his ISRP, which received best-in-class honors. He also received the Frank Traeger Award for excellence in writing from the National Defense University Faculty Alumni Association.

Mr. Fleming's papers were: • "A U.S. Approach to Defend the Rules-Based International Order in Ukraine"

• "The '4-D' (Deter, Develop, Delegitimize and Discuss) United States Approach to Russia"

• "A New U.S. Strategy to Curtail Pakistan's Support to Militant Groups"

"Domestic Factors
Behind U.S. Strategy Towards
Russia"

 "Strategic Environment Behind U.S. Strategy Towards Ukraine"

• "The Rationale For and Against U.S. Withdrawal from JCPOA"

Mr. Fleming's next posting will be as deputy director of the Pakistan Office in the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs. Prior to attending the National War College, he served as deputy political counselor in Islamabad. political-economic counselor in Zagreb, and director for Balkan and Caucasus Affairs on the National Security Council. He has also served in Pristina, Sarajevo and Yerevan, and on a provincial reconstruction team (PRT) in Ghazni, Afghanistan.

Mr. Fleming says his time at the National War College offered a unique opportunity to work closely with U.S. military officers and their interagency counterparts in analyzing the most complex national security challenges facing the United States.

CALENDAR

September 3 Labor Day – AFSA Offices Closed

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

September 9-13 AFSA Road Scholar Program Washington, D.C.

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

September 18 11:45 a.m.-1:15 p.m. Luncheon: Incoming USAID FSO Class

September 20 4:30-6:30 p.m. AFSA's Fall Happy Hour

September 23-27 AFSA Road Scholar Program Washington, D.C.

September 26 11:30 a.m.-2 p.m. "Everything You Need to Know about TSP"

September 30-October 5 AFSA Road Scholar Program Chautauqua, N.Y.

> October 8 Columbus Day – AFSA Offices Closed

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

October 17 12-1:30 p.m. AFSA Governing Board Meeting



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

Don't Be a Heather

One of my favorite movies of all time is the 1988 cult classic "Heathers," starring Wynona Ryder and Christian Slater as high school students with a dark side. The Heathers of the title role are a trio of bullies each named Heather who, while beautiful and popular, are cruel and vindictive to their peers and create a toxic school environment. Sound familiar?

When I joined the Foreign Service, we heard about the importance of good leadership in A-100. We also heard about how to manage "challenging" bosses, the ones who "move mountains for you, or on top of you" or the ones who "kiss up and kick down."

It took almost a decade in the Service, but when it was my turn to confront a bully boss, I created a "Heathers" subfolder on my computer in which to store all the nasty emails she sent my way, as well as notes documenting her unnecessary abuses.

I was lucky. I was eventually able to push back (with the help of the ambassador), and the inappropriate behavior toward me mostly ceased. Sadly, this Heather just turned her animus on others at post: a military attaché, a family member, a first-tour officer, etc. It wasn't easy to experience, or to witness, and it made me wonder: how do people like this get ahead in our Foreign Service?

This spring, as AFSA was negotiating with the department over the procedural precepts that instruct the Selections Boards on the promotion process, we scored a minor victory that could have a major impact down the road.

The boards were urged to pay close attention to employees who clearly demonstrate superior leadership and mentoring skills—in other words, those who truly care about the well-being of their colleagues and subordinates, enhance the work environment and encourage teamwork. Those who do will receive commendation following the promotion season.

After losing so many of our Foreign Service leaders during the past 18 months, we have a powerful opportunity to shape our senior ranks by paying close attention to the leadership attributes that matter.

Nicely spelled out in the precepts and the Foreign Affairs Manual, those attributes include things like a desire to collaborate, an interest in developing the next generation, the ability to manage conflict supportively and the talent to foster resilience.

Why did we push for this change? Because we're still hearing from members who are dealing with bad leaders and bully bosses who After losing so many of our Foreign Service leaders during the past 18 months, we have a powerful opportunity to shape our senior ranks by paying close attention to the leadership attributes that matter.

publicly belittle, humiliate and beat down those around them. They undermine, condescend and demean. They're bad for morale; and when morale suffers, productivity suffers. Without a doubt, things are better than they were years ago, but that's not our standard. We should aspire to be the best.

And we in the Foreign Service enjoy a special role: we ourselves determine whom to promote and whom to show the door. It's a massive responsibility, and as stewards of the Foreign Service, it's one we hold in the highest regard.

Asking the promotion panels to be on the lookout for top-quality leaders is a good first step, because it moves the right people to the top and sets them up as examples for the rest of us to follow. It shows the bullies that their tactics won't work. And if folks with superlative leadership skills and behaviors move up in our system, it will have a reverberating effect on our Service.

We're looking at ways to tackle the problem of bully bosses, and we want your input. We want to hear from those who have faced them, and those who've challenged them. Our EERs require impressing the rater and reviewer, which begs the question—how do we hear from those supervised by a bully boss? How can their input be incorporated into the bully's EER? We're interested in your ideas. Please send them to afsa@ state.gov.

Bullies rarely get positive results. Instead, they face staff curtailments, low morale and disgruntled employees. We're looking for ways to tackle the problem because we want State to be the best place to work, and to be led by the best, so that we can do our best for the American people.

I've always said that AFSA is here to make State a little kinder, and I stand by that. As Wynona Ryder's character says (after she knocks off one of the Heathers), "I just want my high school to be a nicer place. Amen." I bet we all want the same for our State Department. So whatever you do, don't be a Heather.



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FCS VP. Contact: Matthew.Hilgendorf@trade.gov, | (202) 623-3821

Five Things I've Learned

BY MATTHEW HILGENDORF, FCS ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE

Many of you watched the World Cup in July from the various time zones in which you found yourselves. It was an exciting three weeks of surprise victories by small teams, shocking early exits by traditionally strong teams and the use of a new video review system called the Video Assisted Referee that allows referees to consult a replay in real time to award fouls and penalties.

There is no shortage of good sports writing describing the passion and excitement of this sporting event. I particularly enjoy the format that starts: "Five things we learned ..." As in: "Five things we learned about Belgium in its victory over Japan."

In that spirit I offer you five things that I've learned about the Commercial Service as your AFSA representative.

We are small but mighty.

With a budget of just over \$300 million and approximately 1,500 people, we are a small agency by any standard. But our footprint is immense—we cover the world and all 50 states with our foreign and domestic fields. We call on Locally Employed staff to support us in far-flung foreign markets, and we rely on domestic trade specialists across the United States and headquarters staff in the nerve center located in the monolithic Department of Commerce building at 1401 Constitution Ave. Our team brings specialized export counseling to more than 33,000 companies each year.

We are relevant mostly.

Trade promotion remains important, despite increased attention to protecting U.S. industries through tariffs and restrictions on imports. However, our story does not grab the headlines, so we need to work extra hard to continue to demonstrate our value to the U.S. economy in an environment where domestic remedies are being used as a tool for job retention and creation.

Offense is the best defense.

Despite the current focus on protecting U.S. industry from imports, there is simply no getting away from the reality that U.S. companies need to export to survive. Exporters pay higher wages on average than non-exporting companies, and benefit the economy by bringing in revenue from outside the country. Exporters are the goal scorers in the national economy, and we in the Commercial Service are their coaches and trainers.

Here's a real-world example. During a recent Senate hearing on trade policy,

Companies depend on us to evaluate commercial environments and call "fouls" when we see them.

Senator Pat Roberts (R-Kan.) invited the Secretary of Commerce to contact one of his constituent companies to hear firsthand the negative effects of steel tariffs on his business. As a manufacturer of components for the export market, this company was being crippled by the increase in the cost of steel inputs. It turned out that the company was a long-standing client of the Commercial Service; their representatives had just returned from Ukraine, where they enjoyed our support at a tradeshow.

This company wants to play offense, but it can't play offense if the country is playing defense.

We either grow or shrink.

