

# THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

OCTOBER 2018



## COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL CRIME

### CONFESSIONS OF A RECENT RETIREE

#### JESSICA'S JOURNEYS



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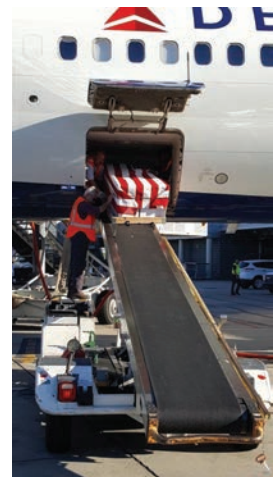


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**On the Cover**—Today crime knows no borders. Photo: iStockphoto.com/scyther5. Below: The sundial dedicated to Jessica El Bechir in Embassy Rangoon's garden. Photo: Hannah Dufford.

# Taking Stock

BY BARBARA STEPHENSON

**A**t this time of year—summer transfer cycle wrapping up, new school year beginning, Jewish New Year approaching—I spend time reflecting and taking stock, looking back at the previous year to prepare to make the most of the next one.

The next one will be a big year for me—my last year as AFSA president. When my second term ends July 15, 2019, I will pass the baton to a new president and Governing Board elected in the spring by you, the members of AFSA.

What do I hope to pass on to that new president and Governing Board? For starters, a strong American Foreign Service Association—one with good governance, sound finances and an unprecedented base of support from members. While it is too early to declare victory and rest on our laurels, I thank AFSA's members for taking us to a recent critical milestone: an all-time record high for membership.

The one metric I present at each AFSA Governing Board is a membership snapshot. I do that because nothing indicates the health of our organization as clearly as that single metric. And I do that because it helps remind all of us at AFSA that we are ultimately—and directly—accountable to you, the members.



This milestone—record-high AFSA membership—is all the more remarkable given that the Foreign Service as a whole is smaller

than it was in April 2017, when AFSA set its previous membership record.

Former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in June 2017 that he planned to cut the Foreign Service at State by 4 percent. A year later, that stated goal had largely been reached—with the number of Foreign Service officers and specialists at State down by well over 3 percent.

In taking stock, the loss of Foreign Service talent is hardest to accept. But we now see signs of rebuilding, of restoring the strength of the Foreign Service. Congress not only fully restored funding but gave clear direction to resume hiring, and that is cause for celebration.

We celebrate every time we can welcome a new class for lunch at AFSA headquarters, as we did three times in August: the “Resurgent 194th” A-100 class; an FS specialist class; and a Consular Fellows class. And we look forward to welcoming additional classes—including another large A-100 class and a USAID class—in the weeks ahead.

Many of us remember what a disaster it was to slash new-entry hiring during the 1990s. We can now register relief and gratitude that the recent hiring freeze has been lifted and we are bringing in the new members of the Foreign Service who will sustain our country's global leadership in the decades to come.

**I thank AFSA's members for taking us to a recent critical milestone: an all-time record high for membership.**

How did we generate the support that made renewal and rebuilding possible? In our ongoing effort to help fellow Americans understand what we do and why it matters, we have made real progress.

Please take a moment to read the AFSA News section, including the report on AFSA at the Chautauqua Institution. When the Foreign Service is invited to occupy such a prime speaking slot—which has welcomed Supreme Court Justices and former U.S. presidents—that is a watershed moment.

At that one event, we were able to share with more than 3,500 fellow Americans what diplomats do and why it matters. Thousands more viewed the event online. We are reaching more people in more ways than ever before.

This year we can take pride in AFSA's success making the connection between our work—the enduring platforms we build and operate around the globe—and U.S. global leadership, which is, I remind you, supported by well over 90 percent of Americans.

It is easy to be distracted by what divides us as Americans. I encourage all of us, as we prepare to make the most of the year ahead, to build on what unites us. And maintaining America's global leadership—for which we in the Foreign Service bear such central responsibility—unites us. ■

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

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# Borderless Crime

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Illicit trade, human trafficking, wildlife trafficking, drugs and arms trade, cyber crime, piracy, counterfeiting, money laundering—these illegal transnational activities do not stop at borders.

They grow in scope and impact as the world gets smaller, as globalization creates a world where crime can no longer be stopped by border posts, ports and checkpoints. Transnational crime today is more sophisticated and more dangerous and so much of it is virtual, hidden in dark ungovernable corners of the web.

Wherever it originates, the impact of transnational crime is felt at home in the United States. The U.S. Foreign Service is and must be at work doing battle against transnational crime, from Washington and from U.S. missions around the world.

This is our focus for October. Professor Louise Shelley offers the 30,000-foot view in “Illicit Trade and Our Global Response,” arguing that U.S. efforts must be broad and cross-cutting, requiring cooperation across borders, expertise and specializations.

Jim Nealon describes his work on the “Place-Based Strategy” in Honduras, where he served as ambassador from 2014 to 2017. This initiative, which helped to reduce the homicide rate in

three pilot communities, shows how going to the local source of a problem can help mitigate the pull of illegal migration.



Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.

DS Special Agent Kai Fornes describes how an enhanced criminal gang vetting program helps block legal travel to the United States by gang members from the Northern Triangle of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

Turning to wildlife trafficking, Lara Rall of World Wide Fund for Nature—South Africa offers a look at this complex problem and how the USAID-supported Khetha program is tackling it. We also hear from Representative Ed Royce (R-Calif.), sponsor of the END Wildlife Trafficking Act, on the national security implications of this problem.

In FS Know-How, Dolores Brown shares “10 Things I Wish I’d Known: Confessions of a Recent Retiree.” This is news you can use.

Elsewhere, Ambassador (ret.) Leslie Bassett tells the story of the tragic death of beloved FSO Jessica el Bechir, and how in the aftermath, in grief and tribute, the FS community came together as family.

FS family member Nicole Schaefer-McDaniel reflects on “Making It in Mongolia” for the Family Member Matters column.

And FSO Alexis Ludwig takes on Arlen Specter on the squash court at Embassy Guatemala City circa 1996. Our parting shot this month is from Niger.

Please be in touch. Send your letters, Speaking Outs, articles and story ideas over to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org). ■

## Pull Up a Chair...

and get ready to spend some quality time with our November issue.

- “In Their Own Write” will highlight books by FS authors. This year your colleagues wrote novels, academic tomes, children’s books and more.
- Are you a writer? You’ll enjoy “Coming Into Their Own (Write),” a look at a longstanding writer’s group for FS women.
- Check out our survey of new books related to the field of diplomacy.

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## Civil Society Credibility Gap

How ironic that the authors of “Supporting Civil Society in the Face of Closing Space” (May *FSJ*) referenced a CIVICUS report that identifies 13 countries as having fully open civic space—but did not identify those countries or note that the United States is not one of them. While they prescribed ways to open civic space, their own country shamefully is closing it.

Why would we be surprised that other countries look askance when policies the United States promotes abroad are not being exercised at home? I’m disappointed that the *FSJ*’s editors did not challenge such blatant hypocrisy.

*Rex Moser*

*FSO, retired*

*Santa Barbara, California*

## Shortcomings in DS Remain

On June 15, the Government Accountability Office reported thus: “At the request of Congress, GAO reviewed the status of all open recommendations we made to the Department of State ... in 2015 and 2016. During that period, we made 132 recommendations to State and USAID. As of June 7, 2018, of the 82 recommendations made to State, 37 (about 45 percent) were still open, and 10 of those were priority recommendations.

“Of particular concern are: GAO-15-700, Diplomatic Security: State Department Should Better Manage Risks to Residences and Other Soft Targets Overseas; and GAO-17-124, Diplomatic Security: State Should Enhance Its Management of Transportation-Related Risks to Overseas U.S. Personnel.”



The full report can be viewed at: [www.gao.gov/assets/700/692560.pdf](http://www.gao.gov/assets/700/692560.pdf).

While AFSA’s push for added State funding may be commendable, experience has shown that the case must first demonstrate that the existing funding is being both effectively and effi-

ciently utilized. The long-outstanding GAO findings and recommendations suggest otherwise.

Since the department accepted the findings and recommendations for implementation, an earlier AFSA delegation that met with senior DS staff was surprised to hear them deny that the GAO findings existed and show no interest in acting on the recommendations.

In December 2014, an AFSA update cable reported: “Most strikingly, six out of seven survey respondents noted that it is important for AFSA to be at the table when the department makes decisions that impact employee security or exposure to risk.” Unfortunately, that has not taken place.

AFSA has among its “Labor Management Responsibilities” (for details visit [www.afsa.org/afsa\\_labor\\_management\\_responsibilities.aspx](http://www.afsa.org/afsa_labor_management_responsibilities.aspx)) at least two significant options to follow in formally raising the matter of diplomatic security as it pertains to GAO findings and recommendations.

The first and most important option is to raise the GAO recommendations as a “Mandatory Bargaining Subject,” which covers such items as “policies related to the work environment.” Under this category, respective agencies must negotiate with AFSA, thus enabling the employee representative to fulfill its fiduciary responsibilities.

The second intervention option could come through AFSA’s Consultation Rights and Request for Information Privileges. In both these instances, “As the exclusive employee representative, AFSA may request information from agencies which is necessary for full and proper understanding of subjects within the scope of collective bargaining.”

The time is past for AFSA to be sitting on the sidelines. It should promptly fulfill its fiduciary responsibilities by actively raising these DS shortcomings with the department and demonstrate to all, including Congress, that the requests for added department funding are truly justified.

*James (Jim) Meenan*

*FSO, retired*

*Ashburn, Virginia*

## The Passing of Donna Hartman

I read with regret of the passing of Donna Hartman, widow of Ambassador Arthur Hartman, who served with her husband at Embassy Moscow from 1981 to 1987 (In Memory, July-August *FSJ*). Ambassador Hartman passed away in 2015.

While Ambassador Hartman’s brilliant service in Moscow has been well-documented, Donna Hartman’s contributions were also remarkable. The Hartmans’ long tenure in Moscow was notable in many respects, including an intense focus on human rights.

For many years the Hartmans hosted an open house on Saturday afternoons. The program often included the showing of an American film in the ambassador’s residence, the spacious Spaso House. The event drew dissidents, artists and others.

Soviet personnel were often positioned outside Spaso House to intimi-

date those Soviet citizens attempting to enter. Several FSOs who worked on human rights issues, often joined by other FSOs, would attempt to run interference for Soviet friends trying to get past the official harassment at the gate.

On one Saturday afternoon when Ambassador Hartman was out of town the Soviet thug force was particularly aggressive. When Donna learned of the situation, she raced out of Spaso House and confronted the Soviet harassers shouting “scandalous, scandalous!” in Russian. Her vociferous efforts caused the harassers to back off in short order, allowing the guests to enter.

On another occasion, shortly after the Hartmans arrived in Moscow, Donna brought an enormous bouquet of roses into the street, greeting each passer-by and introducing herself as the wife of the new American ambassador. As she did so, she handed each a rose.

Donna was a class act, a friend to the common people and a special friend to artists and victims of the Soviet system. Her human outreach touched many hearts.

*Edmund McWilliams*  
*FSO, retired*  
*White Oaks, New Mexico*

## Defining “Foreign Service Leadership” Downward

Writing in the September *FSJ*, Timothy C. Lawson hails Jon M. Huntsman, President Donald Trump’s ambassador to Russia, for boosting Foreign Service morale. And just how did Huntsman accomplish that remarkable feat? By staying on the job after the July 16 Helsinki fiasco sparked calls for him to resign.

I suspect I’m not the only reader to find that interpretation of events strange, on several levels.

Let’s start with the inconvenient fact that Ambassador Huntsman is a political appointee, not a career Foreign Service officer. Why Mr. Lawson finds it courageous for a political appointee to defend the man who gave him his job is baffling. (If I were going to praise Mr. Huntsman for anything, it would be

bipartisanship: He previously served as President Barack Obama’s ambassador to Beijing.)

We all support Amb. Huntsman’s desire to “focus 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.” But how did the Helsinki summit advance any of those objectives? If anything, it set them back.

Nothing in Amb. Huntsman’s statement indicates he has ever heard of our institution’s long and honorable tradition of dissent (which AFSA rightfully continues to celebrate). In contrast, I’d be willing to bet Mr. Lawson is quite familiar with it, but has no use for it when someone he likes occupies the White House. ■

*Steven Alan Honley*  
*Former FSO*  
*Washington, D.C.*



**Share your thoughts about this month’s issue.**

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## Response— East Africa Embassy Bombings 20 Years Later

### About Compensation

**T**hank you for the July-August *FSJ* highlights on remembering the 1998 embassy bombings in East Africa, 20 years after.

I just want to express my personal view as one of the many survivors who were not affected physically (bodily harm), but went through a very trying moment and later suffered emotional trauma. Our colleagues were affected differently—the healing process was very long, and some haven't fully recovered yet, though the majority have moved on through very painful experience.

I want to raise the compensation issue. I know it's a very hot and difficult topic to discuss here, but I want to make a passionate appeal to the private attorneys to finalize all matters of compensation, so that this chapter can be closed (some people are still waiting for compensation).

I am aware that no amount of money can replace the loss of loved ones from America, Kenya, Tanzania and all locations in between.

From the heart, these are my personal thoughts and opinions. Thank you.

*Francis Ywaya*

*FSN*

*USAID/Kenya & East Africa*

*Nairobi, Kenya*

### The First Healing Step

I was very grateful to stumble upon the article "Reflections on the U.S. Embassy Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania" (July-August *FSJ*) for the recent 20th anniversary of the tragedy.

I am struck by the common themes and emotions expressed by many survivors, and how they relate to my own.

Many times over the years I have searched for first-person accounts by other people who were there on that dreadful day, in attempt to make sense of what happened and move on. I am struck by the common themes and emotions expressed by many survivors, and how they relate to my own.

Reading these accounts has helped to somehow legitimize my own emotions. It happened so long ago, so far away from home and for many years felt unreal, almost made up. Thank you for asking me to submit my own story.

In the summer of 1998, I was 21 and had just finished pre-clinical medicine at the University of Cambridge. I was volunteering with the charity Link Africa, in a school in Mokomoni, a rural village of the Kisii district in Western Kenya. My fellow project worker and friend, Alice, had a few days in Nairobi to purchase some essential science equipment for the secondary school in Mokomoni.

We were staying at a hotel in the River Road area. We were still students, and it was cheap. On the morning of Aug. 7, I ordered poached eggs on toast for breakfast. Scrambled eggs arrived. I sent them back—I am usually fairly laid back about these things, but after existing on a diet of mostly Ugali for months I really was very keen on those eggs. That decision, and

the small subsequent delay for the correct breakfast probably saved our lives.

We set off, heading to the ExTel Comms office, which was next door to Cooperative House. We were planning on phoning home to the U.K. and were late. I wanted to catch my mother who left for work at about 8:45 a.m. (10:45 Kenyan time), and it was already 10:30.

We hurried along Moi Avenue, and were about to turn down a side road just before the U.S. embassy that led past Ufundi House to Cooperative House. We then heard an almighty crack and stopped in our tracks, as did everyone else. There was a banker's strike on, and my immediate thought was that it was a gunshot, and there was a hold-up at the nearby bank.

We later found out that this was a hand grenade thrown at the embassy guard. Suddenly a man sprinted out of that side road and ran toward us. He was running for his life. I instinctively took cover behind a taller Kenyan who was wearing a black leather jacket.

The fleeing man got to within a few metres of us, and then the bomb was detonated. Bizarrely, both Alice and I forgot about the existence of this man; only when he (terrorist Mohammed Al-Owhali) was captured and his face was plastered over the *Daily Nation* did we remember those moments before the

blast. I now understand that the erasure of key memories in trauma is common, as some sort of protective mechanism.

The sound was so loud that it could be heard up to 10 kilometers away. But despite being within 10 to 15 meters of the truck bomb, I don't remember the sound at all. I do remember a feeling of pressure and being knocked off my feet. The air filled with thick smoke and dust. The pavement was covered in shattered glass and debris from the nearby buildings.

I don't know what happened to the man in the leather jacket. I looked around and saw Alice lying on the ground. Her leg was bleeding. I pulled her up by the hand, and we ran away from the blast area as fast as we could. We bumped into a police officer, whom we quizzed about what on earth had just happened. Of course, he was just as confused as we, and was looking back in the direction of the embassy.

By this point there was a vast mushroom cloud of smoke reaching up to the sky. *Matatus* were being loaded up with severely injured and maimed people to be driven to the hospital.

We ran all the way back to our hotel. I was mugged on River Road by a petty thief—he stole my wallet with almost all the schillings we had. We saw several other muggings happen in those short minutes. It was chaos on the streets suddenly, and it felt strangely post-apocalyptic, like the world was about to end.

For some, it had of course. We were very lucky, considering where we were standing, to only have minor, flying glass-related injuries. At the hotel, some friendly Bosnians cleaned Alice's leg with alcohol

and bandaged it up. They had seen it all before, they told us; they had lived in a war zone. Upstairs, we showered to get rid of the debris and dust. I paced the room for hours in a panic, not knowing quite what to do.

I felt guilty for years that I didn't go back to help, but in a medical sense I was too junior to be of any use. We were young and terrified and all alone. Luckily we had just enough money hidden in another bag to escape on the night bus back to Kisii. I didn't sleep at all for several nights; the adrenaline was too overwhelming.

We went back to our village for another

vigilant and have an astonishing startle reaction.