The 2018 budget for the Commercial Service appears to be in line with previous years. Unfortunately, a flat budget is, in real terms, a reduction in a time of rising fixed costs. That is why AFSA FCS Vice President Dan Crocker and I have been talking to congressional appropriators about increasing the budget by \$50 million to grow our presence and allow us to assist more U.S. businesses, particularly in developing markets in Africa and Asia.

We are the VAR.

Just as last summer's World Cup teams benefitted from the Video Assisted Referee, companies depend on us to evaluate commercial environments and call "fouls" when we see them, whether in the form of non-tariff barriers, corruption or unfair competition.

We have the resources and the expertise to make these judgment calls, and every time we do this we level the playing field just a little more. No one else in the public or private sector is so keenly focused on this function and staffed to perform it.

As I leave the AFSA FCS representative position to head out on a new assignment, I am grateful to have had the opportunity to work with FCS VP Dan Crocker to fight for the interests of the FCS officer corps on the Hill, at headquarters and within the AFSA Governing Board.

Matthew Hilgendorf is leaving the AFSA Governing Board to move on to his new posting in Rome. We thank him for his service and wish him well in Rome.

RETIREE VP VOICE | BY JOHN NALAND



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

Threats to Retirement Benefits

The Trump administration and Republicans in the House of Representatives recently re-proposed a series of major cuts to federal retirement benefits that were contained in the president's Fiscal Year 2019 budget request.

In addition to various benefits reductions aimed at current employees, some proposals would apply to current retirees: eliminate or reduce cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) to federal pensions, reduce the annual yield of the Thrift Savings Plan's G Fund (U.S. Treasury bonds) and eliminate the annuity supplement for retirees under age 62.

What are the chances for passage of any of these proposals this year? It seems unlikely that Congress will prioritize action on benefits cuts in an election year. Even if the House advances legislation, final passage seems unlikely in the Senate, where 60 votes are required to approve most legislation.

What are the chances for passage of benefit cuts in the next few years? We will know more after the Nov. 6 elections, which could either boost or reduce the ranks of the congressional supporters of benefit cuts. In the latter case, significant benefit cuts would be unlikely before the 2020 elections.

What are the chances for passage in the next 10 years? No one knows the answer to this, but our nation's large and persistent federal budget deficits will likely keep the pressure on to cut expenditures, including spending on retirement benefits.

Other proposals for benefit cuts—such as reducing the government's share of federal retiree health care premiums—could be advanced for consideration.

What is AFSA doing to protect your earned retirement benefits? AFSA is a member of the Federal-Postal Coalition made up of 30 organizations including the National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association, the Senior Executives Association and the large Civil Service unions. Our nation's large and persistent federal budget deficits will likely keep the pressure on to cut expenditures, including spending on retirement benefits.

The Federal-Postal Coalition represents 2.7 million federal employees and 2.6 million federal retirees. It actively lobbies Congress in opposition to benefits cuts. AFSA participates in its monthly strategy meetings and co-signs coalition letters to Congress.

What can you do to protect your benefits? Maintain your AFSA membership in retirement—your dues help support the association's congressional advocacy efforts. Donate to AFSA's Political Action Committee (www.afsa.org/afsa-pac). Monitor major developments, which are reported in AFSA's emailed Daily Media Digest, digital Retiree Newsletter and this column. Write to your representative and senators urging them to oppose cutting the benefits you earned over a long, challenging career.

REA/WAE Coordinator Information: An Update

AFSA is pleased to share online the most recent Bureau Coordinator List updated in late May—for the Re-Employed Annuitant (REA/WAE) program, which the Human Resources Bureau's Shared Services Employment Programs Section kindly provided to AFSA.

Secretary Mike Pompeo recently lifted the hiring freeze at State, so now is a good time for retirees to inquire about REA/WAE opportunities. The list is available on our website at www.afsa.org/retiree in the "Re-Employed Annuitant Program" section.

HRSS implemented a new centralized registry of annuitants in 2013, which hiring managers can use as a tool when searching for qualified and experienced employees to fill a temporary need. HRSS nonetheless underscores that it is critical for annuitants to network directly with bureau coordinators when seeking positions.

A wealth of information about the REA/WAE program, including a fact sheet and a May 2016 article, "Playing the REA Game—FS Work in Retirement," is available at www.afsa.org/retiree. Please direct any questions about the centralized REA/WAE program to HRSEU@state. gov.



The Power of High Expectations

Early in my Foreign Service career, I was an economic officer in Liberia. Part of my job was to keep tabs on U.S. businesses, some of which owned large rubber tree farms in central Liberia. I will never forget the pride on the face of the general manager of a mediumsized U.S. latex shipping plant when he gave me a tour of the farm and briefed me on his business operations.

The company's grounds were organized and spotless, its business practices transparent. It paid its workers fairly and the company benefits were better than most of its competitors. The company was doing well—due to the AIDS crisis, demand for latex gloves was high. The general manager, Ken, was extremely competent and had a great way with people—and it showed.

Later that year, civil war broke out in Liberia. The economic section operated in crisis mode, which meant our priorities shifted to getting Washington the most up-to-the-minute information on Charles Taylor and his rebel army and to protecting American lives and property. As Taylor's soldiers marched south toward Monrovia, we constantly checked in with our companies to get situation reports and to get help to them if needed.

Many of Liberia's expatriate companies were closing facilities and drawing down as fast as they could ahead of the rebel advance. I remember talking to Ken one chaotic afternoon, and the first thing he expressed to me was how worried he was about his workers and their families. The company tried to protect as many as they could, but Taylor's forces were gaining strength. I was impressed by his concern—but I wasn't surprised. His leadership and management abilities were on par with those of the best of American businesspeople.

At the end of my Foreign Service career, I was the head of the Sanctions Office in the Economic Bureau. Many U.S. companies were reluctant to engage with Treasury, so it fell to State to brief and consult with representatives of U.S. businesses that were attempting to comply with U.S. sanctions in their overseas business dealings.

One of the observations we consistently made to the company reps was that in the case of sanctions—a prime tool of U.S. economic power our businesses were our full implementing partners. Without our businesses operating according to the law, we would have holes in the sanctions regime, and our foreign policy goals would not be met.

It's worth reflecting on the role of U.S. business in projecting America's power, interests and values and to understand that our relationship with U.S. companies goes both ways. We have their backs—we help them navigate Beyond basic market access, our companies need a well-functioning commercial legal system, regulatory transparency and a level playing field.

difficult political and economic environments, and we go to bat for them when they are not treated fairly.

But we need them, too. U.S. businesses provide us with valuable reality checks on how foreign governments are operating in the economic and political space; they are our primary implementers of policies like sanctions; and when our businesses adhere to best practices-when they operate transparently, when they treat their workers fairly-they foster a great impression of the United States and set examples for others to emulate.

Beyond basic market access, our companies need a well-functioning commercial legal system, regulatory transparency and a level playing field. The absence of any of these can kill a deal. American companies need to know they won't have to take bribes, which are prohibited under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and the many versions of the FCPA that now exist around the world.

Members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Council for International Understanding tell us their overseas contacts are looking for American investment—both to benefit from U.S. best practices and as a counterweight to other potential partners, including the Chinese. U.S. companies, while not perfect, have track records of changing the environments they are in for the better. Foreign partners know our companies must, at a minimum, adhere to the FCPA, and they expect our companies to do a lot more.

That's part of the reason AFSA wants to get more officers into the field. We want to help American companies compete—and win—on a level playing field. It's up to the Foreign Service to keep looking for opportunities to remind potential government and private-sector partners what U.S. companies have to offer.

I know from long experience seeing U.S. companies operate that their transparency, fair dealing and best practices raise expectations-company expectations, public expectations and, in the best cases, the expectations their foreign governmental partners place on themselves. Promoting best business practices through promoting American companies is a mission our members can be proud of-using the power of high expectations to burnish America's brand and to boost our prosperity.