As a doctor, I recognise that these are symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), but have so far failed to get help. I was working in London on the day of the 7/7 Tube bombs and helped to treat several victims, compounding the feeling that these events are more common and that nowhere is safe.

Despite this, I have been able to carve out a life full of meaning, with a happy family and many wonderful friends, and have developed a strong sense of altruism. I strongly feel the only way to

overcome such senseless evil is to try and live your best life, and build communities with your actions.

I feel strong ties to Kenya and my Kenyan friends. I have visited many times in the years following the bombings and hope to take my children one day soon.

Going forward, I am learning that having a mental illness is not a weakness that needs to be hidden away. In fact, I believe it to be a sign of strength to acknowledge, talk about and seek help for these feelings.

More than 60 percent of people exposed to mass violence develop PTSD, and professional help is needed to recover. It has been easier for me to pretend that I am fine than to admit to my own doctor that I am struggling, but that is about to change.

Writing this down has been the first part of that process. ■

*Sarah McKelvie  
Oxford, U.K.*



six weeks to finish the project. We monitored the news daily, and *The Nation* was full of stories of people trapped for days, the ramifications of the blast and the subsequent allied attack on al-Qaida bases in Sudan and Afghanistan.

Nightmares started soon after—sometimes replaying the events of Aug. 7, sometimes more generic threats to life. I always woke up in a panic, often leaping out of bed or hitting out at my long-suffering husband.

Even now, I suffer with nightmares and insomnia. I still avoid central London, crowded events, and have had panic attacks in places where I feel unsafe (e.g., the Underground, at a concert or visiting overtly touristy venues). I am hyper-

## Cuba Illnesses Back in the News

Doctors continue to search for an explanation for the mysterious illness that has stricken diplomats in Cuba and China since late 2016. On Sept. 1 *The New York Times* reported that the cause may have been an unconventional weapon using microwaves.

In a report published in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* last March, the medical team did not mention microwaves as a possible culprit. But the study's lead author, Douglas

Smith, said in a recent interview that microwaves are now considered a "main suspect."

A scientific paper published in January 2018 by James Lin of the University of Illinois first suggested that targeted microwave beams could have caused the illnesses.

The *Times* also interviewed retired biologist Douglas Frey, who in 1960 identified a neural phenomenon now called the "Frey effect," in which microwaves can be used to trick the brain into perceiving ordinary sounds

where none exist. His discovery led the Soviets, Americans and others to begin experimenting with using microwaves as weapons.

When asked about the microwave theory, a State Department official told ABC News: "The situation has not changed: There is no known source or cause."

On Sept. 6, *The Washington Post* wrote that microwaves likely weren't the cause, quoting skeptics such as Kenneth Forster, a bioengineering professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who called

## State Needs a Full Team on the Field

During his May 24 appearance before this Committee, Sec. Pompeo said: 'With so many challenges before us, the State Department needs a full team on the field from locally employed staff around the world to senior leaders in Washington.' Sec. Pompeo expressed concern about vacancies in key positions and said: 'We need our men and women on the ground executing American diplomacy with great vigor and energy and representing our great nation.' I completely agree, and that's why I'm excited to have five nominees before the Committee today.

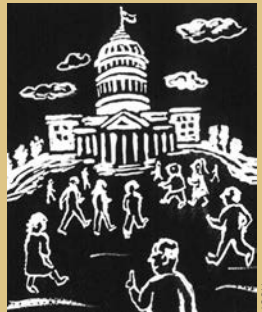
—Sen. Todd Young (R-Ind.), *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Nominations Hearing*, Aug. 23.

## The Good Work That FS Members Do

I just want to say that it makes me so proud, and one of the best things we get to do as members of the Senate is to travel around and see the good work that Foreign Service officers are doing around the world.

—Sen. Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing, in reference to the nomination for the Honorable Earl Robert Miller to be ambassador to Bangladesh*, on Aug. 23.

## Heard on the Hill



## Intrepid Professionals

Since the founding of our country, our diplomats have served America in some of the most difficult and dangerous places on earth. Our embassies and consulates are platforms of U.S. influence and vigilance and 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.

—Chairman Ed Royce (R-Calif.), *newsletter to constituents from House Committee on Foreign Affairs, honoring the victims of the 1998 East Africa embassy attacks*, Aug. 6.

## Coming Up from Within

I want to thank you, again, for your willingness to serve, and just on a personal note, to have someone who is coming up from within the department to be in this position, for someone who cares about institutions and building institutions that will last, it's heartening to me that someone from within is coming in this position. My guess is with some of the turmoil that we have had within the State Department, it also is something that, really, the many members of the Foreign Service who have committed their lives to Foreign Service, I'm sure are cheering you on today.

—Chairman Bob Corker (R-Tenn.), *Senate Foreign Relations Committee, nomination for David Hale to be under secretary for political affairs (now confirmed)*, on Aug. 16.

the microwave theory “crazy” and said that while he can’t explain what happened to the diplomats and their families, “it’s sure as heck not microwaves.”

On Aug. 30, the State Department released the results of an Accountability Review Board convened in January 2018 to review the circumstances surrounding the medical problems in Havana. The ARB found that “the department’s security systems and procedures were overall adequate and properly implemented, though there were significant vacancies in security staffing and some challenges with information sharing and communication.”

The ARB issued 30 recommendations in the areas of accountability, inter-agency coordination, medical issues, communication and information sharing, risk/benefit analysis and diplomatic security. All 30 recommendations were accepted by the department.

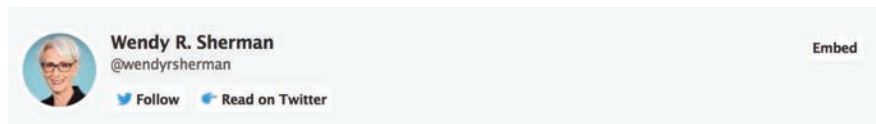
Brian Mazanec, acting director of international affairs and trade at the Government Accountability Office, explained the delay in convening an ARB thus, according to *Federal Times*: “The offices in State weren’t communicating the way they should have. When these incidents were occurring, several State offices were responding, but the office responsible for initiating the process to consider whether or not to convene an accountability review board was not aware of the incidents.”

## The Return of the Special Envoy

On Sept. 4 Secretary of State Mike Pompeo confirmed the appointment of Zalmay Khalilzad as special adviser for Afghanistan.

Khalilzad, who served as U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq and the United Nations during the George W. Bush

## Contemporary Quote:



I want to tell you a story about the art of the deal—the Iran deal, for which I was the lead negotiator. 1/14

We negotiated the deal at the Palais Coburg Hotel in Vienna. I thought I’d be home in short order. 2/14

By day 25 I had barely left the hotel and had eaten only 1 meal outside the Coburg. Every rod and rack in my bathroom had hand-washed laundry. 3/14

We called our side the P5+1: US, England, France, Germany, Russia, China and the EU. 4/14

Diplomacy can test your patience. There were so many interlocking issues to cover: how to verify Iran’s compliance, how to limit its centrifuges, how to ‘snapback’ sanctions if needed, etc. 5/14

Every time one element of the deal changed, we had to renegotiate within the P5+1 and EU, then go back to the Iranians again. It was like a Rubik’s Cube. Solve one side and you’ve jumbled the others. 6/14

After dinner on the 25th day, I met with Abbas Araghchi, Iran’s lead negotiator, with his partner, Majid Takata-Ravanchi, to go over one final UN resolution. 7/14

Araghchi agreed to key points, but then leaned forward and began to dispute a previously agreed upon point. 8/14

This was familiar Iranian negotiation style: just as consensus seemed imminent, there would be one more point of contention. We’ve given you what you want; now give us something of ours you’ve taken. 9/14

I lost it. I began to tell, and to my frustration and fury, my eyes began to well up with tears. I told them how their tactics jeopardized the entire deal. 10/14

Women are told early in life that it’s not socially acceptable to get angry. And it’s a sign of weakness to let people see you cry. 11/14

Araghchi and Ravanchi were stunned. For a first time in a month, they were silent. 12/14

Something in the sincerity of my frustration broke through. After a long silent moment, Araghchi dismissed his objection. That tearful reckoning became the final substantive turn of the Rubik’s cube. 13/14

That’s when it clicked into place for me. When you bring values like authenticity, persistence, and commitment to the negotiating table, both in work and personal life, you are enormously powerful. 14/14



—Tweet by Wendy R. Sherman, Sept. 5, [www.bit-ly/WShermanAStory](http://www.bit-ly/WShermanAStory).

administration, accompanied the Secretary on his recent visit to Pakistan and India. He has been tasked with bringing about a political solution in Afghanistan.

It was the fourth special envoy appointment in a month by an administration that has so far avoided naming high-level diplomats to focus on special problem areas, AP observed on Sept. 5, and part of Pompeo's effort to restore "swagger" to the State Department, which suffered significant losses to its senior ranks under his predecessor, Rex Tillerson.

On Aug. 16, Secretary Pompeo named Brian Hook, senior policy adviser to the Secretary of State and head of the Policy Planning Staff at State, special representative for Iran. Hook will lead the newly established Iran Action Group.

Stephen Biegun, former Ford Motor

vice president of international governmental affairs, was named special representative for North Korea on Aug. 23. Biegun served in a number of national security and foreign policy roles prior to joining Ford in 2004, including as an adviser to former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.).

And on Aug. 17, Career Ambassador James Jeffrey was appointed Special Representative for Syria Engagement. The career diplomat is a three-time U.S. ambassador, to Albania (2002-2004), Turkey (2008-2010) and Iraq (2010-2012), and also served as deputy national security advisor (2007-2008).

Many in the foreign policy community are skeptical of the value of special envoys. With their own staffs, they tend to create a separate foreign policy bureaucracy that operates inde-

pendently of the State Department's geographic bureaus.

"Special envoys can offer much more consistent focus on an issue," Steven Heydemann, a professor of government at Smith College and fellow at the Brookings Institution, told AP. But he said that without a clear division of labor between a special envoy and other diplomats at State, the positions "can be a source of confusion and mixed messaging."

Department spokeswoman Heather Nauert said special envoys bring a "singular focus" to complex foreign policy challenges and "the authority to cut across agencies and regions in order to advise the secretary on the overarching strategy." They ensure that all expertise within the department is brought to bear, she said.

## SITE OF THE MONTH: MAPPING MILITANTS PROJECT: [WEB.STANFORD.EDU/GROUP/MAPPINGMILITANTS/CGI-BIN](http://WEB.STANFORD.EDU/GROUP/MAPPINGMILITANTS/CGI-BIN)

**A**cross the map, from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, new militant organizations continue to appear on the radar, and Stanford University's Mapping Militants Project helps track them. While the website does not offer actual interactive maps, it contains "interactive diagrams" that map out relationships between the groups and show how they evolve over time.

The Mapping Militants Project seeks to "find patterns in the evolution of militant organizations in specified conflict theatres and to discover the causes and consequences of their evolution."

Users can select "Map Options" to display features such as group leadership, size and ideology. One can view active and/or inactive organizations, organization events, as well as the rise and decline of different groups over time.

Select the "Maps" tab at the top of any page to find



basic descriptions of the various groups, broken down by geographic area. The breakdown includes international, Middle East and North Africa, Asia, Central Asia, Europe and Latin America. Also on the "Map" page, each group listing has a link to that group's interactive diagram, which opens in a new page.

The project was developed by Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation, which is housed within the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. A National Science Foundation-Department of Defense partnership provided start-up funding.

Profiles are updated regularly to keep information current.



## 50 Years Ago

We note with deep sadness the death by assassination of John Gordon Mein, Ambassador to Guatemala, long a distinguished Foreign Service officer, for years a reader of these pages, and ever a stout champion of those who have elected to follow the often dangerous and troubled career of serving their country in foreign lands. His example and his advice will be sorely missed in the trying months to come. And we cannot escape the conclusion that the coming months and years will surely be trying for members of the Foreign Service. ...

But all this, difficult as it is, nevertheless is no cause for despair. Anyone who joined the Foreign Service for a life of ease and quiet chose the wrong profession. The overwhelming majority of our Foreign Service people are people of good will and competence, persons with affection and loyalty to their own country who are at the same time interested in learning of the ways of others, professionals who go about their different tasks with skill, common sense and perspective. Quality is demanded of these persons who are charged with nothing less than carrying out the intentions and purposes of the United States beyond its borders. ...

In a recent speech in Finland, George Kennan said it all simply and succinctly: 'It has sometimes fallen to me,

as a private scholar and commentator on world events, to take a critical attitude towards one or another of the policies of my government. Our tradition, as you know, permits this. But I have never lost my faith in the basic goodwill and generosity of my people in their approach to the other people of this world, or in the decency of the motives and purposes by which American statesmanship has been inspired. And I can give it to you as my conviction, at this sad and anxious moment, that my people will always be ready, however great the intervening discouragements and disappointments to take up anew the search for hopeful and constructive solutions to world problems.' ...

So our task remains; the challenge beckons. In responding with energy, intelligence and good faith, we will honor the memory of Ambassador Mein and will show ourselves to be deserving inheritors of a worthy tradition.

—From an editorial with the same title remembering Ambassador John Gordon Mein (assassinated in Guatemala on Aug. 28, 1968, the first U.S. ambassador to be assassinated while serving in office), FSJ, October 1968.



## BBG: New Name— Same Mission

On Aug. 23, the Broadcasting Board of Governors announced that, effective immediately, it would be rebranded as the U.S. Agency for Global Media.

The chief executive officer and director of the new entity, John Lansing, stated: "The term 'broadcasting' does not

accurately describe what we do. The new name reflects our modernization and forward momentum while honoring our enduring mission to inform, engage and

connect people around the world in support of freedom and democracy."

The name change followed research and consultation with agency staff and leadership, Congress and the Trump administration.

The newly named USAGM encompasses the Voice of America, Radio Free

Europe/Radio Liberty, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (Television and Radio

Martí), Radio Free Asia, and the Middle East Broadcasting Networks.

According to USAGM, these networks "collectively reach an undupli-

cated weekly audience of 278 million people in 100 countries and in 59 languages."

## Congressional Research Service Releases Report on Human Trafficking

On July 19 the Congressional Research Service published a report, "Transnational Crime Issue: Human Trafficking," covering both legislative work on the issue and the State Department's role in ending trafficking.

As part of the Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service provides nonpartisan policy and legal analysis to members of both the House and the Senate.

As the report notes, the State Department leads federal efforts to combat



human trafficking, and the Secretary of State chairs the President's Interagency Task Force on trafficking in persons. The report also covers the department's annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report.

According to the CRS report, issues of concern to Congress "may include monitoring the use of anti-trafficking funds by the executive branch, examining links between human trafficking with other transnational issues, including labor and procurement practices, and considering legislation to reauthorize the [Trafficking Victims Pro-



tection Act of 2000]."

When the State Department released the 2018 Trafficking in Persons Report on June 28, it got a bit more attention than usual in the U.S. press. At the time, the Trump administration was struggling to defend its decision to arrest refugee families trying to enter the United States at our southern borders, forcibly separating children from their parents.

Media outlets such as *The New York Times*, CNN and *Foreign Policy* all picked up on a section of the report that read, in part: "Removal of a child from the

family should only be considered as a temporary last resort. Studies have found that both private and government-run residential institutions for children, or places such as orphanages and psychiatric wards that do not offer a family-based setting, cannot replicate the emotional companionship and attention found in family environments that are prerequisites to healthy cognitive development."

The government failed to meet a court-ordered July 12 deadline to reunite all children under age 5 with their parents. ■

*This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Donna Gorman, Shawn Dorman and Susan Maitra.*



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**Group Term Life Insurance** AFSPA's **NEW** policy offers a term life insurance that provides you and your family protection up to \$600,000. It now allows early access to a portion of your benefits to assist with long term care expenses.



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**Financial / Long Term Care Planning** AFSPA members receive retirement analysis and long term care guidance.

*Some restrictions apply.*

# What Is It We're Doing Again? Time to Rethink How the State Department Communicates

BY PETER LOHMAN

Imagine your typical brown bag lunch. Yes, that one. The one where no one actually brings a lunch. The speaker is a visiting senior official from Washington. Staff from across the embassy come to hear Washington's priorities, a senior leader's view of the world or ways we can all better execute our mission.

Unfortunately, all too often, the speaker's remarks are limited to: "You are all doing an excellent job. The relationship with host country X is extremely important for Washington. It's really an honor to be here with you. Now what questions do you have?" Awkward silence.

No, this is not an article about how to improve brown bag lunches. The vignette I offer above is symptomatic of a larger State Department problem—ineffective, unclear and infrequent communication.

One of the aspects of State Department culture that struck me most when I first entered the Foreign Service was the lack of communication both between leadership and subordinates and among units, offices, embassies, bureaus and agencies. Most communication was restricted to the task at

**Imagine if that visiting senior official had outlined his office, bureau or agency's goals, and then began a conversation about how the embassy in the host country fits in.**

hand. Very little was focused on looking beyond the most immediate project to the overriding principles that help us achieve our goals.

I'm not the only one to notice this. The 2017 Listening Tour Report noted the following:

- "People say that unclear priorities leave them seeking guidance that for too many does not come from their managers or their chain of command."
- "People report that the frequency and coherency of communication—both top-to-bottom and across the web—needed to inform, coordinate and inspire action is wildly deficient for what is required."
- "People talk about unwritten and unstated rules about who is allowed to talk to who[m] in the chain of command ... [and] people question their level of seniority or experience in being able to contribute ideas or concerns."