Congressional Funding—The Long Game

I am happy to have joined the AFSA team as the director of congressional advocacy after nearly five years of working for the U.S. House of Representatives. As a former Capitol Hill staffer, I hope to bring a useful perspective on how to promote understanding of the Foreign Service and appreciation of its vital role to members of Congress and their staffs.

In my first months at AFSA,

Congress has seen a busy

summer leading up to its annual August recess period.

This spring, the advocacy team turned its focus to appropriations and worked to safeguard Fiscal Year 2019 State Department and USAID funding, helping to overcome the threat of a \$4 billion cut resulting from a decrease in spending for Overseas Contingency Operations (known by its acronym, OCO) in the 2018 Bipartisan Budget Act.

In an environment where

AFSA President Attends USGLC Summit



AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson and Lieutenant Ben Maddox, a Navy JAG and U.S. Global Leadership Coalition state leader from Texas, at the USGLC State Leaders Summit on June 18 at the Washington Grand Hyatt. USGLC is one of AFSA's key strategic partners in our outreach efforts across the United States. Summit attendees received a Capitol Hill briefing regarding the international affairs budget and participated in a speaker series on why leading globally matters locally.

The message was clear: Our trained and experienced diplomats are ready and able to deliver high-value diplomacy for the American people.

so many differing priorities competed for scarce discretionary funding, AFSA was pleased to see the base budget raised by \$4 billion to compensate for the loss of OCO. This is a big win!

However, Congress and its leadership continue to debate FY 2019 funding options as the end of FY 2018 draws near, making the possibility of a continuing resolution ever more likely.

Under a continuing resolution, funding would remain at FY 2018 levels, and we would not see FY 2019 funding go into effect until the passage of a comprehensive FY 2019 annual appropriations package. The timeline on this is long and uncertain.

The advocacy team also highlighted for members of Congress the need to restore our core diplomatic capability, emphasizing a field-forward U.S. Foreign Service in embassies and consulates abroad. AFSA made the case that, at a time when China is increasing its diplomacy budget, the ongoing operations of U.S. diplomatic programs cannot be shortchanged.

The message was clear: Our trained and experienced diplomats are ready and able to deliver high-value diplomacy for the American people, and that starts with allowing more of them to serve in positions overseas where they can have the greatest impact.

We disseminated this message through meetings and correspondence with the Hill, making members of Congress aware of what reinforcing this critical American presence abroad could do—from promoting the rule of law to creating framework improvements that would enable American companies to compete on a level playing field—and win.

Over the next few months, AFSA's advocacy team is continuing to develop and implement a long-term strategy leading up to the 116th Congress. With the retirement of some key champions on the most important congressional committees for AFSA, the advocacy team is focused on building relationships with those expected to succeed current chairmen and ranking members.

There are rare opportunities that come with a large, incoming freshmen class of new members of Congress, and AFSA is preparing to seize them.

Settlement of Implementation Dispute Protects AFSA Right to Attend Formal Meetings

tive bargaining

In April, the State Department settled an implementation dispute filed by AFSA in December 2017, in which AFSA maintained that the department failed to notify the union of meetings taking place between



Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan

the Bureau of Medical Services (MED) and "bargaining unit" members of the Foreign Service concerning conditions of employment issues.

Both AFSA's collec-

agreement with the department and the Foreign Service Act require that the union be provided reasonable notice of formal discussions between the department

the department and bargaining unit employees

(i.e., members of the Foreign Service) regarding "conditions of employment," as well as the opportunity to be present at these meetings.

When concerned members alerted AFSA that

COMMON SENSE GUIDE TO CODELS

If there is one thing we hear repeatedly from members of Congress, it is that their experiences meeting members of the Foreign Service in the field leave a profound impression.

In the June 21 Senate Appropriations Committee hearing on the Fiscal Year 2019 State and Foreign Operations budget, Senator Lindsay Graham (R-S.C.) talked of having "traveled throughout this world" and then called members of the Foreign Service "heroes in their own right." The committee then voted 31-0 in favor of fully restoring funding for State/USAID and increasing funding for core diplomatic capability.

Never underestimate the importance of your work supporting visits of congressional delegations to post.

Because summer is prime CODEL season, AFSA released its "Common Sense Guide to CODELs" in June. This short guide offers our members ideas for how best to manage the CODELs that visit your posts. You can find the guide at: http://bit.ly/GuidetoCodels. AFSA's collective bargaining agreement with the department and the Foreign Service Act require that the union be provided reasonable notice of formal discussions between the department and bargaining unit employees.

MED was organizing such a town hall on Nov. 14 for employees who were medically affected after being exposed to unknown elements in Cuba in the fall of 2016, the union notified the department of its wish to participate; but the request was denied due to privacy concerns.

AFSA requested to attend this meeting to better understand the processes and procedures concerning insurance coverage eligibility for medical costs associated with these incidents, and to gather information on how employees who depleted their leave as a result of required extended medical care would be treated by the department.

To settle this dispute, the department agreed to provide notification to major bureaus—including MED, Diplomatic Security and the Career Development and Assignments Office—of their obligation to notify AFSA of any formal meetings with employees in which issues concerning or relating to personnel policies or practices or other general conditions of employment would be raised. In formal meetings with MED, AFSA will participate via phone to ensure attendees' anonymity.

Through this settlement, AFSA believes it has now addressed a major concern regarding the department's obligation under the law. Messaging to key bureaus in the department will help foster a lasting awareness of AFSA's right to proper notice in appropriate circumstances.

AFSA will continue to press the department for the opportunity to attend formal discussions where matters concerning conditions of employment are or may be raised. For us, what is important is that we can continue to represent the concerns of members, to speak for those who cannot and to advocate strongly for the Foreign Service.

> —Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan Esq., Labor Management Counselor

RETIREE CORNER

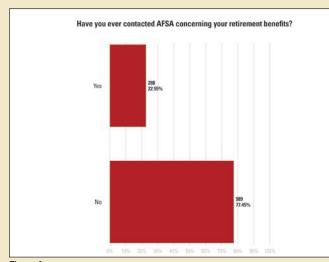
The Results Are In: AFSA's Retiree Survey

Retirees are a critical AFSA constituency. The AFSA retiree engagement survey, conducted in May, allowed us to gather actionable data to improve the breadth of services we offer our retired and soon-to-be-retired members.

Thirty-seven percent of you completed the 10-question survey, providing insight on programming and information AFSA can offer to retiree members and those nearing retirement to both assist and empower decision-making.

The first few questions of the survey were aimed at understanding when and why AFSA retiree members reach out to AFSA for help in navigating their retirement benefits. The first question asked: *Have you ever contacted AFSA concerning your retirement benefits*? The results (see Figure 1) showed that 22.6 percent of all respondents had contacted AFSA concerning their retirement benefits. Respondents who indicated that they had not contacted AFSA about retirement benefits were asked: *If you have not contacted AFSA concerning your retirement benefits, please tell us why not* (see Figure 2). The majority answered that either they have never had an issue with retirement benefits (71.9 percent of respondents) or had found the answer themselves (18.6 percent).

Retiree members who indicated in the first question that they had contacted AFSA concerning their retirement benefits were asked: When you have contacted AFSA about your retirement benefits, please tell us what your issues concerned. The top three retirement benefit issues for which members reached out to AFSA were Federal Employee Health Benefits (26.9 percent), Medicare Part B (22.2 percent) and survivor benefits (20.4 per-



cent). "Other" was also a top selection (23.3 percent) and many of the typed responses included questions on annuity calculation.

The fourth question asked: Which of the following AFSA benefits do you find useful to you as a retiree? (see Figure 3). The Foreign Service Journal was selected by 83.5 percent and email communications from AFSA by 82.5 percent of all respondents as the most useful AFSA benefits. The annual Retiree Directory was selected by 72.8 percent of respondents as a top member benefit. AFSA's advocacy on Capitol Hill was selected by 47 percent of respondents. The results from this question paint a clear picture—retired Foreign Service members maintain a keen interest in their profession and look to AFSA as a vital resource for staying informed and up to date.