So we clearly have a communication problem. What do we do about it?

## The Big Picture

First, we need to better communicate our priorities and values. While many of us bemoan the ritual of producing

Integrated Country Strategies, Joint Regional Strategies and the like, we only compound that error by subsequently putting those strategies on a shelf, where they sit, never to be spoken of again.

In my prior service in the U.S. Army, nearly every commander at the company level (FS-4 equivalent in rank) and above had what are called "Flat A\*\* Rules." (Nothing is official in the Army until it has an acronym, so we called them FARs for short.) FARs were the principles by which each organization operated. They transcended the next crisis and the one after that. They applied to all members and all tasks. Consider them the core principles of an organization.

Back to the brown bag example. Imagine if that visiting senior official had outlined his office, bureau or agency's goals, and then began a conversation about how the embassy in the host country fits in. Or imagine if she had thought about what values her office, bureau or agency needed to be successful, and then discussed those values with the group. Imagine how the participants would leave feeling like they were part of a bigger team, contributing to a bigger mission.



*Peter Lohman joined the Foreign Service in 2009. He is currently an economic officer in Jakarta. His previous postings include Jerusalem, Chennai and Washington, D.C. He was a cavalry officer in the U.S. Army from 2001 to 2005.*

## To improve the frequency and clarity of our communication, we also need to reward staff for putting as much work into building contacts within the U.S. government as within host countries.

### Breaking Down Stovepipes

Second, we need to improve the frequency and coherence of our communication. The department's tendency to work in stovepipes and communicate only in our own verticals—rather than horizontally—is a common weakness of large organizations. Because we mostly transmit and receive information through our chains of command, we miss out on how our work affects and is affected by others.

The economic section misses the anecdote from the political section's labor officer about illegal foreign workers, for example. Or the public diplomacy section doesn't get introduced to the promising young businesswoman (and economic section contact) who would make a great candidate for an exchange program.

More interagency and interoffice communication can help remedy this. Interagency working groups on topics such as trade and investment or counterterrorism are an excellent start, but working group members need to find ways to keep up the information sharing between meetings. One way to do this is through better use of technology like the Foreign Affairs Network, a Google- and cloud-based platform available to State Department and all foreign affairs agency employees that enables sharing of up-to-SBU (sensitive but unclassified) information, regardless of whether the user is on OpenNet.

Through FAN, users can collaborate

in real time, such as by sharing and editing documents without having to email files to each other; create a team drive for file sharing and storage; or design a Google site for posting articles and other up-to-date information—all tools that can facilitate information sharing and collaboration without the need for more meetings. Low-tech solutions also work: copying others on emails, picking up the phone or walking down the hall to talk to a colleague.

### Leveling Hierarchies

To improve the frequency and clarity of our communication, we also need to reward staff for putting as much work into building contacts within the U.S. government as within host countries. We should emulate the best practices of desk officers who spend their first few weeks in Washington cultivating the network they need to advance policy priorities. Find the staff whose portfolio overlaps or complements yours, build relationships with them and seek them out when making decisions, or when you come across new information that you know would benefit them.

An occasional leveling of our hierarchies would also help promote communication. Take the typical senior staff meeting, for example. These meetings serve to relay information among the unit's senior leaders. In a well-functioning organization, this information and guidance will make its way to those below the most-senior levels. Even then,

however, the nuance and tone of the information are often lost.

Unfortunately, this phenomenon works in the other direction, too, as the most creative, unconventional ideas often lose their nuance or are stripped out entirely on their way up the chain. Leaders can remedy this by following the famously simple "Leadership by Walking Around" principle: seek out conversations with junior employees; take the long way back to your office one afternoon; find an outlet from the isolation of command.

### Breaking Down Walls

Finally, communicating better as a department means removing obstacles to communication, both physical and cultural. The federal government is already moving to open workspaces, with the explicit goal of increasing collaboration and communication.

As we do so, we should consider research from Stanford and University of California Berkeley professors who found that the results of moves to open office spaces are mixed. Success or failure, they found, depends on leaders communicating the vision behind the new space and having positive attitudes about the move, and allowing teams the latitude to adapt work spaces to their needs.

With this research in mind, I believe the department's move to open workspaces can be a net positive. Simply put, you are more likely to talk to people you see. Why does interagency communication work better in the field than in Washington? Because in the field we see our interagency colleagues in the cafeteria, in the halls and after work. We develop relationships, which then smooth the flow of information.

Having more State Department

employees serve in other agencies as liaisons or political advisers could help address those physical barriers—such as distance—that can't be removed.

Cultural inhibitions to information sharing are just as formidable as physical barriers. Here the department's culture of individual (rather than team) success, of risk avoidance and of hierarchy often cause officers to err on the side of keeping their mouths shut. That hand doesn't go up; that other section or agency isn't added to the cc line. We should do better at promoting a culture of transparency, which encourages all team members to speak up, share information and ask questions.

### Set a Positive Example

Leaders can set a positive example in this regard by inviting feedback and debate. The most effective leaders know that one of their primary jobs is to guide and inspire. As we progress up the ranks, we seem to lose the dynamism and passion that first led us to the State Department. We maintain our laser focus on making and executing policy and programs, but often forget that a leader's primary job is to empower others.

We need a renewed focus on communication at the State Department. When we communicate our values and priorities, improve the precision and frequency of our conversations, and remove physical and cultural obstacles to collaboration, we create an empowered workforce that sees the broader purpose of its work. We create teams that seek out the opportunity to build bonds of trust with others across the department and interagency. And we create leaders who value transparency and inclusivity.

That's a message worth spreading. ■

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# Illicit Trade and OUR GLOBAL RESPONSE

**Illegal trade is a growing threat to the community of nations, the world's population and earth's environment. Recognizing that criminals don't stovepipe is the key to an effective response.**

BY LOUISE SHELLEY



*Louise Shelley is the Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Endowed Chair and a professor at George Mason University. She is the founding director of the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center in the Schar School of Policy and Government. She*

*is a leading expert on the relationship among terrorism, organized crime and corruption, as well as human trafficking, transnational crime and terrorism, with a particular focus on the former Soviet Union. She also specializes in illicit financial flows and money laundering. She was an inaugural recipient of the Andrew Carnegie Fellowship. She is the author of *Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy Is Threatening Our Future* (Princeton University Press), a book on illicit trade, cybercrime and sustainability that will be released in November.*

**N**ew computer technologies, communications and globalization are fueling the exponential growth of dangerous forms of illegal trade—for example, the markets for narcotics and child pornography online, the escalation of sex trafficking through web advertisements, and the sale of endangered species for which revenues total in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The illicit economy exacerbates many of the world's destabilizing phenomena: it helps perpetuate local and regional conflicts, the proliferation of arms and weapons of mass destruction, and environmental degradation and species extinction.

Illicit trade consists of both tangible goods—drugs, human beings, weapons, wildlife and timber, fish, antiquities and ubiquitous counterfeits—and intangible goods bought and sold in cyberspace, such as passwords, botnets and malware. These intangible goods, poorly understood by most, cost consumers and organizations billions worldwide in the form of lost identities, funds stolen from bank accounts, computer data accessed and pilfered from private accounts and stolen intellectual property.

No longer primarily an urban problem or one confined to ports of call, illicit trade now extends into the most remote villages and smallest towns all around the globe. The connectivity of the world's population has increased geometrically during the past two decades—today, some five billion out of a global population of 7.4 billion use cell phones that can connect them to the internet, to social media and to the global marketplace. One recently investigated cybercrime case involved a ransomware attack that victimized many thousands of individuals in at least 189 countries.



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Victimization, moreover, is not just “virtual”; it can also be physical, as in the case of counterfeit drugs (often ordered online), which pose a growing public health hazard in the United States and are pervasive in Africa and Asia. In “The Health and Economic Effects of Counterfeit Drugs,” Erwin A. Blackstone et al. estimated that 9 percent of drugs consumed in Europe as of 2014 were counterfeit; the World Health Organization estimates that in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, 30 percent of the drugs sold are counterfeit.

Corruption and illicit financial flows are key to the growth of illicit trade. Officials at every level are in a position to facilitate production, dissemination and transport of illegal goods. This is a particular problem in the developing world, but officials in the developed world also participate. It extends into the cyberworld, as well. For instance, two American law enforcement officials are presently serving sentences for criminal engagement with the drug kingpin who ran Silk Road, the first massive online marketplace for illicit trade. As Mark Bilton, special correspondent for *Vanity Fair*, reported in his *American Kingpin: The Epic Hunt for the Criminal Mastermind Behind the Silk Road* (Portfolio, 2017), the operator of this darknet site processed \$1.2 billion in transactions in cryptocurrency in its two years of operation before being closed down through concerted law enforcement efforts. Subsequent takedowns of marketplaces for illegal goods on the dark web have combined the efforts of law enforcement in 40 countries.

Without adequate safeguards in the global financial system, unfortunately, crime too often pays. And the leaked “Panama Papers” reveal how a single financial hub can receive ill-gotten gains from many countries, including the proceeds of crime, terrorist groups and corrupt officials.

While the dangers posed by illicit trade are easy to see, its

scope and the complexity of its operations—including interfaces with legal economic activity—make for a serious challenge in terms of developing and implementing an effective policy response.

### A Taxonomy of Transnational Crime

Though transnational crimes such as the drug and arms trade, human smuggling and trafficking merit the most attention from law enforcement, international illicit trade also includes a vast range of counterfeit and pirated products sold online and through markets around the world. Counterfeit products range from sneakers and electronics to pharmaceuticals and pesticides that undermine the sustainability of life. Illegally harvested timber and fish that should not be caught and traded represent multibillion-dollar businesses.

Besides being one of the fastest-growing segments among some dozen types of transnational crime, counterfeiting and piracy is also the most valuable. According to a 2017 study commissioned by the International Chamber of Commerce, the global trade in counterfeit and pirated goods is estimated to generate between \$923 billion to \$1.13 trillion annually (this includes cross-border trade, domestic trade and digital piracy). The drug trade and human trafficking rank below counterfeiting and piracy in profitability.

Human trafficking revenues are estimated at \$150 billion annually. The rise of the internet, the dark web and social media has fundamentally transformed human trafficking around the world. Although many assume that this offense is only associated with hard-core criminals, it is a fact that, as in the past, government officials and business people are deeply involved in this inhuman business. Its growth and increasing profitability have

# The rise of the internet, the dark web and social media has fundamentally transformed human trafficking around the world.

been fueled by corporations that facilitate advertisements and payment systems for the sale of sex trafficking victims and the online distribution of child pornography. Corporate vessels engaged in illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing exploit trafficked labor.

Sexual exploitation is only one form of human trafficking. Labor exploitation, forced marriage and illegal organ

transplantation are other forms of this crime. All involve elements of coercion, fraud and deception, but do not require movement; individuals can be trafficked for marriage or sex, for example, within their immediate community.

Human trafficking is distinct from illegal immigration: in the latter case, individuals agree to be transported across borders illegally; the individual and the trafficker have a consensual rather than a coerced relationship. But in the case of human trafficking, the individual is the victim. And in cases involving smuggling, the state is victimized; its borders and sovereignty are violated.

## The Embassy's Role

Many of the most serious threats to the United States today are financed and expedited by the proceeds of illicit trade. So the effects of transnational crime figure in the work of every embassy today, whether it is monitoring the insecurity resulting from civil wars and conflicts funded by illicit commodities, the human rights violations resulting from this trade or the role of narcotics in the local economy.

Specific State Department products require the cooperation of all embassies overseas. State's Trafficking In Persons Report chronicles the trade in human beings for sexual, labor and other forms of exploitation around the world. Those providing input to the Country Reports on Terrorism must follow the financing of terrorism, part of which comes from illicit trade in arms, people, drugs and other commodities, including in some locales wildlife. Although illicit trade is at the heart of threat finance, monitoring and combating illicit trade is not just the responsibility of law enforcement, human trafficking or terrorism specialists—almost



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all embassy employees do contribute in some way.

Members of the consular division work to ensure that they are not providing visas to human traffickers and their potential victims, or to the many other perpetrators and facilitators of illicit trade and its companion activity, money laundering. Employees of economic and commercial sections work to

encourage trade from the United States. This includes defending intellectual property from those who might appropriate it and ensuring that mining, transport and financial institutions are not infiltrated or misused by illicit traders.

Analysis of the illicit economy is often critical, because it may represent as much as 20 percent of total economic activity in some of the most affected countries. In conflict-ridden states such as Afghanistan, Syria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, significant sums are generated from illegal trade in narcotics and people, as well as trade in natural resources such as oil, gold, timber and coltan, a key component of cell phones. The agricultural branch of embassies must focus on the increasing trade in pesticides and counterfeit food production shipped globally.

As the variety and scope of illicit trade today and its repercussions globally implies, this is not a problem that can be left merely to the law enforcement section of the embassy, although it has a key role to play. Much more can be accomplished by harnessing the collective capacities of the different agencies now represented in embassies to develop and implement effective policies.

## Need of the Hour—Stop Stovepiping

Illicit trade has such significant cross-cutting effects on politics, economy and society that responses cannot be left to single sections of embassies or branches of government; broader, more comprehensive approaches are essential. As our national security strategy singles out the challenges of these harmful trades, collective efforts in working groups, both overseas and in Washington, D.C., are needed to counter the diverse forms of illicit trade that often intersect with the legitimate economy. Because the products



## Only governments compartmentalize their responses; criminals and corrupt officials combine their activities to maximize their competitive advantage.

of the illicit economy often travel long and disguised routes, it is necessary that responses are not only national or regional, but that they combine expertise from countries along the entire supply chain. The convergence of different commodities along these diverse routes—such as drugs and people, or wildlife and arms—suggests that stovepiping of specializations in embassies must be overcome.

Only governments compartmentalize their responses; criminals and corrupt officials combine their activities to maximize their competitive advantage. The government, through its embassies overseas, needs to be able to work more effectively to follow the money. Different government agencies with responsibility for combating transnational crime—such as the Department of Homeland Security and its U.S. Customs and Border Protection division, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Internal Revenue Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Treasury Department—must work with diplomats to develop, implement and execute efficient responses to the ever-changing behavior of transnational criminals.

For an effective U.S. response to illicit trade, the following strategies are needed:

**1) Understand the dynamics of illicit trade in one's country and region.** Such transactions often mirror licit trade in their modus operandi. It is therefore important to understand the cultural, historical and business practices that produce distinct patterns of illegal trade in different regions. Members of the U.S. Foreign Service, with their varied educational and professional backgrounds, are ideally placed to understand distinct trade practices and modus operandi.

**2) Assemble interagency working groups, both within country teams and in Washington, D.C., to address elements of the illicit economy.** This is necessary to ensure that those addressing counternarcotics, weapons proliferation, human trafficking or terrorism do not approach the different types of illicit trade as separate and distinct phenomena. Criminals do not stovepipe. On the contrary, illicit traders have diversified their criminal activity into many different areas.

**3) Learn from success.** Progress has been made against human trafficking by raising awareness of the problem, naming and shaming those who fail to act, and providing more resources

to victims of the crime. By developing and publicizing effective countermeasures, practitioners working to stem the growth of human trafficking have made countries and civil society more aware of what can be done. The TIP Report has proven effective in many countries in mobilizing resources to counter the problem. Efforts to understand trends and to identify meaningful changes in patterns has been extremely useful to practitioners. The lessons of countering human trafficking can be transferred to other spheres of illicit trade.

**4) Develop public-private partnerships.** Public-private partnerships need to be central to a strategy to counter illicit trade because, increasingly, illegal trade is proceeding in cyberspace, which is controlled by private companies rather than governments. Partnerships with the private sector are also crucial because many of the illicit commodities traded compete directly with the legitimate economy. Companies have the insights and the resources to probe deeply into the dynamics of illicit trade and have the motivation to be partners in this activity. This is true whether one is dealing with textile, shoe or electronic parts manufacturers, pharmaceutical companies or software producers.

**5) Develop and enhance anticorruption activities.** These are key to stopping illicit trade because government officials are far too often facilitators, and corruption in ports allows harmful goods to exit. Countering high-level corruption is essential to stopping the escalating trade in wildlife, trees and other natural resources.

**6) Enhance cooperation with law enforcement.** Continue to maintain law enforcement training and collaborative relationships based on careful vetting of partners. Extensive programs already exist in the terrorism arena, and more could be done to combat the diverse forms of illicit trade.

**7) Support nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) on the ground. NGOs have proven effective partners in fighting human trafficking and providing aid to victims.** This has both boosted civil society and empowered women. Much more can be done in working with civil society groups that are trying to protect wildlife, establishing associations to help uneducated farmers avoid purchasing counterfeit pesticides and seeds, and providing means for purchasers of medicines to ensure that they receive authentic products rather than counterfeits. ■

# THE “PLACE-BASED STRATEGY” in Honduras

**Transnational crime syndicates have exacerbated illegal immigration problems at our southern border. A State initiative aims at undercutting the migration push at the source.**

BY JIM NEALON

A wall on the Mexican border; family separation; tightening of rules governing asylum; the end of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals; termination of Temporary Protected Status; and now, we hear, an effort to make it more difficult for immigrants here legally to become citizens. The Trump administration has reacted to the problems on our southern border by trying to increase border security to keep people out. Missing from the current debate is a focus on mitigating the push factors of migration for those who can walk to the United States.