The 15.1 percent of respondents who selected "retirement benefits counseling" were asked a follow-up question: *How valuable is it for AFSA to provide one-onone counseling on retirement benefits*? Almost 70 percent answered "extremely valuable," while almost 30 percent answered "somewhat valuable."

Three questions sought to understand how retiree members use existing AFSA benefits. When asked "Have you attended an AFSA-sponsored event either online or in person in the in the last year?" 25.7 percent of respondents said yes. The main reason for not participating was, unsurprisingly, location, with 72.2 percent of respondents selecting "I live out of the area" in response to the question, "If you have not attended an AFSA-sponsored event either online or in person please tell us why."

Other responses included: "nothing has grabbed my interest" (28 percent); "unaware of events" (6.8 percent); and "mobility issues" (4.3 percent).

Finally, AFSA wanted to understand "which AFSA resources are most helpful for learning about retirementrelated information."

While the bimonthly AFSA Retiree Newsletter was selected as the most helpful by 71.6 percent of respondents, coverage of retiree issues in *The Foreign Service Journal* was selected by 66.8 percent of respondents and email communications from AFSA on benefit updates was selected by 60.7 percent. The AFSA website and the Retiree Directory were selected by approximately 35 percent of respondents.

Finally, in an effort to better understand the interests of our members, we included two open-ended questions. The first asked: "What, if any, additional retiree member benefits would you like AFSA to offer as your professional association?"

We received 247 responses that ranged across various AFSA programs including advocacy, policy, communication, membership and outreach. This feedback has been organized and categorized so that appropriate staff can consider each suggestion.

Because many of our retiree members live across the country and around the world, AFSA has looked to expand opportunities for participation by offering online programs. The final question of the survey was openended, asking participants to share their ideas for subjects they would like to learn about. We received 583 suggestions.

The survey provided valuable insight into the interests of our retiree members, allowing AFSA to look at areas where we can enrich or expand what we offer members.

Communication is critical to our retiree members, who see AFSA as a key resource for staying up to date on advocacy and policy issues affecting the Foreign Service, information on retirement benefits and professional insight and analysis on the Foreign Service as an institution.

The survey results will be a continued source of information to inform AFSA's program planning and have already resulted in the following programs and resources:

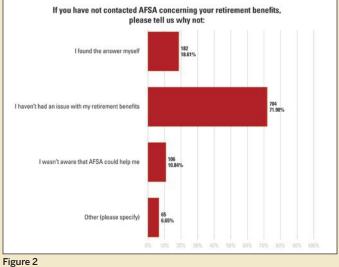
Webinars. On June 27. in a webinar titled "A View from Washington," AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson detailed the advo-

cacy work AFSA is doing at the national level and answered member questions. Based on the demonstrated demand for advocacy updates and webinar participation, AFSA is committed to providing regular webinars and advocacy alerts with requests for action when needed. The next webinar is tentatively scheduled for October.

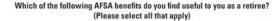
Benefits Counseling. The survey results helped us improve our retirement benefits counselor position. In addition to serving as a resource for members who may need one-on-one assistance navigating retirement benefit questions or issues, the retirement benefits counselor will engage with strategic partners to offer our members the most relevant and up-to-date information on their retirement benefits through our publications, website and programs featuring expert presenters.

Federal Benefit Series. We have scheduled presentations on two of the topics most frequently mentioned in the survey results. On Aug. 23 Paula Jakub, CEO of the American Foreign Service Protective Association, gave an updated version of her popular presentation on the coordination of FEHB and Medicare. On Sept. 26, Randy Urban from the Federal **Retirement Thrift Investment** Board will provide a comprehensive overview of the Thrift Savings Plan.

Post-Retirement Employment/Logistics. In our ongoing efforts to make







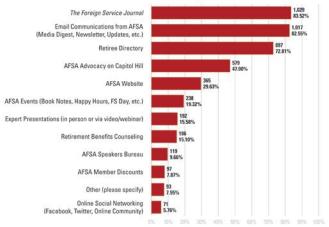


Figure 3

information easy to find, AFSA uploaded the most recent bureau coordinator list for the REA/WAE program from the Human Resources Bureau's HR Shared Services Employment Programs Section.

In addition, AFSA staff reached out to the department's Transportation Office to ask for up-to-date guidance on two issues that are often confusing: How to plan your

final move before retirement, and how to go about submitting that final travel claim. Visit www.afsa.org/retiree to access these resources and other helpful information.

We thank our retiree members for their enthusiastic participation in this survey. AFSA staff is hard at work putting your feedback into action.

AFSA Welcomes New Retirement Benefits Counselor

AFSA is pleased to welcome Dolores Marie Brown as our new retirement benefits counselor. She joins a membership team that is highly focused on retiree needs and services, and her knowledge and experience will play a vital role in this area going forward.

Dolores recently retired from the Foreign Service after a 33-year career. She therefore has very recent experience with the retirement process, the Job Search Program and the many questions and challenges that come with transitioning into retirement.

Dolores is available for one-on-one conversations with retired AFSA members. In addition, her portfolio includes fostering relationships with subject matter experts and other resources, writing retiree-focused content for AFSA's publications and the AFSA website, developing programs and webinars of interest to retirees and members who are close to retirement, and engaging with the Foreign Service Online Community.

Dolores joined the Foreign Service in 1985 as a management officer and retired with the rank of Minister Counselor earlier this year. She started as a general services officer in apartheid South Africa; other past assignments included deputy director of the Operations Center responsible for the Watch; deputy chief of mission in Tallinn; the first State Department deputy of the Terrorist Screening Center, established after 9/11; management counselor in

Cairo; and deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations.

Dolores has a bachelor's degree in Russian area studies from Barnard College and a master's degree from the School of International Affairs at Columbia University, again focusing on Russian history and politics.

She is a four-time recipient of the Superior Honor Award and also received the Director's Award from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for her work founding the Terrorist Screening Center. Her late husband worked for Agence France-Presse, and was known for his reporting



Dolores Marie Brown

during the waning years of apartheid. She has two grown sons, Richard and Will.

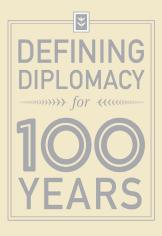
Ms. Brown is available at brown@afsa.org and (202) 944-5510. She will be in the office on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 9 a.m to 5 p.m.

Join the FSJ Centennial Celebration

Please join The Foreign Service Journal Centennial Celebration by snapping a photo of yourself (or a friend or family member) reading the Journal wherever you are-the more distant from D.C., the better! Photos should be 1 MB or larger if possible. In the sample here, FS family member June Appel peruses the FSJ at a market in Entebbe, Uganda. Send submissions to journal@ afsa.org, and please include details about yourself and the photo location and date.



FS family member June Appel peruses the Journal at a market in Entebbe.



2018 Scholarship Program Update



Some of the 2018 scholarship winners are pictured here at the July 13 ceremony. From left to right: Benjamin Toyryla (accepting award for Alexander Toyryla), Asa Nugent, Christian Beckmeyer, Liam Webster, Clara Matton, Svenya Braich, Yasmin Ranz-Lind, Leah Kleinberg, Hannah Feeken, Sophia Nichols and Emmaline Calhoun.

The AFSA scholarship program is an important program for our members with college-aged dependents. This year we were pleased to be able to give \$129,000 in merit awards-nearly triple the amount we gave last year. AFSA gave out 41 awards this year honoring 36 students (some were multiple award winners-read about the winners in the July/August 2018 issue of The Foreign Service Journal), up from 24 students last year. Each winner received an award ranging from \$1,000 to \$3,500, which is an increase from the \$500 to \$2,500 range last year.

How did we do it? We significantly reduced our administrative overhead costs, allowing us both to give out more merit awards and to give them in more significant amounts.

As we move into the 2019 scholarship program year, we will continue to improve the application process. We completed an online survey of this year's 181 applicants and our 29 volunteer judges to get their views on what areas we should focus on for improving the application process, and we received excellent feedback. Thank you to all those who participated.