In the summer of 2014 reports of unaccompanied children from Central America pouring across our southwestern border were national news—they featured in *New York Times* headlines, lively discussions on cable news and spirited debate in Congress. There seemed to be no stopping this mass migration of young

people fleeing violence, poor governance and lack of economic opportunity. The media, and Congress, demanded action.

I was confirmed as the next U.S. ambassador to Honduras in July of that year, and was politely told to get down there and “do something” about the unaccompanied minor crisis. When I arrived in Tegucigalpa in August, I found that the embassy was already intensely focused on trying to improve conditions that were driving the migration. In fact, I could readily articulate a mantra for our activities: We are working with the Hondurans to reduce violence, improve governance and create economic opportunities such that Hondurans would see their future in Honduras, and not in the United States.

The problem was, something wasn’t working. Hondurans, especially family units and unaccompanied children, continued to head to the southwest border in huge numbers. It’s not that we weren’t running great programs in Honduras and elsewhere in Central America—we were. But, inevitably, over time those programs had become focused on outputs rather than results. How many people did we train? Did we have the right people at the table? How were we measuring success? And while we were running programs designed to make Honduras safer, more prosperous and better governed, we weren’t focused specifically on reducing migration.

At the time, Honduras was still among the most violent non-war zones in the world. In fact, the murder rate had peaked in 2012 at 86 per 100,000 (that number in the U.S. is slightly less than five) and had only come down marginally since then. And the murder rate in the communities most subject to conflict was



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*Montevideo, Lima and Ottawa, and as civilian deputy to the commander of the U.S. Southern Command. Ambassador Nealon ended his government career in 2018 as assistant secretary for international affairs at the Department of Homeland Security.*

much higher. It was difficult to create economic opportunities and attack poor governance and corruption when people feared for their lives, and when the police weren't present in the tough neighborhoods. It was no wonder so many people, including young people, were heading north.

We had to try something new.

### Factors That Changed the Dynamic

As is often the case, several factors came together to change the dynamic in Honduras and led to what became the Place-Based Strategy. In Washington, the termination of law enforcement programs in Iraq freed up millions of dollars in the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL). That money needed a new home. When the director of Western Hemisphere programs in INL asked his team for ideas—he needed a plan within the hour—a talented program officer jumped on it.

She had recently returned from a temporary assignment in Honduras, where she had seen that INL wasn't working in some of the most violent neighborhoods (everyone said you couldn't) and, in many cases, was not in sync with USAID programs. She produced a paper highlighting the most progressive thinking by USAID and INL teams, which centered on co-designing and co-implementing interventions in the toughest neighborhoods in Honduras to get at the root causes of homicides, preventing and deterring them from happening.

Almost simultaneously, but independently, USAID had sent both American and Honduran staff members to Los Angeles to learn about that city's successful model for reducing gang violence. The LA model targeted those most likely to commit violence or become its victims and—unlike many programs, including in Honduras—made community policing central to success.

Finally, USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives was already at work in Honduras, experimenting with community policing and with a targeting system similar to the LA model. When we decided that we would focus efforts on reducing violence, and specifically the homicide rate, we could build on the solid base that OTI had already begun creating.

This happy coincidence of ideas, money and experimentation was followed in November 2014 by a visit to Honduras by INL Assistant Secretary Bill Brownfield. He pitched a "Bold New Initiative" to reduce violence, and thus reduce northbound migration. It was an INL-heavy concept, one that still needed to be integrated with USAID and OTI, but having Brownfield's weight, money and enthusiasm behind a new initiative was crucial. Because the Los Angeles model preached something quite

Bill Brownfield pitched a "Bold New Initiative" to reduce violence, and thus reduce northbound migration.

compatible with the Bold New Initiative, and since USAID was already headed in a similar direction, the agency was receptive.

### A Radical New Approach

The enthusiasm on all fronts convinced me that it was worth trying. Brownfield and I briefed Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández, who was cautiously enthusiastic, and the initiative, now renamed the "Place-Based Strategy," was born.

Following the initial pitch and approval, the hard work began. INL and USAID met for a two-day offsite in Tegucigalpa to develop a co-implementation plan and agreement, which they sent to me for approval. The proposal was important because it outlined the necessary components of the PBS model: We decided what to focus on (homicides) and where (three neighborhoods in San Pedro Sula, the so-called murder capital of the world), and we decided who would do what.

Building on longstanding OTI programming, INL would focus on getting the police back into these most violent neighborhoods and introducing a community policing model. It would also focus on gang rehabilitation and inoculating young kids to gang membership through their Gang Resistance Education and Training prevention program. USAID would focus on prevention programs, education, outreach centers, secondary prevention counseling for those families most at risk and community organizing.

But none of these programs would operate independently or in a vacuum. Rather than implementing a series of programs, both INL and USAID would listen to the communities and deliver services that the communities believed would reduce violence. Working together, they'd all be focused on the most violent neighborhoods in Honduras; and they'd all be trying to identify those at risk of committing violence and becoming victims of violence.

How is the Place-Based Strategy different from what we did previously? What's the secret sauce?

According to the embassy's PBS team, the three keys to success are: (1) a laser focus on the "hottest" areas and the "hottest" people—those most at risk; (2) INL and USAID co-designing and

co-implementing programs (not just “coordinating”); and (3), the police and community taking co-responsibility for security in these most violent areas. James Watson, USAID director in Honduras during the first years of PBS, said that it’s essential for law enforcement to understand and value the softer programs like education, counseling and community centers, and that it’s equally important that civil society and the community understand that PBS won’t work without a strong community policing presence.

Local leaders, not embassy officers, are the key drivers of change. It probably sounds easy and certainly sounds like common sense. But, in fact, this approach was new, different, radical ... and successful.

### How Successful Is It?

PBS is designed specifically to reduce violence in the most violent communities. Has it done that?

Let’s look at the three pilot communities—all in San Pedro Sula, where PBS was first implemented in 2014. In Chamelecón,

there were 287 homicides in 2014 and 43 in 2017. In Satellite, there were 370 homicides in 2014 and 133 in 2017. And in Rivera Hernandez there were 330 homicides in 2014 and 119 in 2017.

Let’s compare those dramatic numbers to other extremely violent communities in Honduras. In La Lima, where INL runs programs but USAID does not, there were 99 murders in 2014 and 73 in 2017. In Choloma, where USAID manages programs but INL can’t because of police vetting issues, there were 194 homicides in 2014 and 216 in 2017. Clearly, the PBS can play a dramatic role in reducing violence.

Sustainability is, of course, crucial to the long-term success of PBS. As the Honduran government and other communities across Honduras saw the success of PBS, they clamored to adopt the model elsewhere. As the newer neighborhoods adopt and adapt the successful model of the three pilot communities, USAID and INL can gradually reduce their roles. Members of the Honduran National Police now learn the community policing model at the academy, not from U.S. trainers. Local ownership of PBS was and remains the goal. ■



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# THE FRONT-LINE INITIATIVE: Combating Transnational Criminal Organizations

**Transnational street gangs are a growing problem for communities and law enforcement across the United States. State's Bureau of Diplomatic Security is part of the solution.**

BY CHRISTOPHER "KAI" FORNES



*Special Agent Christopher "Kai" Fornes served as the assistant regional security officer-investigator at Embassy San Salvador from 2016 to 2018. During 14 years with the State Department, he has also served as the Bureau of Diplomatic Security's representative to*

*the Joint Terrorism Task Force, and as the department's representative to the Command and Staff College, where he earned his M.S. degree. He has also served in the New York Field Office, the Office of Criminal Fraud Investigations and the Honolulu Resident Office. Overseas, he has served at Embassy Athens managing a \$31.1 million guard contract and serving as RSO for Consulate General Thessaloniki. Prior to joining the Department of State, Kai served in the U.S. Navy with 15 years of special operations experience.*

Local and regional street gangs have always been a problem for local police departments. But, as Homeland Security Investigations Special Agent Angel Melendez and U.S. Marshall John Gibbons note in their recent article for *The Police Chief* magazine, "The Perfect Storm: The Convergence of Gangs and Transnational Crime," the past few decades have seen the emergence in American cities of gangs whose criminal activity takes place in more than one country.

These transnational gangs, which often have sophisticated networks and exploit smuggling routes used to bring narcotics, people and proceeds across international borders illegally, are a growing challenge for local communities and for law enforcement across the United States. In a February 2017 Presidential Executive Order on Enforcing Federal Law with Respect to Transnational Criminal Organizations and Preventing International Trafficking, the Trump administration mandated an increased focus on combating criminal gangs and cartels.

Take, for example, La Mara Salvatrucha. Better known as MS-13, this notoriously violent gang that was designated a priority in October 2017 by the Department of Justice's Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces tops the list of threats for many major U.S. cities. The FBI estimates that there may be up to 10,000 MS-13 members living in the United States, many of whom emigrated from Central America. Although the gang formed in Los Angeles decades ago, its leadership is based in the "Northern Triangle"—El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras—

Special Agent Kai Fornes presents the San Salvador enhanced gang vetting process at the 2017 inaugural FRONT-Line Workshop in San Salvador, with a graphic from the presentation. Below: The *cachos* (El Salvadoran slang for horns) that hang on the wall of the ARSO-I/Fraud Prevention Unit in San Salvador are a reminder of the significance of the gang vetting efforts. The horns, one of the many symbols used by MS-13, have been painted with graffiti and other adornments associated with the notorious gang.

where U.S. law enforcement has no jurisdiction. This makes it very difficult to combat MS-13's influence and activities in the United States, which is why preventing members and affiliates from entering the United States in the first place is critical.

This is where the State Department's Diplomatic Security Service comes in.

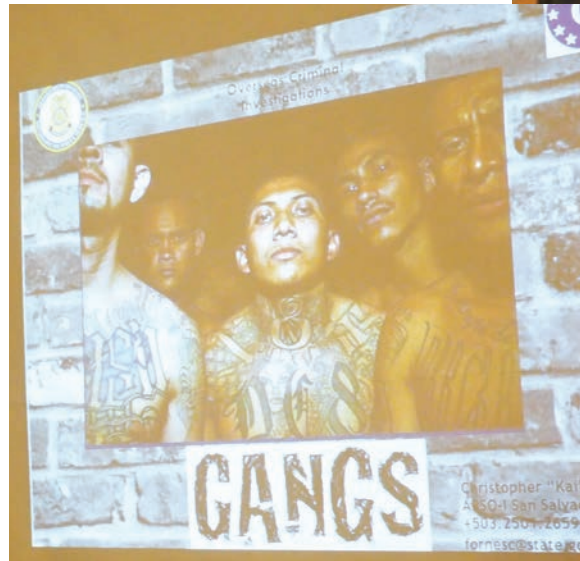
## A New and Exemplary Initiative

As the law enforcement and security arm of the U.S. Department of State, DSS partners with law enforcement in foreign countries to investigate crimes that affect U.S. citizens and national security, and trains our international counterparts to assist in those efforts. Combating transnational criminal organizations, including international gangs, is one of its top priorities. The most widely represented U.S. law enforcement agency around the world, DSS has more than 2,100 special agents serving at 275 U.S. embassies and consulates in 170 countries, as well as 29 domestic offices across the United States.

In August 2017, as part of the effort to combat gang-related transnational crime, DSS and the State Department Bureau of Consular Affairs at the U.S. embassies in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras launched an enhanced gang vetting program to identify and block legal travel to the United States by gang members called the Fraud Reduction Operations in Northern Triangle (FRONT-Line) initiative. The initiative was first implemented in San Salvador. In 2017 El Salvador's annual homicide rate was 60 murders per 100,000 inhabitants, placing it second on the list of countries outside of war zones with the highest homicide rates, according to *InSight Crime*. Many of the homicides and violent crimes in the country are attributed to gangs, which the Salvadoran government has been aggressively confronting.



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COURTESY OF KAI FORNES

Though the majority of gang members who enter the United States do so illegally—without a visa and without inspection at a port of entry—many also attempt to obtain visas through the application and interview process at a U.S. embassy or consulate outside the United States. Significantly, as border security enhancement efforts to curb illegal immigration at the southern border itself show more success, DSS and consular fraud prevention investigators have observed an upward trend in gang members attempting to manipulate the visa process.

The U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act is an excellent tool for preventing gang members from entering the United States on valid U.S. visas, but it is only effective when consular officers adjudicating visa applications have evidence of an applicant's gang affiliation. According to Section 212(a)(3)(A)(ii) of the Act, an applicant is ineligible for a visa when a consular officer has reason to believe that the applicant is coming to the United States solely, principally or incidentally to engage in unlawful activity. Visa applicants who are affiliated with gangs can be found to be ineligible for visas to travel to the United States under this section; it does not require a criminal conviction, and there is no waiver available for this inadmissibility.

## The FRONT-Line Process

Since, however, it is extremely unlikely that gang members would disclose any information on a visa application that would bar them from entering the United States, such as their gang affiliation or criminal history, additional on-the-ground resources for fully vetting those applicants are needed.

The FRONT-Line initiative's enhanced gang vetting program provides those essential tools and training. The program includes an increased focus on visa applicants in categories particularly susceptible to gang infiltration; it provides training for consular staff and support personnel at the three U.S. embassies in the Northern Triangle; and it offers a regional training course focused on interview techniques.

Consular officers at embassies in the Northern Triangle first assess every visa application. If the assessment indicates possible gang affiliation, consular officers refer the application to the consular section's fraud prevention unit (FPU) for investigation. At the same time, the DSS assistant regional security officer-investigator (ARSO-I) at the embassy investigates the visa

applicant's criminal history and background with local authorities. Once these checks are completed, FPU personnel interview the visa applicant.

If the investigation yields evidence that the visa applicant is most likely affiliated with a gang, or if there is evidence that an applicant has provided false information on a visa application, the ARSO-I will also open a visa fraud criminal investigation.

Several recent applications flagged by the FRONT-Line vetting process have led to investigations that uncovered sophisticated document fraud. These investigations suggest that those attempting to obtain a U.S. visa with falsified documents have detailed knowledge of the visa adjudication process, and are coordinating efforts among local MS-13-affiliated gang members to provide doctored court records covering up more serious crimes and excluding the names of other gang members implicated in those crimes. In other cases, the ARSO-I investigative team has uncovered gang members using false or stolen identities to manipulate both the Salvadoran and U.S. immigration systems.

According to a recent internal review at Embassy San Salvador,



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## DSS-trained Salvadoran law enforcement and immigration officials are another key element in combating transnational crime and document fraud.

the initiative has already proven to be 87 percent more effective in identifying gang members and gang affiliations in the United States and overseas than previously used vetting processes.

### Host Nations Partnerships

While FRONT-Line gives the embassies' ARSO-Is and FPUs additional resources and techniques to identify and deny visas to gang members who apply for them, host-nation governments also play a critical role in these efforts. DSS special agents are the senior U.S. law enforcement officials at all U.S. embassies—including in San Salvador, Guatemala City and Tegucigalpa—and this has allowed DSS to foster longstanding, close relationships with local law enforcement and immigration authorities. In addition, DSS placed an ARSO-I at each of the embassies to support investigations and national security concerns that affect not just the United States, but the host countries as well.

A key resource for ARSO-Is and FPUs in the Triangle is a border intelligence fusion center known as the Grupo Conjunto de Inteligencia Fronteriza, which collects and develops regional criminal intelligence and serves as an operational coordination and collaboration center for regional transnational law enforcement initiatives. This center was established by the Salvadoran government in December 2017 after the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs began a joint initiative with the government to better screen incoming migrants for gang affiliations at the southern border of the United States. The GCIF is preparing to receive personnel soon from Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico, allowing it to expand its coverage.

The GCIF is an integral part of the ARSO-I and FPU's enhanced gang vetting process because it incorporates criminal intelligence information from the FBI, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and partnering foreign law enforcement institutions. The ARSO-I and FPU use these multiple sources of information during the visa adjudication process.

DSS-trained Salvadoran law enforcement and immigration officials are another key element in combating transnational crime and document fraud. For several years, every new Salvadoran police officer and immigration official has received intensive training on how to spot falsified travel and identity documents.

DSS signed agreements with the governments of El Salva-

dor and Guatemala establishing special investigative units of vetted national police officers who work with embassy ARSO-Is to conduct visa fraud investigations. When visa applicants omit disqualifying gang affiliation information in the visa adjudication process, they commit fraud.

As a result of the ARSO-I's continued collaboration with the San Salvador Attorney General's Office, it is now a crime in El Salvador to present a false document when applying for a U.S. visa. Also, over the last several months, the ARSO-I has been working with the AGO to explore new ways to prosecute gang members identified by the enhanced gang vetting process. In March the AGO agreed to serve as the primary venue for all cases related to gang affiliation visa fraud, a significant development for the U.S.-Salvadoran relationship and for DSS' work to combat transnational gangs overseas.

### Supporting U.S. Gang Investigations

One of the greatest contributions DSS makes to the U.S. law enforcement community is providing investigative information and intelligence gained by working with our law enforcement partners overseas.

In January the DSS Overseas Criminal Investigations Division chief—who oversees the ARSO-I program and the ARSO-Is posted in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras—briefed the gang task forces of Nassau and Suffolk Counties in Long Island, New York, on the FRONT-Line initiative. They discussed how information gleaned from the vetting process and investigations can assist state and local law enforcement when they are working on cases that may involve transnational criminal gangs. A week after the meeting, Suffolk County law enforcement officials used the information provided by DSS to identify an alleged MS-13 suspect who was wanted in Maryland and hiding in Suffolk County.