In partnership with the AFSA Scholarship Committee, our new scholarship program coordinator, Theo Horn, was instrumental in facilitating the 2018 scholarship program, from judge training to applicant communications to award notification. Theo has been on the AFSA staff for more than a year and we are pleased that he has moved into this role. Theo has a bachelor's degree from Syracuse University and a background as an analyst and congressional campaign finance associate. He can be reached at scholar@afsa.org.

Want to Know More?

Scholarship coordinator Theo Horn addresses the 2018 winners.

Visit www.afsa.org/ scholar for up-to-date information on the scholarship program. In addition, we are pleased to make our promotional postcards and advertisements available to you if you wish to share information about AFSA scholarships with colleagues at post or others in the Foreign Service community.

AFSA Welcomes New Governing Board Members

Several of our Governing Board members have left Washington, D.C., for onward assignments overseas. We thank them for their service and welcome our newest members of the AFSA Governing Board.



Jeffery Austin APHIS Representative

Jeffery Austin joined the Foreign Service in 2005. He recently relocated to Washington, D.C, for an assignment at USDA's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service headquarters. His most recent overseas

assignment was as the area director for the APHIS International Services office in San Jose. Prior to that, Jeffery served in Haiti, South Africa and Kenya. He is responsible for the technical/scientific, sanitary and phytosanitary side of import/export regulations of agricultural trade between Central America and the United States. Additionally, he works to identify emerging animal and plant pest and disease issues within the Central American region and works with the respective countries to develop surveillance and mitigation measures.

Jeffery has a bachelor's degree in botany from Arizona State University and a master's degree in administration from Fairleigh Dickinson University.



Karen Brown Cleveland State Representative

Karen Brown Cleveland began her career with the Department of State in 2003. Currently, Karen is a supervisory special agent serving as the deputy regional director for Africa in the High Threat Programs Direc-

torate within the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. Prior to that, Karen served as the deputy regional security officer in Nairobi, Kenya. She previously served as the assistant special agent-incharge in the San Francisco Field Office. She also served on the protective detail for Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in the New York Field Office and at U.S. embassies in Riyadh, Beirut and Baghdad.

Karen holds a bachelor's degree in history from Oakwood University. She is married to Jeffrey Cleveland, and they have one daughter. Karen has a strong commitment to customer service and believes her skills, dedication and enthusiasm will benefit AFSA members. She is excited about joining a team that has a tremendous reputation in the Foreign Service and the department.



Don Jacobson State Representative

Don Jacobson joined the Foreign Service in 1992 and did his first four tours overseas in Ciudad Juarez, Seoul, Bogota and Guadalajara, followed by three domestic assignments in HR/CDA, CA/EX and FSI/SPAS/ CONS. He then served as consul general

in Riyadh and New Delhi and Minister Counselor for Consular Affairs in both Brazil and Mexico. He has been director of Central American affairs in WHA since 2016. Don has devoted much of his discretionary energy over the years to improving the practice of leadership at State and played a role in the Consular Affairs Bureau's leadership initiative and iLead.

Don filled a vacant spot on the AFSA Governing Board during 2017 but did not run for a full term because of the demands of his job in WHA. Don will become associate dean of FSI's Leadership and Management School this summer and is eager to support AFSA's efforts to strengthen the Foreign Service during this challenging time. Don is married and has three children (ages 21, 15 and 14).



Deborah Mennuti State Representative

Deborah Mennuti is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service. She currently serves as the director of the Office of Analysis for Europe in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and

Research. She previously served as deputy principal officer of Consulate General Istanbul; political counselor in Belgrade; and chief of the political-economic section in Almaty and then Astana, Kazakhstan.

Since joining the department in 1993, her other overseas assignments have included Moscow, Athens and Seoul. In Washington, she has served as an assessor with the Board of Examiners, the special assistant to the assistant secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, and the France desk officer in the Office of Western European Affairs. She is married to fellow Foreign Service Officer Jonathan Mennuti. They have one daughter.

An AFSA member since 1993, Deborah is eager to give back to the organization that has done so much for the Foreign Service. She is particularly interested in advocating for the hiring levels and resources needed to ensure that the Foreign Service can continue to serve as America's first line of defense, as well as in tandem and family issues.



Roy Perrin State Representative

A career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Roy Perrin joined the Office of Central American Affairs as deputy director in 2016 and helps lead implementation of the U.S. strategy for Central America to combat illicit trafficking, illegal immigration and

transnational crime. He was formerly deputy consul general in Erbil, leading efforts to degrade and defeat ISIS. Roy previously served as chargé d'affaires, acting deputy chief of mission, and counselor for political, economic and narcotics affairs at U.S. Embassy San Jose, as an economic and labor officer at U.S. Embassy Beijing and as acting consul general in Chengdu. He has also served in Caracas and Bangkok, and in the State Department's Operations Center Crisis Management Office.

Roy was the 2011 recipient of the U.S. Department of State's Award for Excellence in Labor Diplomacy for his work in China, and he has received four State Department Superior Honor Awards. A native of New Orleans, La., Roy earned a bachelor's degree in engineering from Vanderbilt University and a J.D. from Tulane Law School, serving as editor-in-chief of the *Tulane Maritime Law Journal*. Prior to entering the Foreign Service, Roy practiced law in California and Louisiana. He is married to Michele Perrin, who also works for the State Department, and they have one daughter, Isabel.

An active member of AFSA, Roy filled a short vacancy on the Governing Board as an entry-level officer. He has been an AFSA post representative at three overseas missions, and in 2002 AFSA awarded him its achievement award for leading efforts to resolve problems associated with the department's implementation of a new salary scale for incoming officers.



Lillian Wahl-Tuco State Representative

Lillian Wahl-Tuco joined the Department of State in 2006 as a consular-coned Foreign Service officer. She is currently serving as a Pearson Fellow on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, minority staff.

Lilly has served on award committees, employee association boards and as a Federal Women's Program coordinator during her overseas assignments. She also helped launch the first FAST (first and second tour) program in Paris.

Lilly's passion for work-life issues motivated her to launch Balancing Act in 2011 with several other FS and CS colleagues to help the department modernize its work-life policies—including in such areas as flexible work arrangements, telework, parental leave, child care and elder care issues. In addition, Lilly was an AFSA Governing Board member from 2012 to 2014. During that time, she successfully helped secure programs such as the voluntary leave bank, backup care and job-share reform, among other things. Lilly is part of an FS-CS tandem and the mother of two children. Lilly joined EUR/PD in August, where she covers Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

Lilly believes that AFSA needs to support and advocate for a strong Foreign Service—especially as hiring and promotions slowed down. She also wants to support AFSA efforts on diversity and gender issues and continue to be an advocate for work-life reforms that are a win-win for both employees and the department. She believes her experience as a Pearson Fellow and her congressional contacts will prove to be valuable assets to AFSA.



The Journal Welcomes New Editorial Board Members

Several Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board members transferred to posts overseas this past summer, so we've welcomed new members to the team. These members were approved during the last round of Editorial Board candidate selection.



Alfred "Fred" Boll has been a Foreign Service officer since 2003, when he joined the 115th A-100 class as a political officer. He is currently posted to the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs as EducationUSA branch chief, where he leads the department's global network of educational advising centers that promotes U.S.

higher education in 180 countries and territories.

Fred has served in Lisbon, Amsterdam, Pristina and Rio de Janeiro, and as deputy director in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration's Office of International Migration in Washington. He has a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago, J.D. and master's degrees from the University of Wisconsin, and a doctorate in international law from the University of Sydney. Before joining the Foreign Service, he taught international law and was a delegate and legal adviser for the International Committee of the Red Cross for 10 years, based in Jakarta, Hong Kong and Sydney.

Fred is the author of various articles on international humanitarian law and nationality in international law, including a study of law and practice related to multiple nationality in 75 countries, "Multiple Nationality and International Law," published by Martinus Nijhoff-Brill in 2007.



Harry Kopp spent 18 years in the Foreign Service, from 1967 to 1985. His assignments included economic counselor in Warsaw, deputy assistant secretary of State for international trade policy and deputy chief of mission in Brasilia.

After leaving government service, Harry worked as a consultant and lobbyist, first as

a founding partner of L.A. Motley and Company, then as a sole practitioner. Among his many clients were Anheuser-Busch International, the National Cotton Council, the Brazilian Poultry Exporters Association and the Sugar Alliance of the Philippines.

Harry is the author of three books: *Commercial Diplomacy* (Academy of Diplomacy, 2004); *Career Diplomacy* (with coauthor Charles Gillespie, Georgetown University Press, 2008) and the updated 2017 edition (with co-author John Naland); and *Voice of the Foreign Service: A History of the American* Foreign Service Association (AFSA/FS Books, 2015). He has written for *The New York Times* and is a frequent contributor to *The Foreign Service Journal*. He won the 2012 Goldenberg Prize for Fiction from the *Bellevue Literary Review*.

Harry is a graduate of Hamilton College and Yale University. He lives in Baltimore with his wife, Jane.



Alexis Ludwig, an Editorial Board member for the past year, has assumed the role of chair of the board. A career member of the Senior Foreign Service from California, Alexis joined State in 1994 as part of the 70th A-100 class. His first tour was as vice consul in Guatemala City. He then served as political-military officer in Tokyo, Indo-

nesia desk officer in the State Department and human rights officer in Kuala Lumpur.

His career has focused largely on Latin America, with tours as deputy economic-political counselor in La Paz and political counselor in Lima, Buenos Aires and Brasilia. Alexis returned to Washington in 2016 to serve as a career development officer in senior level, where his responsibilities included supporting the DCM/PO and D Committees. He begins his next assignment as deputy permanent representative at the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States this summer.

Before the Foreign Service, Alexis worked as a freelance writer and translator. He has a master's degree in East Asian studies from the University of Washington and a bachelor's degree in literature from the University of California, Santa Cruz. Alexis is married to Guatemala native Carolina Linares. His sons, Sebastian and Santiago, are competitive swimmers who attend Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Maryland.



Karen Brown Cleveland, a newly selected member of AFSA's Governing Board, has been elected as the Governing Board's liaison to the Editorial Board. You can find her biography on p. 68.

The *Journal* staff would like to thank outgoing board members Eric Green and Lawrence Casselle for their service. Eric is heading to Warsaw as deputy chief of mission, while Lawrence is heading to Baghdad.



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, June 20, 2018

Awards and Plaques Committee: It was moved that the Governing Board create a new AFSA award named "The Foreign Service Champions Award" to recognize individuals (neither current or former members) who have made a significant contribution to the Foreign Service. The motion was adopted.

Elections Committee: The following individuals were appointed to the Elections Committee, effective July 15, 2018: Nan Fife, chair, State; Candice Bruce, FAS; Michael Riley, State; Jorge Dulanto-Hassenstein, USAID; Linda Caruso, FCS; Mort Dworken, Retirees.

Committee Membership and Appointments: Lillian Wahl-Tuco was appointed to the membership committee. Deborah Mennuti and Karen Brown Cleveland were appointed to the Minutes Approval Committee. Alexis Ludwig was appointed chair of the Editorial Board of *The Foreign Service Journal*. Karen Brown Cleveland was appointed as Governing Board liaison to the *Journal*.

Board Appointments: The following individuals were appointed to the Governing Board: Jeffery Austin, APHIS; Lola Gulamova, FCS alternate (effective July 18).

AFSA Hosts Networking Happy Hour



Attendees gather at AFSA's June Happy Hour.

On June 28, AFSA hosted a networking happy hour at its D.C. headquarters. The happy hour was a great opportunity for AFSA members to socialize and for nonmembers to learn about AFSA's role in promoting the message of the Foreign Service. AFSA is planning another happy hour on Sept. 20. Your \$5 entry fee includes one ticket for wine or beer; non-alcoholic beverages and light snacks will also be served. Please join us to celebrate the back to school season and to catch up with your friends and colleagues.

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BOOKS

What Diplomacy Can Achieve

Peacemakers: American Leadership and the End of Genocide in the Balkans *James W. Pardew, The University Press of Kentucky, 2018, \$39.95/hardcover;*

\$24.99/*Kindle, 424 pages.* Reviewed By Ross Johnston

Ambassador James Pardew's *Peacemakers* is a practically minded story of the "efficient and successful" series of U.S. interventions in the Balkans following the breakup of the former Yugoslavia.

Taking place at the height of American power in the unipolar moment following the collapse of communism, Pardew's story surely differs in context from the debate Americans are now having on fundamental questions about our role in the world. It is, however, a powerful argument for what diplomacy can achieve and provides detailed and useful advice on how to make diplomacy and development successful.

Pardew played a remarkable role in the U.S. interventions in the Balkans beginning in 1995, and his involvement drives the book chronologically. He first served on Richard Holbrooke's negotiating team in the Dayton process and led the train-and-equip program for the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation's armed forces following the signing of the Dayton Accords. After Bosnia, he was involved in the U.S. intervention in Kosovo and then led the talks to end ethnically driven violence in Macedonia, which culminated in the Ohrid Agreement.

Throughout, Pardew tells a story filled with the details of U.S. policy development, politics inside the U.S. government and with European partners, and negotiations that finally ended the violence. For an insider memoir of U.S. diplomacy, Pardew's book is an easy read. His largely unadorned and clear prose, and occasional use of lists and bullet points are effective in helping the reader situate endlessly shifting policy and negotiating positions in the complex history of the Balkan wars in the 1990s.

What sets this book apart from the crowded field of memoirs written about the Balkans in the 1990s is Pardew's focus on the mechanics and practicalities of how U.S. policy succeeded in the Balkans, particularly the series of negotiations from Dayton to Rambouillet to Ohrid.

Pardew offers straightforward, sound advice on everything from managing the media to how to leverage foreign surveillance to your advantage in a negotiation. This is useful instruction for a new generation of U.S. diplomats faced with today's conflicts.

This memoir offers useful instruction for a new generation of U.S. diplomats faced with today's conflicts.

This is a book about Americans and American power in the Balkans; the countries of the former Yugoslavia and their locales, characters and cultures are not the stars of this show (although Slobodan Milosevic comes closest). Those looking for in-depth information about the Balkans are advised to look elsewhere. With such a unique front-row view of history, one wishes, however, that Pardew had included more of his personal experience, or observations about the people and places he encountered along the way.

In Pardew's view, the U.S. intervention in the Balkans set the ex-Yugoslav countries on the path to becoming members of the European Union and NATO. Several countries have achieved that goal. For the remainder, this claim deserves to be examined skeptically.

The majority of *Peacemak*ers is dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nearly 23 years after the Dayton Peace Accords were signed, some of the same issues Pardew touches on, but does not examine in depth,

have become central problems for Bosnia and U.S. policy towards it. Corruption, which Pardew identified as the main threat to the train-and-equip program he ran, remains a profound threat to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its future in Western institutions.

So, too, does the concept of citizenship based on the collective identity of ethnicity that was enshrined in the Dayton constitution and remains the bedrock of Bosnian politics. Most glaringly in Bosnia, but also throughout the region, there are profound political and societal problems that lead many to worry whether these

countries will ever succeed in their quest for integration into Western institutions. But in the midst of war and the threat of further violence, that was not Pardew's mission.

Set against today's concerns, the lives saved and the peace created in the Balkans by U.S. intervention are facts. Pardew's story is one of remarkable success that deserves to be studied today.

Ross Johnston is a Foreign Service officer who previously served in the Political section of U.S. Embassy Sarajevo. He currently works in the Department of State's Executive Secretariat. The author is writing in his personal capacity, and his views do not necessarily reflect those of the U.S. government.