The FRONT-Line effort in the Northern Triangle serves as a standard for how to combat violent criminal gangs at home. Identifying, disrupting and dismantling transnational criminal gang activity is only possible through collaborative efforts both at home and abroad. DSS and the rest of the State Department will continue to work hard to deter legal entry of potential gang members into the United States, and to support U.S. law enforcement agencies combating violent gangs inside the United States. ■



# KHETHA: Bringing “Choices” to Help Address Wildlife Trafficking

**An innovative USAID-supported program invites communities around protected areas to play a critical role.**

BY LARA RALL

**W**ildlife trafficking is one of the most profitable areas of the global black market and one that is becoming more entrenched in transnational organized crime syndicates operating locally, nationally and internationally. The



*Lara Rall is the communications manager of the World Wide Fund for Nature South Africa's Khetha program, supported by USAID. She began her career in conservation in 2013 as a communication and outreach specialist for Chemonics International on the USAID*

*Resilience in the Limpopo River Basin (RESILIM) program, based in South Africa. She joined Khetha in January 2018. The author would like to thank the following members of the Khetha program team for their reviews and comments: Michael Murphree, Dr. Jo Shaw, Lindie Botha, Nelisiwe Vundla and Natalia Banasiak. Photos courtesy of WWF.*





Top: Representatives of the Water Stewardship Programme, supported by the World Wide Fund for Nature and SANParks, make a field visit to a vegetable farm in Belfast, near Kruger National Park. The programme enables farmers to access water from the river inside the park. Center: The fence surrounding Kruger National Park. Bottom: During the same field visit, Water Stewardship Programme representatives inspect a pump located within KNP that irrigates a local farmer's land.



two traditional approaches to combating this scourge—law enforcement and denial of markets—are now being complemented by a critical third: the organization and empowerment of communities adjacent to wildlife sanctuaries to assist in the preservation of this invaluable source of natural diversity and vital part of Earth's ecosystem.

### Scope of the Illegal Trade

Hundreds of thousands of live animals and wildlife-derived products are illegally traded, amounting to an annual total estimated value of between \$8 billion and \$10 billion. The effects of wildlife trafficking are far-reaching. Poaching results in the decline of animal populations, which in turn can cause the degradation of whole ecosystems. The proliferation of syndicates associated with the illegal wildlife trade promotes corruption, undermining not only state security but also the economies and development of affected countries—especially those with sectors that rely on wildlife, such as nature-based tourism.

Poaching of elephants for their ivory and rhinos for their horns are some of the most evident representations of the illegal trade in high-value wildlife products. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) is rich in biodiversity, encompassing the world-famous Kruger National Park in South Africa, Limpopo National Park in Mozambique, Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe and associated private or community-owned protected areas. With more than 80 percent of Africa's rhinos, South Africa—and Kruger National Park, in particular—has borne the brunt of the upsurge in rhino poaching incidents since 2008.

Over the past three years, there has been a slight decline in the number of rhinos poached—from a national record of 1,125 animals during 2014 to 1,028 in 2017, of which almost half were killed in Kruger National Park. While the slight decline in KNP is encouraging, there appears to be a shift to poaching of other species, as well as in other areas, such as the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. The increase in elephant poaching in KNP to 67 elephants in 2017 from 46 in 2016 is particularly concerning. The GLTFCA also reports an increase in wildlife poisoning incidents, which have a detrimental impact on vultures and other species.



## A Message from Representative Ed Royce: Wildlife Trafficking Is a National Security Issue

**A** withered Bengal tiger cub weighing less than a quarter of its normal body weight; king cobras concealed in potato chip containers; a suitcase stuffed with bound exotic songbirds, nearly all of them dead by the time their perilous journey came to an end.

These are just a few of the grisly discoveries of an ongoing initiative—Operation Jungle Book—that exposed a wildlife trafficking ring in Southern California. The investigation and prosecution of these crimes was authorized by the Eliminate, Neutralize and Disrupt (END) Wildlife Trafficking Act, bipartisan legislation signed into law last year to strengthen international cooperation and treat the illegal wildlife trade the same as arms and drug trafficking.

As Operation Jungle Book shows, wildlife trafficking affects communities across the globe, including in my home state of California. Stopping these crimes isn't just about saving the icons of our animal kingdom from extinction. It is also about our national security.

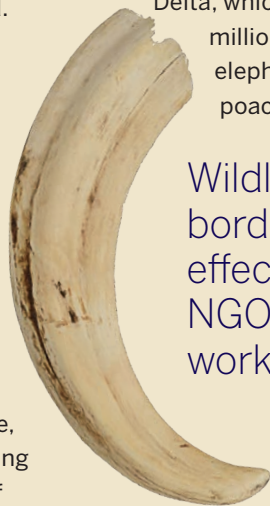
There are roles for all of us to play. Congress is working to provide a clear direction for the United States, and other governments, to follow. As America's voice abroad, diplomats and other foreign policy professionals can have an especially big impact.

That's why I always encourage our men and women in the field to make conservation issues a priority. It's a great way to get out into communities, establish new government contacts, and build relationships with local businesses and law enforcement.

The challenge is clear. Profits from the illicit trade in animal parts—estimated at \$20 billion annually—are a key funding source for rebels and terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and Al Shabaab, as well as international criminal syndicates and smuggling networks. These groups corrupt local governments and spread violence, thereby devastating the economies of affected communities. According to a 2016 World Wildlife Fund study, elephant poaching costs African economies as much as \$25 million in lost tourism revenue each year. This

means more hunger, more poverty and more violence across the continent.

I saw this firsthand on a delegation I recently led to Angola, Botswana and Namibia. The Okavango River Delta, which spans these countries, is home to one million people and the world's largest remaining elephant herd. But, as in other African regions, poaching and other forms of wildlife trafficking are



Wildlife and water don't know borders. For conservation to be effective, we need governments, NGOs and the private sector all working together.

increasing in the delta, and unwise development being pushed by China and others threatens to siphon off the delta's water.

To help protect this unique ecosystem, I'm working to enact the Defending Economic Livelihoods and Threatened Animals (DELTA) Act. Among other things, this bill strengthens cooperation between the governments of the United States, Angola, Botswana and Namibia and promotes responsible economic growth and natural resource management. I was proud to see the House of Representatives pass the DELTA Act in July, and I now look forward to seeing it through in the Senate.

Like we did with the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, our goal with the DELTA Act is to strengthen coordination among the key players in the region. Wildlife and water don't know borders. For conservation to be effective, we need governments, nongovernmental organizations and the private sector all working together. Our world's well-being depends on this and many more such efforts.

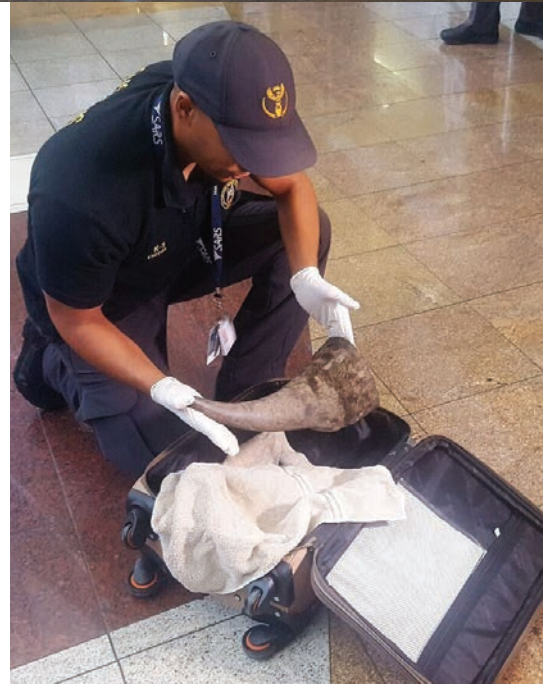
—Representative Ed Royce (R-Calif.)  
is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
and sponsor of the END Wildlife Trafficking Act.  
He is also championing the DELTA Act in Congress.

## A Complex Problem

However, the effects of wildlife trafficking run deeper than the animals lost; the practice also harms the people who live in or near affected areas. Rural communities living close to protected areas are often perceived as part of the problem; they are believed to be taking part in or indirectly facilitating the illegal activities. In reality, many members of rural communities are negatively affected by wildlife trafficking syndicates. Exposure to illicit trafficking networks and the influx of illegal funds can lead to social instability, with repercussions such as increased drug and alcohol abuse and the sexual exploitation of women.

Many of the communities living in and around the GLTFCA have a complex relationship with park management. As a result of forced relocations during the creation of these protected areas, they may have lost access to natural resources and cultural heritage sites. Rural communities living around protected areas face additional challenges such as poverty, unemployment, food insecurity and poor access to water, health care, education and proper sanitation. In many cases communities derive little or no benefit from the wildlife in neighboring protected areas. On the contrary, often protected wildlife like elephants, hippos, lions and leopards destroy crops and kill livestock, or even people themselves. Such challenges create conditions that are rife for criminal syndicates to embed themselves in the community and recruit people, particularly young men, to become involved in wildlife trafficking.

In recent years there has been growing bipartisan interest in the issue. In 2013 President Barack Obama issued an executive order to increase the U. S. government's efforts to reduce wildlife trafficking domestically and provide assistance to foreign nations. In 2014 a Task Force on Wildlife Trafficking created by President Obama developed the National Strategy for Combating Wildlife Trafficking. A number of government agencies—including the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the U.S.



Above: There are various types of land use around Kruger National Park. Here a farmer walks his cattle herd just outside the park. Below: During World Wildlife Day in March, the South African Police Service gave a sniffer dog demonstration at the O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg to show how rhino horn can be detected in luggage.

## Many of the communities living in and around wildlife refuges have a complex relationship with park management.

Agency for International Development—have made significant investments in Africa and Asia to improve wildlife conservation and reduce wildlife trafficking.

More recently, President Donald Trump identified wildlife trafficking as a priority with the issuance of Executive Order 13773 in February 2017. Representative Ed Royce (R-Calif.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and sponsor of the END Wildlife Trafficking Act, has actively backed an ongoing initiative called Operation Jungle Book that exposed a wildlife trafficking ring in Southern California (see page 35). Rep. Royce is presently working to enact the Defending Economic Livelihoods and Threatened Animals (DELTA) Act, which, among other things, strengthens cooperation between the governments of the United States, Angola, Botswana and Namibia and

promotes responsible economic growth and natural resource management.

To date the response to wildlife trafficking has been concentrated in two areas: increased or improved law enforcement, on one hand, and efforts to reduce demand for wildlife products, on the other. In the long term, however, breaking the illegal wildlife trade chain requires a more holistic approach.

### The Critical Role of Communities

Khetha is a five-year USAID program launched in July 2017 by WWF South Africa in partnership with the governments of South Africa and Mozambique. *Khetha*, meaning “choice” or “choose” in the local vernacular, was selected as the program’s name based on the fundamental premise that communities around



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It is important to enable communities to benefit from protected areas and take part in the decision-making around wildlife management.

protected areas have a critical role to play in the future of wildlife. The program's activities in the trans-boundary area of South Africa and Mozambique address wildlife trafficking in southern Africa and contribute to the United States National Strategy for Combating Wildlife Trafficking.

Effective law enforcement and a strong judiciary are still necessary to deter and discourage illegal behavior. To do so requires viable government institutions with officials skilled in wildlife trafficking prevention, detection and apprehension; crime scene management; investigation; and expert prosecution capabilities, as well as appropriate penalties. Because corruption is so closely related to organized crime activities, strategies to eliminate corruption are essential.

Khetha provides support through research, training and tool development. For example, Khetha conducts research into existing support mechanisms for rangers; develops and implements ranger leadership and well-being training; provides training in and testing of a restorative justice approach; develops an accredited curriculum and training program in Portuguese for field rangers in Mozambique; offers needed infrastructure and equipment, such as wildlife crime scene kits; and develops strategic communications materials based on behavior change principles.

Khetha will also facilitate and support collaboration and the sharing of information and lessons learned between South African and Mozambican law enforcement agencies and judiciary, recognizing that better law enforcement will not in itself provide the solution for the poaching of threatened species like rhinos and elephants.

### Systemic Change Is Needed

The level of systemic change needed to protect these species



A woman sells local produce grown around Kruger National Park.

requires the support of communities and the restoration and building of strong relationships between these communities and park management. Yet each community in this vast region is different.

Along the borders of the GLTFCA, people are diverse. They have different cultures, demographics, languages, livelihoods and levels of access to basic services such as employment, healthcare and education. Their interaction with wildlife and park management also varies. Thus, their perceptions and attitudes toward protected areas and wildlife differ.

For Khetha and other initiatives to succeed, it is important to genuinely understand these relationships and challenges, and enable communities to benefit from protected areas and take part in the decision-making around wildlife management, instead of only bearing the costs of living with wildlife.

Khetha is therefore supporting partnerships between communities, protected areas, local organizations, national governments and the private sector to address the different sociopolitical and economic issues within these communities, thus allowing them to choose to become long-term supporters of protected areas and wildlife. ■

# 10 THINGS I Wish I Had Known: Confessions of a Recent Retiree

BY DOLORES BROWN

**R**etirement sneaks up on you—and it doesn't. I prepped for it over many years, methodically putting money away, deciding on my retirement destination of choice (I'm remaining in the D.C. area) and, most recently, scouting out couch-surfing opportunities with my still-employed Foreign Service friends. But when the final days of my career were upon me, I remembered like yesterday lamenting with my A-100 classmates that in most career spans we could only serve in about eight overseas posts.

I knew I wanted to do more, but I wasn't sure what. I also thought I knew what I needed to know. I was wrong. Here are 10 things I wish I had known as the big day closed in:

**1. It can be really energizing to shake your life up.** The first rule of thumb for me was to stop focusing on the end of life as I knew it, and to start looking forward. The



*Dolores Marie Brown retired from the Foreign Service in April 2018 with the rank of Minister Counselor. Ms. Brown's most recent assignments include political adviser to the three-star general at the Defense Logistics Agency, acting assistant secretary in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and management counselor at Embassy Cairo. She also served as deputy director of the Operations Center and deputy chief of mission at Embassy Tallinn, and was the first State Department officer seconded to the Federal Bureau of Investigation to establish the Terrorist Screening Center shortly after the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. Ms. Brown is AFSA's retirement benefits counselor.*

Foreign Service Institute's Job Search Program supports the transition from old habits of mind to new, which was very helpful (see #10 for more). For those who aren't able to take the course, you will chart your own evolution; but believe me, it's a liberating process. And we Foreign Service members tend to have the renewal gene—if nothing else, we are adaptable.

**2. Don't pay attention to newspaper headlines trumpeting that you need \$1 million to retire.**

Those newspapers and magazines are not factoring into their \$1 million equation a reliable lifetime annuity. Figure out how much your annuity is worth over the span of time you're likely to receive it, and you'll see that your retirement nest egg is considerably larger than you think. In addition, although I underscore I am no financial adviser, given that we receive a stable and reliable income through our annuity, we can choose to be more aggressive in our investment strategy with other funds we have at our disposal. This strategy can provide a hedge against inflation and unforeseen events.

To learn more, take advantage of FSI's battery of retirement courses starting in mid-career and tune into AFSA webinars on retirement subjects as early as possible.

**3. It's a new world out there in terms of job-hunting.** I think we all realize that applying for jobs now happens online. But do you know how to get your resumé noticed? The answer is keywords. After all, a computer is doing the initial culling and will only spit out resumé and letters that include the words for which it's looking. So don't use your own vernacular; instead, use phrasing that is included in the job advertisement to better your chances to scale this hurdle. In addition, be aware of pitfalls when using technology. One speaker at the JSP told an entertaining but apocryphal tale about a woman

who conducted her Skype job interview in her daughter's room, where the family's laptop resides. The problem was that behind this professional-looking applicant hung a Technicolor poster of ponies, not exactly the image one wants to project. Oh, and don't forget to wear your pants or skirt—you never know if you may have to get up.

**4. There is a wide variety of appealing full- and part-time work out there.** And, I'd venture to say, something for everyone who wants it. Again, I had the benefit of the JSP and its excellent line-up of speakers, which introduced participants to an appealing smorgasbord of possibilities. We were introduced to options ranging from professional mediator, to highly skilled Peace Corps Volunteer for short stints, to English as a Second Language teacher, to consultant, to writer, etc. There is a whole universe out there beyond the WAE/RAE route, if you're looking for something different or moving outside the D.C. area.

**5. It's harder than you think to put together a great resumé.** Resumés now generally include a concise upfront statement about who you are, what you want to do and what you have to offer—a thought-provoking exercise in itself. One trend that was difficult for my colleagues in our JSP resumé working group was the notion that we needed to throw in adjectives to describe our stellar qualities in this statement, something that is difficult for anyone who is uncomfortable with braggadocio. In addition, you really need honest and careful people to critique your resumé, which takes time. Six of us went over each other's draft resumes with fine-toothed combs not once, but twice. This was an exhaustive process, something that I don't recommend you ask your best friend(s) to do. Or, if you do, take them out for a big dinner at the end of it all.

**6. Consider taking out long-term care insurance earlier rather than later.** No one likes to think about this when they're young, but anyone who has navigated a loved one through the health care system when long-term assistance is needed will recognize the wisdom of considering this insurance. In addition, the decision you make on this subject could have a huge impact on whether your estate remains fully intact for your heirs. Experts will tell you to read the fine print so that you know precisely what is covered and what isn't—it isn't a step to take lightly. There are alternatives in the form of buying into senior communities in which you can be assisted part- or full-time as you age, but that can be a costly proposition. The point is that if you know you wish to opt for long-term care insurance, it is much less expensive the earlier you sign up.