Shining Much-Needed Light

Raising the Flag: America's First Envoys in Faraway Lands

Peter D. Eicher, Potomac Books (an imprint of the University of Nebraska Press), 2018, \$36.95/hardcover, \$31.93/ Kindle, 416 pages. **REVIEWED BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY**

Faithful readers of The Foreign Service Journal-particularly its FS Heritage department-may recognize at least a few of the 12 names profiled in Raising the Flag: America's First Envoys in Faraway Lands. I'm thinking of Samuel Shaw (Chapter 1), James Cathcart and William Eaton (Chapter 2), and Joel Poinsett (Chapter 4), in particular.

democracy to foreign rulers. Many suffered physical threats from tyrannical despots; some were held as slaves or hostages; and others led foreign armies into battle. Several of them died overseas or not long after returning home.

During his own diplomatic career, Mr. Eicher-who previously published Elections in Bangladesh, 2006–2009: Transforming Failure into Success (United Nations Development Program, 2010) and "Emperor Dead" and Other Historic American Diplomatic Dispatches (iUniverse, 2012)-specialized in

It is remarkable how successful most of these diplomats were, at least in terms of achieving their immediate, short-term objectives-and how little credit they received.

no better example of that injustice than

Edmund Roberts (Chap-

ter 5) and David Porter

instructive examples of

(Chapter 6) are especially

this tendency. Both envoys

likely were unintended, such as

Overall, however, it is remarkable

how successful most of these diplomats

were, at least in terms of achieving their

immediate, short-term objectives-and

how little credit they received. There is

requests to kowtow.

In addition, depending on where your Foreign Service career has taken you, you may have heard at least passing mention of some of the other figures during area studies courses at the Foreign Service Institute. But most of them have languished in obscurity (well-deserved in a few cases, I believe) for two centuries or more.

So the Foreign Service, along with anyone interested in U.S. history, owes a substantial debt to retired FSO Peter D. Eicher for conducting the prodigious research, much of it drawn from primary-source materials, required to shine a light on these men and their work representing the United States in Asia. Latin America and the Middle East so long ago. (I just wish he had included an index, particularly given that several of these figures reappear in later chapters.)

Early U.S. envoys routinely faced hostile governments, physical privations, disease, isolation and the daunting challenge of explaining American

political affairs, particularly human rights, conflict resolution and international organizations.

But he is also highly knowledgeable about economics, which is crucial to understanding U.S. diplomacy during its formative years.

As Raising the Flag documents, early American envoys focused almost entirely on promoting U.S. exports and protecting American sailors and merchants all over the world.

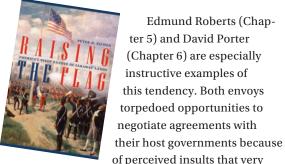
Their European counterparts were, of course, doing the same, but had the twin advantages of already being well-established in countries like China and being more comfortable utilizing what we would recognize as traditional diplomacyincluding the artful use of bribery.

In contrast, several of these American diplomatic pioneers suffered from debilitating inferiority complexes, and spent more time and energy striving for status, recognition and wealth than carrying out their actual missions.

the one Eicher uses to close his book: "Shimoda and the Shogun: Townshend Harris and the Opening of Japan."

If you're like me, you probably did a double take when you saw that name instead of Commodore Matthew Perry's, but I came away utterly convinced that Harris (along with his right-hand man, Henry Heusken) deserves the lion's share of the credit for establishing, and nurturing, U.S.-Japan ties. It is a remarkable saga that has to be read to be believed-as is the rest of Raising the Flag.

Steven Alan Honley, a State Department Foreign Service officer from 1985 to 1997, and editor-in-chief of The Foreign Service Journal from 2001 to 2014, is a regular contributor to the Journal. He is the author of Future Forward: FSI at 70-A History of the Foreign Service Institute (Arlington Hall Press, 2017).



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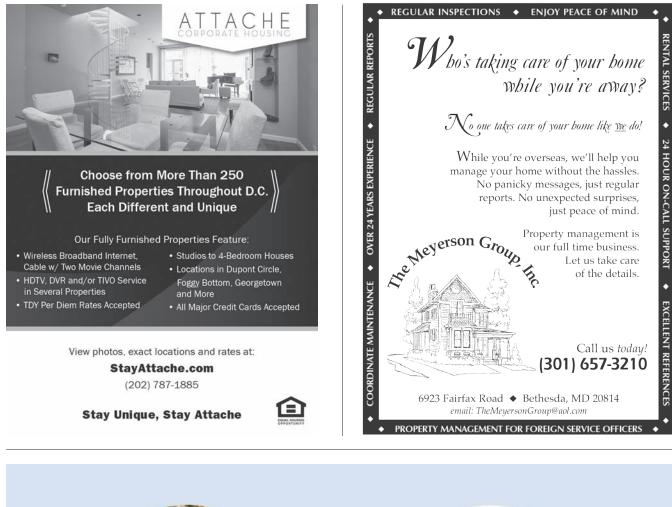
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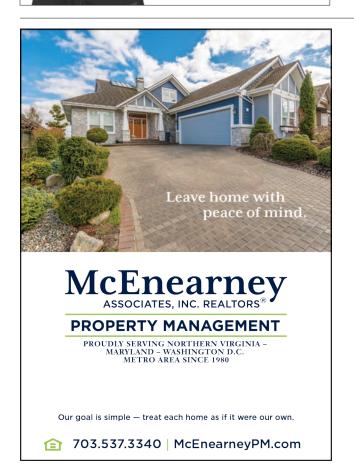
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Being There: Camp David, 1978

BY FRANK FINVER

ere's a map. Pack clean underwear, because you might need to stay overnight." So I was instructed a couple weeks after starting my internship with the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., as a postgraduate student at American University. And so it was that on Sept. 5, 1978, I was driving north toward Thurmont, Maryland, into the Catoctin National Park.

I waited in a small, mountaintop parking lot with a snoozing Israeli general in the passenger seat from noon until dusk, when a white U.S. Navy sedan pulled up and a voice said simply, "Follow me."

We came to an entrance with the iconic wooden "Camp David" sign illuminated and waited some more. I sensed some movement and faint rustling nearby and then spotted camouflaged Marines combing the woods for intruders. (They would later apprehend a number of infiltrators, who possibly had malign intent.)

For the next 12 days I shuttled bodyguards and principals around and ran



Frank Finver joined the State Department (Passport Office, then Public Affairs) in 1982 and the Foreign Service in 1987. He is currently serving

as public affairs officer in Warsaw, after overseas assignments in Zagreb, Moscow, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Baghdad and Lisbon. He has also served in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, and the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs in Washington, D.C.

A white U.S. Navy sedan pulled up and a voice said simply, "Follow me."

assorted errands from 5 a.m. to 2 a.m., when I returned down the mountain to the Hagerstown Holiday Inn for a few hours of sleep.

All was going well until the morning a large and compulsive security agent named Doron insisted on driving, and proceeded to greatly exceed the strict 10-mph limit—just as Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and his party were taking their pre-dawn stroll nearby.

The red-faced camp commander sprang into Doron's window, forcefully explaining that should he opt to drive again on the premises, he would be on the next flight home.

3

We were setting up our trailer offices (I still have the wooden Israeli delegation sign in my attic) when Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan dropped by to chat and pose for pictures, courtesy of Moshe Milner of *Time* magazine.

Milner spotted Prime Minister Menachem Begin walking around and coaxed me to approach him, which I did.

Me (in Hebrew): I read your book. Begin (also in Hebrew): Which book? Me: *The Revolt*.

Begin: Did you fall asleep while reading it?

Me: Of course, I mean no!

(He later visited our trailer and borrowed my book, *Foreign Policymaking in the Middle East*, co-authored by R.D. McLaurin and my professor, Mohammed Mughisudin, which gave me another excuse for delaying my exam.)