You'll find a recent video on the topic of long-term care insurance at [afsa.org/video](https://afsa.org/video).

**7. Personal cards are not 19th-century relics.** Remember those sprawling Victorian novels in which characters would leave their calling cards on the fireplace mantle? That's what I thought of when the JSP introduced the idea of personal cards. But I buckled, got them, and have used them often as I'm navigating in new environments and making new connections.

**8. Get sound, individualized professional financial advice and focus on tax implications early.** Okay, I admit I didn't do this; but you should. The decisions you make even 15 years before you retire can reverberate for good or ill when you are nearing retirement. Focus particularly on the tax and estate planning implications of each available option.

**9. Don't worry if it takes time to absorb all of the information on finances, Medicare and other health care options, elder care, etc.** I had to hear about the difference between a guaranteed annuity from TSP and other alternatives for withdrawing funds many times before the information stuck. I find many topics are like that. Start earlier than you think and revisit every few years as your circumstances and the general investment landscape may change. And visit AFSA's website ([afsa.org/afsa-video](https://afsa.org/afsa-video)) as often as you like to view videos on a variety of retirement topics.

**10. Sign up for the JSP.** If you've read this far, you know I'm a fan of the Foreign Service Institute's Job Search Program, which helped me on both a practical and psychological level as I faced retirement. The line-up of speakers includes foreign affairs agency retirees, professional recruiters and experts in relevant professional areas, covering the bases from health insurance to annuities, from tax implications of Roth IRAs to tax-favorable states.

Participants also break up into small groups to discuss their ideas about the future—not just about work, but holistically—and test those ideas in a supportive atmosphere. This exercise both sharpened my thinking and opened me up to possibilities I hadn't previously considered.

Most importantly, the JSP helped me to realize that retirement is simply part of a continuum in one's life, not a euphemism for an ending. It's a label for what may come after full-time work, and doesn't necessarily mean a golf cart on a golf course. My colleagues and I all came up with unique plans for the next few years thanks to our JSP experience, but all of our plans had one thing in common: they drew on our experience and what was closest to our hearts. And that good old Foreign Service adaptability doesn't hurt, either. ■



# Jessica's JOURNEYS

**Not just tales of many travels during a too-short life, they are the story of an FS community that supported her, and supports us all.**

BY LESLIE BASSETT



HANNAH DUFFORD

Jessica's friends and colleagues erected a sundial in the Embassy Rangoon garden in her memory.

**E**xpatriates share the wanderlust gene embedded deep in our DNA—perhaps a throwback to nomadic ancestors, perhaps just a tick in the evolutionary clock. Whatever its origin, it prompts us to constant movement, exploration, investigation and introspection. It means we carry with us always the cords of childhood that connect us to family and the bonds of global adventures (and misadventures) that link us to a found community of like spirits. We carry home in backpacks, suitcases and shipping boxes. We carry families in our hearts, our stories, our much-thumbed photos and our social media.

Jessica el Bechir was an explorer, a truth-teller and a colleague whose indelible spirit made her a cherished member of many families, both genetic and peripatetic. She was itinerant even in her youth—first an exchange student, then a Peace Corps Volunteer before joining the State Department Foreign Service. I knew her as a consular officer and general services



*Leslie Bassett retired in 2017 from the Senior Foreign Service. She is a former U.S. ambassador to Paraguay. Ambassador Bassett has also served as deputy chief of mission in Manila, Mexico City and Gaborone. She served informally as coordinator of Women Ambassadors Serving America at the State Department.*



Jessica and her HR team at Embassy Rangoon at an awards ceremony in December 2014. Left to right: Julia Swe, Susan Nwe, Jess, Jenny Thi and Khin Mar.

officer in Seoul. From there she transferred to Rangoon to run the Office of Human Resources. Wherever she was, Jessica's passion for life and for her daughter, her blistering frankness and her irrepressible energy were effervescent. She shared her views, her plant-garnished cocktails, her friendship and her compassion with equal fervor. When Jessica was tragically killed in an accident in Vietnam in March 2017, her birth family and her traveling families came together to grieve, to remember and to bring her home to Louisiana and to all the other places she loved.

Jessica's journeys are not just tales of many travels during a too-short life. They are the story of an FS community that supported her—and supports us all—on our itinerant journey through life.

### Absorbing the Shock

Like all of her many friends, I was shocked by the news that Jessica had died while on vacation in Vietnam. We exchanged what little we knew on Facebook, united by a quickly established memorial page. She had taken a last-minute weekend trip with embassy friends, then came a motorcycle accident and tragedy. We shared photos and memories as the news spread; we shared our shock and sorrow, as well. Like the other 500 people who eventually joined us on Facebook, I couldn't believe she was gone.

I could imagine, though, what it would take to bring her home. The death of an embassy colleague is devastating. You are torn between overwhelming grief, the need to inform and com-

fort others, and the imperative to make decisions. It fell initially to her traveling companions and embassy teams in both Vietnam and Myanmar to care for the surviving victims, protect Jess and support her family. As the news spread around the world, Jessica's friends and families began to pull together.

In Rangoon Jessica's supervisor and friend, Lisa Povolni, was enjoying a slow Sunday when she heard the news. Many of the responsibilities were hers as management counselor; she would take on many more as Jessica's friend. Lisa remembers: "I went to the embassy and started logging on to the computer to get Jess' next-of-kin information. I sent that to the ambassador and deputy chief of mission; and the ambassador called Jess' mother. He asked her mother how she wanted to notify Jessica's daughter. Jess' mother asked us to handle the notification, but then to immediately Facetime her, so she could talk to her granddaughter."

"A small group of us went to Jessica's apartment," Lisa recalls. "We broke the news to her daughter, and spent the next hours comforting her and talking to her family. We found out that Jess' grandfather was in Australia and could get to Rangoon quickly." That quickly turned into a three-country odyssey that involved Consulate Sydney, Embassy Kuala Lumpur and continued engagement by Embassy Rangoon to overcome visa and travel obstacles; but he made it in time to attend Jessica's flag ceremony the first work day after the accident.

"The entire embassy community gathered at the flagpole; and staff, mostly local staff, had purchased hundreds of flow-

ers,” remembers Lisa. “The ambassador said a few words; we observed a moment of silence; and the Marines took down the flag, folded it and presented it to Jess’ grandfather. After that, each embassy staff member came one by one to the flagpole to lay flowers in memory of Jess. It was an incredibly moving moment.”

That same day a survivor of the accident, Jessica’s colleague and friend R.C. Bitting, spoke with Jessica’s family from his hospital bed in Hanoi. He remembers: “This was the most difficult phone conversation I’ve ever had, but Jess’ mother, father and grandfather were so supportive of my recovery. Others have credited them for bringing me back from a growing dark depression.”

At the embassy in Rangoon, the ceremony was over but not the grieving. Lisa continues: “Our medical officer suggested turning Jess’ office into a memorial to allow people a place to mourn and absorb the loss. After the flag ceremony, management staff filled her office with vases of flowers and set up a small memorial with a photo of Jess and a blank memory book

for staff to use to write memories of her. We left the light on and the door open so anyone could come in.”

### Gathering Memories

Jessica’s scattered community of friends was still grieving too. Facebook served as our memory book, and also as a call to action. Jessica’s Washington friends collected toys and gifts for her daughter. Others curated a playlist of Jessica’s favorite songs. Former Peace Corps colleagues gathered photos that poured in from around the world. Amidst it all Jessica’s mother, Suzette Daniel, and her family offered comfort and grace to Jessica’s far-flung friends.

Lisa volunteered to bring Jessica’s remains back to Louisiana—an honor, but also a nightmare tangle of “Fly America” and other rules. Managing sorrow and bureaucracy at the same time is a superhuman task. Lisa recounts: “On the third day after Jess’ death, I became incredibly angry in my grief; and for lack of a better target, my anger was directed completely at our bureaucracy. I woke up to multiple action messages from



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### Financial Analysis

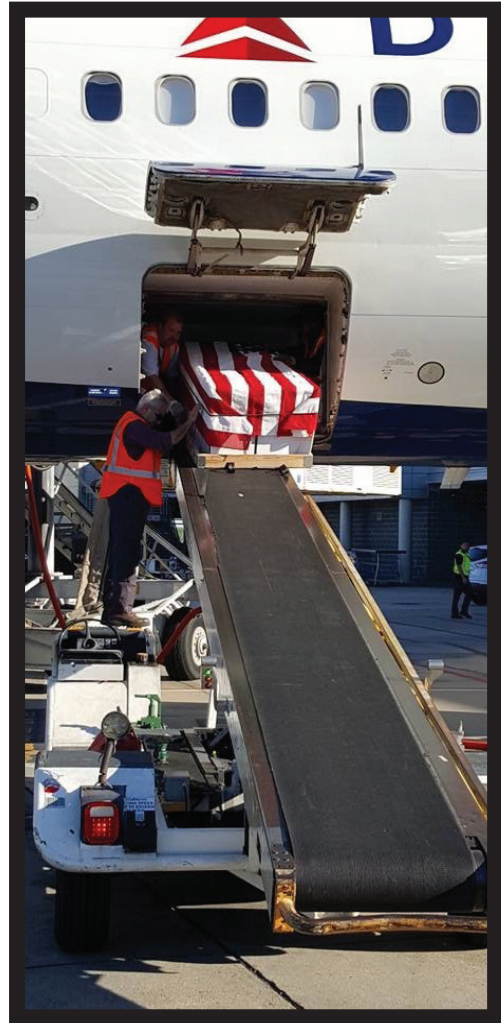
Former State Department Employee Stationed Overseas Understands Unique Financial Situation of Foreign Service

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### MARY CORNELIA GINN

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Jessica's coffin returns to the United States, where colleagues were waiting to receive it.

Washington offices that obviously were not coordinating with each other. Digging through their to-do items for us was taking me away from supporting Jess' family and our team. The bureaucracy does not step up in situations like this, but people do."

We followed Jessica's homecoming through Lisa's Facebook posts. From Rangoon to Hanoi, and then to Ho Chi Minh City, supported in both places by embassy and consulate staff. Then the long flight to Dubai, then to Dulles and bad weather that delayed their onward travel for agonizing days. Then a flight to Atlanta and yet another delay.

And finally, as Lisa remembers: “As we were landing in New Orleans, I talked to the head flight attendant to make sure I could get off the plane first to meet Jess’ family on the tarmac. He was a retired Army veteran and he asked, ‘Who are you bringing home?’ I told him about Jess, and about her daughter; he had tears in his eyes as we talked. I met Jess’ family on the tarmac, and the first person I saw was her mother. She walked over to me and gave me a big hug. The only words that came out of my mouth were, ‘I’m so sorry. I loved her so much.’ As we watched her coffin come off the plane, I noticed that the flight attendant had joined us. He was standing at attention and saluting.”

Lisa’s Facebook post read: “She’s home.”

### A Somber, Joyous Celebration

Those who could fly, carpooled, bused and trained their way to St. Francisville, Louisiana, in early April for a somber, loud, joyous and sorrowful celebration of Jessica’s life. Her favorite songs played loudly. People toasted her with plant-garnished cocktails and shared their many stories of Jessica as a red-headed handful in school, as an exchange student in Ireland, as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Mauritania, as a dedicated and fun-loving mother, as a friend and as a Foreign Service officer. As the sun settled into the horizon, her friends and families launched dream lanterns into the starry night sky, each one representing the many good memories. At Embassy Rangoon friends and colleagues looked to the sunny sky, thought of Jessica and created a sundial in the garden to mark the light she left in many lives.

Nomads call many places home. Jessica’s family shared her ashes with her many wandering friends, with the request that they leave some in the places she loved best. Jessica now swims in the clear waters of the French Caribbean. She smiles from the tallest limbs of a North Carolina pine tree. She waits on the banks of the Nile. She dances on the westernmost point of Africa. She applauds at Madison Square Garden. She is remembered at the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon and in the embassy garden there whenever the sun shines. Her parents left her along every beach in California and at the Sea of Cortez. Most important, Jessica basks in the Louisiana heat, watching her daughter flower into a young woman.

Life in the Foreign Service can seem lonely, and our lives can feel remote from those we love most. Jessica reminds us that the communities of friends we build along the way are family, too. We have room in our hearts, and in our lives, for all and then some. ■

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# Making It in Mongolia: Surviving One of the Coldest Capitals

BY NICOLE SCHAEFER-MCDANIEL

It's the first day of our last spring in Mongolia. The smog has temporarily lifted over Ulaanbaatar's city center, and the sky is back to a beautiful shade of blue. It seems like the entire embassy community is outside: kids riding bikes, playing tag and digging in melting snow and ice. Spring has finally arrived.

Though it seems like the blink of an eye, almost three years have passed since we first landed here. Thinking back to my initial burst of excitement and anxiety, I realize how fond I have grown of this place and its people. That is not to say that life here is without challenges: horrendous air pollution in the extremely cold and long winters, limited health care, isolation from pretty much anywhere else in the world and expensive airline tickets to get out.

Though I already considered myself a seasoned Foreign Service spouse, this was our first post where I could not speak the local language—and not for a lack of trying. Being bilingual, I thought I had an advantage; I worked tediously with a tutor memorizing a new alphabet, but the utter lack of cognates in this very foreign tongue left me flustered.

But I kept telling myself we joined

the Foreign Service to experience the *foreign*, and finding my way around with a toddler-level vocabulary made it all the more adventurous.

We arrived in summer, with weather wildly alternating between hot, cool and rainy. After a few short weeks of perfect fall temperatures, we headed into winter. I prepared to keep myself busy indoors with work at a local university. In that first year I learned a valuable lesson: have back-up plans in case jobs don't survive economic hardships in developing nations.

When the temperatures dropped to -30 F on a regular basis during our second winter, I became a pro at getting my family dressed and out the door in the dark morning hours. The secret? Layers of long underwear, snow pants, long winter parkas, sheep fur-lined boots and a collection of locally purchased (and affordable) cashmere and yak leg-warmers, hats, scarves and mittens.

I learned to store my family's winter accessories in individual bins next to the door and to allow plenty of time to wrangle my kids into them while shouting orders to use the bathroom before zipping up snow pants.

I also learned to laugh when my hair froze in a matter of minutes as we waited for the bus. And I learned to take photos to remember those rushed mornings very quickly, before cell-phone batteries succumbed to the cold.

The long winters also gave me time to do something completely different. I started practicing yoga at a nearby

studio and soon found myself training to become a yoga teacher, memorizing pose names in Sanskrit from a training manual that had been hastily translated from Mongolian.

Yoga gave me a space outside the embassy "bubble" and time to reflect on the roller coaster of Foreign Service life while building physical fitness. I continue to grow as a teacher, reminding myself and my students to connect our bodies and our minds as we experience life wherever it may take us.

As naïve as it may sound, each overseas assignment is truly what you make of it. Yes, there were many moments of frustration with Mongolia's bureaucracy, lack of organization, terrible traffic and serious pollution—but there was also its beauty.

I spent time with eagle hunters in the far west observing their skills; dug around in the Gobi Desert for dinosaur fossils with my kids; went dog sledding on a frozen river; drank fermented mare's milk; and rode camels and horses while taking in the stark splendor and vast open spaces of the steppe.

And I became an expert winter outfitter who discovered a passion for yoga along the way. So what if I ended up with food poisoning *again* or felt obligated to consume more vodka and mutton during local holidays than anyone should have to in a lifetime? This is the *foreign* we signed up for. ■



Nicole Schaefer-McDaniel and her husband, FSO John McDaniel, joined the Foreign Service community in 2009. They have served

in Brazil, Austria and Mongolia. Their next assignment is Wuhan.

## USDC and AFSA Join Forces for Remembrance of 1998 East Africa Embassy Bombings



AFSA/SHAWN DORMAN

Panelists George Mimba, Mike Trott, Tina Mdobilu, Dudley Sims, Ambassador Pru Bushnell and Ambassador John Lange discuss their experiences during and after the bombing.

On Aug. 6 the U.S. Diplomacy Center hosted “Remembrance, Reflection, Resilience: Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the East Africa Bombings” in the Harry S Truman Building.

AFSA’s *Foreign Service Journal* team—working with Ambassadors Pru Bushnell and John Lange, and with the U.S. Diplomacy Center—spent months collecting reflections from survivors for a special July-August edition of *The Foreign Service Journal* and planning the anniversary event. (Reflections were also shared with the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training for a special oral history collection.)

Many survivors whose personal stories were included in the *Journal* were among the more than 200 people who attended the event. Speakers

included Susan Pompeo, the spouse of Secretary of State Mike Pompeo; USAID Administrator Mark Green; Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Tibor Nagy; and USDC Director Mary Kane.

The highlight was the two-part panel discussion, moderated by AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, during which survivors of the bombings spoke.

First, Pru Bushnell, U.S. ambassador in Nairobi at the time of the bombings, and John Lange, chargé d’affaires in Dar es Salaam, gave powerful remarks describing the situation on the ground and in the U.S. relationship with Kenya and Tanzania at the time.

Panelists for the second part were: George Mimba, an FSN and 26-year employee of

Embassy Nairobi; Mike Trott, who had been the regional executive officer at the USAID mission in Kenya for just 10 days when the bombing occurred; Tina Mdobilu, an FSN interpreter for Embassy Dar es Salaam at the time of the bombing; and Dudley Sims, a public affairs officer who arrived in Dar es Salaam just eight days before the bombing. These survivors discussed in moving detail their experiences during the bombing and its aftermath.