3

On the evening of the second day, everyone turned out at the parade grounds between the field house and the helo pad, where the U.S. Marine Drum and Bugle Corps played a medley of "New York, New York," "I Believe" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

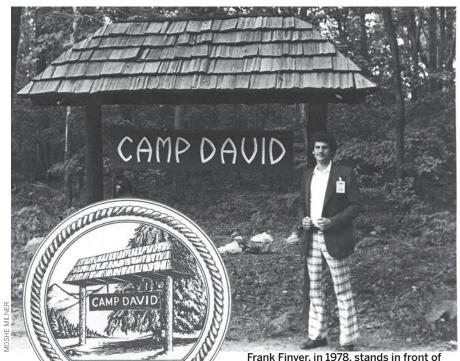
Then—with President Jimmy Carter, President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin standing stiffly at attention on a reviewing stand—the Marine Silent Drill Team put on a remarkable show of dexterity and precision by twirling, tossing and catching their weapons (with fixed bayonets) in rapid succession. Impressive as it was, the martial display was a tad incongruous for a peace conference; but I guess Peter, Paul and Mary were not available.

The next evening, Sept. 8, the Israeli delegation, joined by the Carters and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, gathered for Shabbat dinner at Hickory Lodge. Spirits were high—lots of singing, eating and joking.



One morning I went to see Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann, who was not feeling well and resting in his cabin.

"Who's there?" Weizmann called out in Hebrew as I tried to quietly enter.



"They asked me to check on you," I answered.

"You're a bloody Yank, huh?" he said. "Hand me that goddamned bottle of cognac. Only thing that helps with this cold!"

Later in the week, I heard that Weizmann made quite a scene while leaving a screening of the graphic World War II film "Patton." He had dramatically launched his crutches (he had been in a car accident in Israel) into the bushes, exclaiming: "That [carnage of war] is what we can expect if we don't reach an agreement!"

20

After a few days of running errands, reading, playing basketball with the Marines, I drove a site advance team 45 minutes down the hill to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. We reviewed the battlefield site for a VIP visit the following day, which President Carter conducted with minimal assistance from a Park Ranger.

the Camp David sign at the entryway to

the mountain facility.

Even on the weekend, it was business as usual for the delegations; but tension was palpable as rumors circulated on Saturday, Sept. 16, that Sadat was packing his bags. Late that evening, I strolled up to our parking area, where some colleagues sat grim-faced in a semicircle around a TV placed under the stars on this warm night.

To my delight, "Saturday Night Live" was on, and Garrett Morris, Dan Aykroyd and John Belushi were masterfully portraying Sadat, Carter and Begin.

Suddenly Carter's top aides, Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, approached, and I briskly fetched more chairs and a couple of Budweisers. Soon they, too, were guffawing with delight.

Sunday was eerily quiet, with failure and despair in the air. Time had flown by, but now seemed stopped; and Camp David seemed confining. That, however, changed instantly late Sunday with a burst of activity.

"Frank, we're leaving. Go check Birch in case Begin forgot something."

I saw that Prime Minister Begin had left his hat, coat and some notes (but not my book). I gathered his stuff and began to run toward a large Marine helicopter preparing to lift off.

Klieg lights burst on as I neared the spot, blinding me and casting Begin and company in silhouettes, from which the PM spoke: "Thank you. Will you be joining us in the helicopter [ride to the White House]?"

"No, he'll meet us there," someone answered for me.

I was soon flying down the mountain and toward D.C. in my embassy sedan, the Israeli security chief snoring next to me. The signing ceremony was broadcast on the radio.

"The first document that we will sign is titled 'A Framework for Peace in the Middle East," President Carter intoned. "[It] is quite comprehensive in nature, encompassing a framework by which Israel can later negotiate peace treaties between herself and Lebanon, Syria, Jordan ... (and) provides for the realization of the hopes and dreams of the people who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and will assure Israel peace in the generations ahead."

President Sadat spoke of the "spirit of Camp David," and Prime Minister Begin called it unprecedented, "a unique conference, perhaps one of the most important since the Vienna Conference in the 19th century.



A relaxed moment at Camp David: Moshe Dayan (center) with Susie Maltzmann, secretary to Israeli Ambassador to the United States Simcha Dinitz, and an Israeli security guard outside the Israeli delegation's office/communications trailer.



President Anwar Sadat, President Jimmy Carter and Prime Minister Menachem Begin clasp hands happily at the White House ceremony where the Framework for Peace in the Middle East and the Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel were signed on Sept. 17, 1978.

3

Six months later, on March 26, 1979, I put my raincoat down (á la Sir Walter Raleigh) on the damp White House lawn and sat with some staffers from the Egyptian embassy. We were there to witness the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty after long talks between the parties at Blair House, the Madison Hotel, back at Camp David and in Egypt.

This was the high-water mark of Middle East peacemaking—and my diplomatic career—to that point. Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin (and later Jimmy Carter) were awarded Nobel Peace prizes. Sadat was killed three years later; and Begin fell into the Lebanon trap, lost his beloved Aliza and died in 1992.

That same year I would stand in the backyard of the residence of our ambassador to Israel for the Fourth of July event, winding up my second tour as a U.S. Foreign Service officer.

The Persian Gulf War had been won the year before, and the Labor Party had just beaten Likud. I found myself standing between the victors, Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Shimon Peres and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, to whom I offered congratulations and best of luck for the future. They and President Bill Clinton would give it their best.

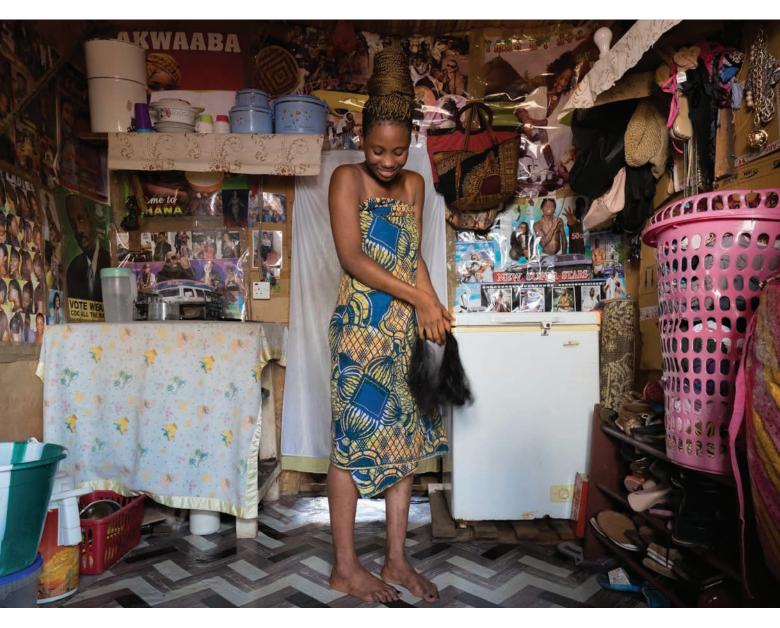
A quarter century later, the Middle East is still in turmoil, and the Palestinians are still waiting for their freedom. But at least major warfare between Israel and Egypt has been rendered obsolete, and waging peace was shown to be possible for a bright, shining moment on a mountaintop in Maryland 40 years ago.



The three leaders stand at attention during the U.S. Marine Drum and Bugle Corps concert and drill team performance at the Camp David parade grounds on Sept. 7, 1978.

LOCAL LENS

BY JAMES TALALAY 📕 FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE



uring a photography workshop in Freetown, Sierra Leone, we visited a shantytown neighborhood called Kroo Bay where there was plenty of dynamic, everyday life. A great example is this young woman, a hair-dresser. She was kind enough to pose, lowering her head so her fine work was visible. The photo was taken with a Fujifilm X-T10 camera, xf 10-24mm lens, at 13.8mm, 1/30sec, f4, iso 1600.

James Talalay is married to Public Diplomacy Officer Sarah Talalay. They have served in Chennai, Vilnius and are currently posted in Kuala Lumpur. You can see more of James' work at jamestalalay.com, and read about the couple's Foreign Service adventures at hellotalalay.blogspot.com.

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