In her remarks, Amb. Stephenson said that the commemoration was intended to be “about community, coming together to remember and to honor those we have lost and the survivors, those who kept going, and who rebuilt, kept our diplomacy and our communities going.” And

*Continued on p. 56*

## CALENDAR

October 8  
Columbus Day –  
AFSA Offices Closed

October 9  
Luncheon:  
195th A-100 Class

October 10  
12-1 p.m.  
Job Search Program  
Brown Bag Lunch

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

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

October 17, 24 and 31  
AFSA/Smithsonian  
Associates: “The Future  
of U.S.-Russia Relations”

October 25  
Retiree Webinar with  
AFSA President  
Ambassador Barbara  
Stephenson

October 26  
Job Search Program  
Graduation Reception

October 28-November 1  
AFSA Road Scholar Program  
Washington, D.C.

November 12  
Veterans Day –  
AFSA Offices Closed

November 14  
12-1:30 p.m.  
AFSA Governing  
Board Meeting

November 22 and 23  
Thanksgiving –  
AFSA Offices Closed

## DIPLOMACY THROUGH MUSIC

## AFSA President's Speech Brings People to Their Feet

On Aug. 7, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson delivered a nearly hour-long speech at the Chautauqua Institution on "Conducting Diplomacy Through Sharing Music."

Founded in 1874, the Chautauqua Institution springs to life for nine weeks each summer offering a wide range of lectures, fine and performing arts shows, interfaith programs and recreational activities. Each of the nine weeks focuses on a different theme; Amb. Stephenson was invited to speak during the week centered on the arts and global understanding, which included a performance by the Silk Road Ensemble with Yo-Yo Ma.

On the morning of her speech, the *Chautauquan Daily* published an article, "What Diplomats Do and Why it Matters," written by Amb. Stephenson.

In addition to those who tuned in via Facebook Live, an audience of nearly 3,500 gathered in the open-air amphitheater to listen as Amb. Stephenson described how music can be used to bring people—even adversaries—together, with the potential to create a breakthrough to peace.

Amb. Stephenson began with an anecdote about cultural diplomacy in which a Foreign Service officer

watched performances by villagers in Lesotho before being invited to share her own country's song and dance. On a whim, the FSO taught the villagers the hokey pokey. This light-hearted exchange offered a starting point, Amb. Stephenson explained: "You share your song with me, I share my song with you, we see where we can go from there." She went on to contrast soft power, which invites others to join in, with hard, coercive power, citing Joseph Nye's 2004 masterwork *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*.

She then played several audiovisual clips reflecting the role of music in society: in celebration during Christmas, at prayer during Ramadan, in joy during a Jewish wedding and in grief at an African funeral. She shared a clip of the impromptu moment when members of the House of Representatives, united at a time of national tragedy, sang "God Bless America" on the steps of the Capitol on Sept. 11, 2001. The audience watched a solemn clip of Foreign Service officers singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" together, as names of those who died in the line of duty were unveiled on the



Ambassador Barbara Stephenson at Chautauqua.



marble memorial plaque in the lobby of the State Department.

Amb. Stephenson then spoke of the U.S. Diplomacy Center's recent "Jazz Diplomacy" display, housed in the State Department's 21st Street entrance. She recalled the golden age of jazz diplomacy, during which America's most famous jazz musicians—Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Dave Brubeck and many others—embarked on years-long world tours to share American jazz music and culture. It was America's answer to the Cold War cultural diplomacy

emanating from the Soviet Union in the form of Russian ballet, literature and classical music. And it worked. Amb. Stephenson showed a clip in which Brubeck was performing a piano concert in the Soviet Union when an audience member leapt to his feet, violin in hand, and began to play a duet with a stunned and delighted Brubeck.

"I think this musical moment captures the concept of soft, attractive power perfectly," Amb. Stephenson explained. "The best diplomacy feels like that to me—it feels like, 'Let me join you. I want to be part of this.' Creating an experience like that is hard work, art almost, but it's worth it. Those who seek to master the art of diplomacy should seek to create moments like this—moments when our partners choose to walk with us—

*Continued on p. 57*



## AFSA Welcomes Newest Foreign Service Members



AFSA State VP Ken Kero-Mentz addresses the 194th A-100 class.

On Aug. 9 AFSA hosted a luncheon for the 89-member 148th specialist class. Then on Aug. 15 AFSA hosted the 194th A-100 class—with 82 members, it's the largest A-100 class we've seen in a long while at AFSA HQ.

We are thrilled to have such a large group of newly minted officers and specialists joining our ranks at last. We had a wonderful group of table hosts including such luminaries as Ambassador (ret.) Linda Thomas-Greenfield; Ambassador (ret.) Jay Anania; Mette Beecroft, one of the founders of the Family Liaison Office; Ambassador (ret.) John Blaney; AFSA Secretary Ambassador (ret.) Tom Boyatt; and Ambassador (ret.) Lino Gutiérrez.

AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson welcomed the group and told them stories from her 33-year (so far) career as a diplomat who rose through the ranks as a working mother with a “trailing spouse” by her side.

AFSA State VP Ken Kero-Mentz talked about the various ways AFSA assists



AFSA Membership Specialist Ashley Dunn discusses member benefits.

its members throughout the course of their careers, from our daily media digest that helps members stay abreast of important and breaking news in the field of diplomacy to legal advice and assistance.

Membership Specialist Ashley Dunn took our guests through some of the benefits they can expect to receive as members, such as discounts on Zipcar and subscriptions to *The Economist* and *The Atlantic*. And they all took away copies of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

More than 100 of our luncheon guests have already signed up to join AFSA. Welcome to the Foreign Service! ■

## ANNOUNCING THE 2018 AFSA AWARD WINNERS

### Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy:

Ambassador (ret.) Ronald E. Neumann

### Constructive Dissent:

Ambassador (ret.) Thomas A. Shannon Jr.  
(*Christian A. Herter Award for Senior Foreign Service Officers*)

Roshni Nirody  
(*William R. Rivkin Award for Mid-Level Foreign Service Officers*)

Elena C. Augustine  
(*W. Averell Harriman Award for Entry-Level Officers*)

Joseph Conners  
(*F. Allen 'Tex' Harris Award for Foreign Service Specialists*)

### Exemplary Performance:

Ambassador (ret.) Patricia A. Butenis  
(*Award for Achievement and Contributions to the Association*)

Margaret Kennett  
(*Nelson B. Delavan Award for Office Management Specialists*)

John Warner  
(*Avis Bohlen Award for Community Liaison Officers*)

Marisol Garcia  
(*M. Juanita Guess Award for Eligible Family Members*)

David Bagueño and Kelly Billingsley  
(*Mark Palmer Award for the Advancement of Democracy*)

### Runners-Up:

Maria Valentine (*Delavan Award*)  
Judith Martin (*Bohlen Award*)  
Lori Doutrich and Karen Fifield (*Guess Award*)

Full coverage of the AFSA awards ceremony, profiles of the award recipients and an interview with Amb. Neumann will appear in the December issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*. Please join us for the awards ceremony on Oct. 10 at 4 p.m. at the Department of State. ■



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA State VP.  
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## We Work Hard for the Money

It's been a busy few months of advocacy for AFSA. We've been engaging with the department on a range of issues. We don't always get traction, but I'm pleased to report that our ideas—*your* ideas—often get a warm reception and sometimes lead to changes and improvements in how we do our jobs.

For instance, when one of our posts went on ordered departure in May, we heard from members who were expected to stay at post while their kids had to depart.

Single-parent employees or tandem couples found it especially difficult to get the kids to a safe haven, and the department's rules can complicate matters by requiring that employees "check in" in Washington to receive financial support.

We advocated that the department allow single-parent employees (or tandems) to bring their children to the safe haven and then either return to post or Washington, D.C., to continue service as needed.

While we didn't completely resolve the matter, we were informed that an appeal to *DGDirect* can lead to assistance being provided during such events, and that (thankfully) flexibility does exist in the regs, if one knows where to look. And we can help.

Again this year, promotion numbers were low, and we met with HR on a number of occasions to discuss this.

While much better than last year, the numbers are significantly lower (especially at the FS-2 to FS-1 level) than expected, even according to the State Department's own five-year projections.

With all the departures at senior levels in the past 18 months, we argued that promoting at higher rates was necessary, as there was both the pull and push for promotions. Unfortunately, promotion rates were unsatisfactory for many categories and did little to ameliorate the problem.

In April the department unilaterally changed the maximum age for eligibility for the Summer Hire Program for college-age children from 24 to 21, purportedly to align with the FAM definition of an eligible family member.

This change would have seriously damaged the program that allows missions overseas to hire college-age FS kids for summer jobs in U.S. missions. We immediately registered our concerns over this nonsensical change, and the department agreed to hold off on implementation, at least until next year.

You may have read about certain political appointees in the department causing difficulties for Foreign Service members whom the appointees determined were not sufficiently loyal to the current administration. When we hear from members about this, we share what

## Working together, we will continue to make the department the best possible place to work on behalf of the American people.

we're hearing (without giving names)—with the DG's office and, if necessary, with the Office of the Inspector General. The retribution we're seeing is cause for grave concern. Please be in touch if you need us.

AFSA has continued to provide support and assistance to members sickened by a mysterious illness in Cuba (and now China). We join meetings with MED, the Cuba Cohort Task Force and other department officials and affected FS members to discuss issues such as insurance coverage, reimbursement for travel and lodging during medical treatment and other concerns.

Senior department officials are committed to addressing the needs of this group, but employees continue to raise issues concerning MED's response; members cite a lack of communication regarding their precise medical status and continuing confusion regarding treatment. Recent reports from our FCS colleagues similarly affected in China echo these concerns.

Finally, when DS attempted to change the

rules of pay for the Secretary's Detail, AFSA fought back and forced a halt to the changes. One member wrote to thank us: "Our case was a concrete example of management taking advantage of junior agents. Even with a tight deadline, your team prioritized our case and took decisive action on our behalf before changes could be implemented. This was an outstanding testimonial for many who have paid AFSA dues for years, unsure of how/if the union would be there when needed. ... Thanks again to you and your team!"

That's what it's all about for us—maximizing your benefits. Working together, we will continue to make the department the best possible place to work. ■



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## FSOs Need to Support Diversity and Inclusion

The headlines over the past few years should be upsetting to Foreign Service officers everywhere. These stories affect our lives at home and our work. Better than most, Foreign Service officers know, because we've seen it, that when people get upset, they often take it out on others. We're seeing this now in the headlines in U.S. newspapers, as some of our fellow citizens look to blame others—people who look, act or speak differently from them—for their own troubles.

This is a critical moment for FS leadership. We need to be advocates for a better way. We need to provide the leadership to move past this moment.

FSOs know from our years of service overseas that one of America's strengths is our diversity—and not just ethnic or gender diversity, but diversity of thought, of geography, of language. While it sometimes leads to misunderstandings and even arguments, this diversity is what makes us the powerful, creative nation that we are. As FSOs, we need to focus on supporting diversity and inclusion in both our home communities and our work places.

A colleague of mine's email signature quotes American author and speaker Joe Gerstandt: "If you do not intentionally, deliberately and proactively include, you will unintentionally exclude."

AFSA President Amba-

sador Barbara Stephenson wrote about preserving core diplomatic power in her May 2018 President's Views column in *The Foreign Service Journal*. I would add to her words that as FSOs, we lead through example, doing ourselves what we also ask others to do. This is what gives us credibility and respect from our partners around the world, and what makes our Foreign Service the premier diplomatic corps in the world. Our demonstration of commitment to diversity and inclusion in our own workforce speaks more to our partners about what the United States stands for than anything they hear in the news or see on Twitter.

USAID FSOs work closely with all sorts of host-country local partners, and our leadership by example on diversity and inclusion makes a difference not just in terms of promoting American foreign policy objectives, but also in making our overseas communities and work places safe, supportive places for men and women of all backgrounds. And it ties into USAID's stated core values:

**Respect:** Demonstrate respect for one another, our partners and the people we serve in communities around the world.

**Empowerment:** Elevate all voices striving for global economic, environmental and social progress.

**Inclusion:** Value our

differences and draw strength from diversity.

There are so many ways to support diversity and inclusion that saying "I have no time" is not an acceptable excuse. The easiest and yet maybe the most important action is for FSOs to be seen out front, openly supporting and practicing diversity and inclusion in the office, with our partners, and in our communities.

You can help your office, mission or neighborhood to organize an event around diversity and inclusion. Simply joining an Employee Resource Group or Employee Affinity Group will strengthen that group's ability to advocate for its members.

Unsure how to engage?

Contact your Office for Staff Care, Office of Civil Rights and Diversity, or even your Family Liaison Office.

As FSOs, our leadership and actions can make our communities and work places, both in the United States and abroad, better places by fostering an environment with fair and equal opportunities for career success, advancement and professional development for all employees, thereby building a stronger American diplomat corps and helping us reach our foreign policy objectives. Remember: "If you do not intentionally, deliberately and proactively include, you will unintentionally exclude." ■



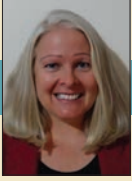
### AFSA Governing Board Meeting, August 16, 2018

**Retiree Vice President Report:** By unanimous consent, the Board directed VP Naland to submit the following names as nominees to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board: Ambassador Herman Cohen, Ambassador Dennis Hays, Lisa Booker, and Margie Brogan.

**COO Report:** Auditors from Clifton Larson Allen provided a report on their audit of AFSA finances.

It was moved that the Governing Board adopt the recommendation of the auditors' report to establish an enterprise risk management system appropriate for AFSA, the specifics of which will be suggested by the COO at the next Board meeting. The motion was adopted.

**New Business:** On behalf of the Political Action Committee it was moved to amend the PAC SOP by striking "calendar year" and inserting "election cycle, defined as beginning Jan. 1 following an election and ending Dec. 31 of the next election year." The motion was adopted. ■



Views and opinions expressed in this column are solely those of the AFSA FAS VP.  
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## Mission (Almost) Impossible: Landing a Desirable Position in D.C.

When I describe the process for returning FAS FSOs to land jobs in Washington, D.C., colleagues from other foreign affairs agencies look at me in bewilderment.

During the fall of our final year at post, we bid on specific positions overseas or simply on “Washington.” However, we have no idea what positions will be available in Washington until early spring of the following year, and we don’t receive our Washington assignments until June.

Transition planning and preparation is a genuine challenge: many FSOs depart post permanently without knowing where they will work, what they will be doing or when they are expected to start.

And our job options in Washington? Not many and generally not great, especially for the higher grades. For the five returning FO-01 and Senior Foreign Service officers in 2017, there were only five available positions; and two-thirds of the agency’s program areas had zero vacancies.

The situation was even worse in 2018—there was only one available position at the FO-01 level outside of the Office of Foreign Service Operations. OFSO is the only program area with Foreign Service-designated positions, so we compete with the Civil Service for all other openings.

Our agency has a classic chicken vs. egg conundrum. Are FSOs reluctant to come

**For the five returning FO-01 and Senior Foreign Service officers in 2017, there were only five available positions.**

back to Washington because there are so few decent job options? Or are there so few jobs because FSOs prefer to be overseas?

Civil Service managers are understandably reluctant to keep positions open for FSOs since we tend to jump ship and head back overseas quickly, especially when the job options in Washington are underwhelming. However, once sought-after positions are occupied by members of the Civil Service, they rarely open up again, thereby

perpetuating the cycle. Our current shortfall of FO-01 and FO-02 officers exacerbates the problem.

Why can’t we develop a better process for assigning returning FSOs? We have tried a parade of potential remedies over the decades, and all have left both the Foreign Service and Civil Service feeling short-changed and unfulfilled.

In my next column, I will explore options for a new and improved system. Stay tuned! ■

## Appreciation: Willard Ames ‘Bill’ De Pree

AFSA is saddened to learn of the passing of Ambassador Bill De Pree, a longtime friend and supporter of AFSA and the Foreign Service. Amb. De Pree died on July 2 in Bethesda, Md.

Amb. De Pree spent 38 years as a Foreign Service officer, including assignments as ambassador to Mozambique and Bangladesh. After retiring, Amb. De Pree served on AFSA’s Governing Board as interim president (1997), vice president for retirees (1999-

2001) and retiree representative (1995-1999). Ambassador De Pree also chaired the AFSA scholarship committee from 1996 to 1997.

Amb. De Pree started AFSA’s Road Scholar program in 1996 (under its original name, Elderhostel) to raise public awareness of the need for a strong and effective U.S. Foreign Service; the program has since reached close to 15,000 Americans from all parts of the United States.

AFSA Director of Com-

munications and Membership Ásgeir Sigfússon said: “Bill was very kind to me when I started working on AFSA’s Elderhostel programs in 2005, and generously shared his knowledge and contacts. He had a great sense of humor, and when he spoke at our programs the audience always loved him. He is remembered fondly by many AFSA staff and board members. He did so much for AFSA. His death is a big loss for us and the Foreign Service community.”



AFSA extends its condolences to Amb. De Pree’s four living children, Thomas, Birgitta, Susie and Anita. See “In Memory,” page 59, for his complete obituary. ■



## Rebuilding Our Economic Strength

In AFSA's efforts to boost America's core diplomatic capability overseas, an area of particular focus is the need for additional economic positions overseas. There are obvious geostrategic reasons for this emphasis—Chinese competition with the United States for global influence has a distinctly sharp economic edge, for instance. Concerns on Capitol Hill that the United States is falling behind economically are acute, which probably explains why there have been multiple congressional hearings on Chinese competition, especially in the economic arena.

There are other reasons why putting more economic officers in the field is a good idea.

**Prosperity is (usually) a nonpartisan tool of national power.** Prosperity is something everyone wants, and it's a highly consequential tool of U.S. national power. The United States has used its prosperity over the last 70 years to promote economic development around the world, to spread U.S. best practices in business and the rule of law, to attract productive investment, to expand U.S. exports and to increase our influence in global political and economic institutions.

**Economic work overseas benefits citizens at home.** Economic and commercial

work is often overlooked, but its benefits can be quick and obvious to Americans. When most people think of the Foreign Service, they think of stereotypical diplomatic (political) work, and rarely make a connection between the economic and commercial work done in embassies and U.S. prosperity. The more connections we can make between the economic and commercial work of the Foreign Service and the prosperity of U.S. companies and U.S. citizens, the better!

I know one economic officer who, with a fellow FSO from the Foreign Agricultural Service, helped to open the poultry market in South Africa to U.S. exports. They worked long and hard to convince the South African government to remove regulatory impediments, and they finally succeeded. Anyone who has ever traveled across the "Broiler Belt" of the southeastern United States understands the importance of poultry exports to the citizens of those states.

**There's strength in numbers.** We simply don't have the Foreign Service economic positions overseas that we need. According to State Department figures, there are 1,549 economic officers in the Foreign Service. That may sound like a lot. However, when we unpack these numbers, it turns out that fewer than a quarter—just 369—of those economic officers are

**A medium- or long-term imbalance in available positions and bidders spells trouble for stewardship of the economic career track.**

working overseas in actual economic positions. The rest are in mixed pol/econ, political or consular work, in training or at headquarters.

When we spread these 369 officers among 278 embassies and consulates, the problem becomes evident—we just don't have enough economic officers in economic positions in the field, particularly in those posts where Foreign Commercial Service and Foreign Agricultural Service officers aren't present.

In addition, our members have consistently told us of the challenges they face in finding suitable economic jobs overseas. There just aren't enough positions.

**Imbalance now leads to more trouble later.** A medium- or long-term imbalance in available positions and bidders could spell trouble for stewardship of the economic career track.

Becoming a member of the Senior Foreign Service in the economic cone requires depth and breadth in economic work and experience, as well as management skills and proven leadership. Having too few economic positions available threatens

the integrity of the career path itself—placing economic officers in danger of not having the requisite experience and background to reach the senior ranks due to a chronic need to go outside the economic cone for at-grade jobs.

In addition, the general professional development of more junior economic officers will be affected if there are not senior officers serving in high-level economic positions who can mentor and train mid-level officers in the tradecraft of overseas economic work.

Allowing the economic cone to be hollowed out by continuing to have too few positions for economic officers in the field risks harming the entire Foreign Service. This is why AFSA's focus is where it is. It's time to reverse the trend and restore those overseas economic positions that have been lost and create more economic positions if needed. ■

## Life After the Foreign Service: Jim Bullington

Jim Bullington might be one of the busiest Foreign Service retirees out there. While organizing a recent event for retirees in the Williamsburg, Va., area—an event featuring keynote speaker AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson (see photo below)—he found time to sit down to talk to AFSA News for a profile on life after the Foreign Service.

Ambassador Bullington entered the Foreign Service in 1962. His first overseas assignments were to Vietnam (vice consul in Hue from 1965 to 1966, staff aide to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Saigon from 1966 to 1967 and assistant province senior adviser in Quang Tri from 1967 to 1968).

He subsequently served in Mandalay, Rangoon, N'Djamena, Cotonou and many other posts before becoming ambassador to Burundi in 1983. He retired in 1989, at the age of 48, “because I was not promoted from MC to CM—at that time, officers had only three years to cross this major career hurdle or be forcibly retired.”

After retirement Amb. Bullington held down numerous other jobs, including as Peace Corps director in Niger. As a re-employed annuitant in the newly formed Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, he was sent to Dakar to work to end a 30-year secessionist insurgency in the southern part of the country,

known as the Casamance.

He and his wife, Tuy-Cam, have published three books between them. His most recent, *Global Adventures on Less-Traveled Roads: A Foreign Service Memoir*, was the topic of an AFSA Book Talk in October 2017. (View his talk at [www.afsa.org/video](http://www.afsa.org/video).)

Since 2014, when he and Tuy-Cam returned to Williamsburg from Dakar, Amb. Bullington has kept busy with outreach activities for the Foreign Service community. “In the past four years,” he says, “I’ve made 36 presentations to military and government organizations, civic clubs, fraternal associations, university classes and church groups, mostly in the Williamsburg region but also in Washington, D.C.”

He has also organized gatherings of Williamsburg-area Foreign Service retirees at Patriots Colony, a continuing care retirement community populated by retired military officers and officer-level federal civilian retirees, primarily from foreign affairs and national security agencies. Amb. Bullington and his wife moved there five years ago.

### Staying Involved

Amb. Bullington likes to encourage fellow FS retirees to stay engaged in world affairs. He says that Rotary and similar civic organizations are always looking for speakers, as are retirement

communities and church fellowship groups. In addition, he notes, most universities offer continuing education programs that need instructors—and some are receptive to guest speakers in academic classes. Political campaigns and party organizations also welcome volunteers.

Beyond that, Amb. Bullington recommends:

- If you are near a military installation, look for opportunities to participate in training programs and exercises.
- Write your memoir. Even if you don’t publish it as a book, it can provide material

for articles and talks, as well as an interesting account for children and grandchildren.

- Join local World Affairs Councils, Sister Cities groups and similar organizations.
- If something newsworthy happens in a country where you served, consider writing a background article or commentary for your local newspaper.

*For more on how AFSA can help with your outreach efforts, contact Retiree Outreach Coordinator Christine Miele at [miele@afsa.org](mailto:miele@afsa.org).* ■

## AFSA President in Williamsburg



COURTESY OF PATRIOTS COLONY

On Aug. 2, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson traveled to Williamsburg, Virginia, to speak to two dozen members of the Williamsburg Foreign Service Retirees group. While there, she was also the keynote speaker for the opening of the Presidents Pavilion, an independent living facility at the Patriots Colony retirement community. Approximately 300 Foreign Service, military and federal civilian retirees turned out to hear her speak about the role of the U.S. Foreign Service in collaborating with the military to project both soft and hard power across the globe. Pictured are Amb. Stephenson, her husband Matthew Furbush (left) and Amb. (ret.) Jim Bullington.

## Summer and Fall Outreach Includes Baseball and California Visit

The lazy days of summer and early fall did not slow AFSA's outreach programming. Our Speakers Bureau events kept up the pace, including an appearance by retired FSO Julie Moyes at the Aurora Hills Senior Center in Arlington, Va., and Ambassador (ret.) Vern Penner at the Rotary Club of Tupper Lake, N.Y., where he spoke on "What the State Department Can Do for You." Ambassador Penner is a diligent speaker, having met with over half a dozen Rotary Clubs alone in the past year, including in Annapolis, Md., and Bend, Ore.

The AFSA Speakers Bureau team is also hard at

work updating and refreshing available talking points and resources for speakers. Coming soon is a new set of talking points on the benefits of economic diplomacy, which AFSA will distribute to Speakers Bureau members early this fall. We also remind anyone speaking to public audiences that AFSA will happily supply a copy of our book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, upon request. The Speakers Bureau currently stands at 482 members. Will you be the 500th?

Our educational outreach is also continuing—September saw two Road Scholar programs in Washington, D.C., each of which included presentations by 10 mem-

### The Speakers Bureau currently stands at 482 members. Will you be the 500th?

bers of the Foreign Service, as well as visits to the Foreign Service Institute and DACOR Bacon House. We thank the speakers at those programs—including Ambassadors (ret.) Charles Ford, Lino Gutierrez, Jimmy Kolker, Charles Ray and James Zumwalt—for their participation.

As this issue hits your mailbox, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson will be in Chautauqua, N.Y., with five other colleagues to speak at an AFSA-sponsored Road Scholar program

with close to 200 participants. She is accompanied by Ambassadors (ret.) Shaun Donnelly, Robin Raphael, Charles Ray and Shari Villarosa.

Ambassador Stephenson has also just returned from California, where she spoke at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco and the San Diego Diplomacy Council, as well as meeting with Foreign Service retiree

groups in both cities. More in-depth coverage of this visit to the West Coast will be in the November issue of AFSA News.

The largest outreach event of the last few weeks was the third annual Foreign Service Night at Nationals Park, where almost 600 members of the Foreign Service community gathered to watch the Nationals take on the Chicago Cubs. This was by far the largest crowd ever in attendance at FS Night.

After a rain delay, Amb. Stephenson took the field for the Spirit Awards ceremony. She was accompanied by Melanie Bowen and her children Dora and Jacob Bowen-Glazeroff, whose father Josh is currently serving in Islamabad; Tameka Casselle and children Beni and Alyssa Casselle, whose father Lawrence is in Baghdad; and Eddie Salazar, director of the Diplomatic Courier Service, which is celebrating its centennial this year. AFSA was particularly happy about the very strong showing from our couriers. Alas, after the second inning the game was postponed due to the very heavy rain. Watch for more photos in November's AFSA News. ■



Spirit Award winners Tameka Casselle and her children Beni and Alyssa, whose father Lawrence is in Baghdad, on the field at Nationals Park.

AFSA/DONNA GORMAN

Remembrance  
Continued from p. 47

indeed, many of the panelists spoke eloquently about how embassy staff and family members worked together to rescue victims, to reopen the embassies and to rebuild the communities in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam that had suffered so much, with 224 killed and some 5,000 injured.

Amb. Bushnell called Embassy Nairobi “one resilient family.” In a blog post following the event, she writes that those who spoke on Aug. 6 “reminded me how much we demanded from and depended upon one another, and how extraordinary our accomplishments were given the level of injuries and trauma. They verified that we became family through our struggles to heal. Many of us are still burdened.” She called the event at USDC a “healing and meaningful experience.”

Amb. Lange, who was chargé d'affaires at the time, told the audience that the bombing changed him from a “manager” into a “leader” as he worked with his surviving

staff members to recover and, eventually, to rebuild. “The combination of printed (and heartfelt) stories, key artifacts on display and moving speeches and panel discussions was very powerful,” he said of the USDC event. “For those who went through the bombings, this proved to be therapeutic. For others, it demonstrated the magnitude of the 1998 attacks on two U.S. embassies—and on America.”

The State Department held a separate memorial event on the morning of Aug. 7. Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Tibor Nagy and other senior State Department officials gathered with survivors and family members at the plaque commemorating survivors of the attack. Kenya’s Deputy Chief of Mission to Washington David Gacheru and Tanzania’s Ambassador to Washington Wilson Masiling also attended.

In his remarks, the Deputy Secretary said that, “many of you here today acted to save lives and help your colleagues and strangers. We thank all of



Ambassadors Pru Bushnell, Barbara Stephenson and John Lange at the USDC event.

you for your courage, bravery and valor as you answered that call—call of duty, call of basic humanity—to respond to those attacks and to those who were injured and killed on that day.”

Survivors later gathered at a marker at Arlington National Cemetery, where bombing victims Julian Bartley, then the consul general in Nairobi, his son Jay and Prabhi Kavalier, the assistant general services officer at the time of the bombing, are buried.

In Nairobi two weeks of public outreach programming surrounded the anniversary, culminating in an official commemoration ceremony on Aug. 7 at Memorial Park in downtown Nairobi. About 250 attendees, most of whom were survivors or family members of survivors, attended. Ambassador Robert Godec and his wife, Lori Magnusson, who were both in Kenya at the time of the blast, also attended. There was a concurrent ceremony at the refurbished memorial garden on the grounds of U.S. Embassy Nairobi.

In Dar es Salaam, the embassy partnered with the National Museum of Tanzania

to renovate the public memorial space for the victims of the embassy bombing. The embassy dedicated this new memorial on Aug. 7 with an interfaith ceremony. Chargé d’Affaires Inmi Patterson and Home Affairs Minister Kangi Lugola placed a wreath at the memorial wall, while guests placed white roses at the base of the wall.

To view a video of the USDC event, go to [http://bit.ly/USDC\\_Anniversary](http://bit.ly/USDC_Anniversary). To read the recollections of survivors published in *The Foreign Service Journal*, go to [www.afsa.org/reflections-us-embassy-bombings-kenya-and-tanzania](http://www.afsa.org/reflections-us-embassy-bombings-kenya-and-tanzania).

The USDC continues to collect artifacts for its permanent collection. To donate an item, please email Associate Curator Kathryn Speckart at [speckartkg@state.gov](mailto:speckartkg@state.gov). ADST continues to collect stories from survivors, which can be sent to [oralhistory@adst.org](mailto:oralhistory@adst.org), or call (702) 302-6290 for more information. ■



Guests place white roses at the base of the memorial in Dar es Salaam.



## Inside the World of Diplomacy



On Aug. 8, AFSA hosted close to 120 participants in the Smithsonian Associates program "Inside the World of Diplomacy." Ambassador (ret.) Patricia Butenis and FSO and author Matthew Palmer led the audience through an introduction to the U.S. Foreign Service and to embassies, using their careers as examples of the many things diplomats do every day around the world. This was the fourth year in a row AFSA has collaborated with Smithsonian Associates on this program. Look for our next collaboration, a three-part series on Russia, beginning in mid-October.

*Diplomacy Through Music*  
Continued from p. 48

gladly, even joyfully."

It was an apt segue into explaining how diplomats use soft power to bridge divides. In the case of jazz diplomacy, FSOs tapped into their relationships all over the world to secure visas, arrange venues and see that instruments made it through security. Going beyond the transactional into what she called "graduate-level diplomacy," Amb. Stephenson

laid out examples of diplomats' painstaking behind-the-scenes work to advance the Northern Ireland peace process. Those efforts culminated in an unexpected breakthrough after a major musical event that brought together police forces from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, ultimately leading to a deal that opened the door to lasting peace. The audience gave Amb. Stephenson a lengthy standing ovation. ■

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## AFSA Honors National High School Essay Contest Winner

AFSA's national high school essay contest, our leading outreach program to high school students, is 20 years old this year. The contest drew almost 1,000 essays—from 48 states, two territories and five other countries (Indonesia, Burma, South Korea, Tanzania and the United Kingdom) this year. The research papers all demonstrated an interest in the Foreign Service and showed that the applicants are globally engaged citizens who care about diplomacy and development.

On July 18, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson met with this year's essay winner, Jennifer John, at a reception hosted by the U.S. Institute of Peace,

a contest sponsor. Jennifer, a rising home-schooled senior from Redwood City, California, also met with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, USIP President Nancy Lindborg and Semester at Sea representative Michael Zoll. In addition, AFSA staff accompanied Jennifer to Capitol Hill for a meeting at the office of her congresswoman, Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.).

Jennifer admitted that when she started the research for her paper she knew very little about the Foreign Service but became both impressed and interested as her research continued. As the essay contest winner, she receives \$2,500 now and full tuition for a Semester at Sea educational



Essay winner Jennifer John with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

voyage during college.

Ambassador Stephenson also met with the contest runner-up, Aislinn Niimi, a rising home-schooled 11th grader from Matthews, North Carolina. Aislinn spent an afternoon at AFSA while she

was in Washington for the National Student Leadership Conference's International Diplomacy Program, which was part of her essay contest prize. She then visited the office of her congressman, Robert Pittenger (R-N.C.). ■

## Coordination of FEHB and Medicare



Retiree Benefits Counselor Dolores Brown introduces Ms. Jakub.

On Aug. 23 AFSA welcomed Paula Jakub, the chief executive officer and executive vice president of the American Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA), which administers the Foreign Service Benefit Plan, to speak about "The Coordination of FEHB and Medicare."

Ms. Jakub is formally recognized as a subject matter expert in federal health benefits by the Foreign Service Institute, where she serves on the adjunct faculty. She is also the executive director of the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, an organization devoted to helping elderly Foreign Service retirees and their surviving spouses.

A comprehensive Q&A session followed the formal portion of the program, which was attended by more than 100 AFSA members. A video of the event can be viewed at [www.afsa.org/video](http://www.afsa.org/video). ■

■ **Samuel B. Bartlett**, 82, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a stroke in Plymouth, Mass., on March 31.

He attended Noble and Greenough School, where he played hockey and was captain of the football team. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1957 and served in the National Guard before entering Harvard Law School. He then joined Ely Bartlett Brown and Procter, the family law firm.

Mr. Bartlett joined the Foreign Service in 1965 and served in Paris, The Hague, Cebu, Ottawa, San Salvador and Belfast.

An enthusiastic sailor, both on his own boats and on those of friends, he sailed in the Fastnet Race on a Dutch boat and in the Hong Kong to Manila Race. He also played tennis wherever he was posted.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1986, Mr. Bartlett worked as corporate secretary to the Amoskeag Company in Boston, and later launched his fourth career working for the Massachusetts Bureau of Substance Abuse.

He continued this work as a volunteer in the addiction field after his retirement, putting to good use his ability to connect with people who were struggling.

Mr. Bartlett is survived by his wife of 61 years, the former Joan Harding; three children: Tom (and his wife, Linda); Molly (and her husband, Robert Stoner); Mary (and her husband, Greg Petrini); and eight grandchildren: Samuel and Eleanor Bartlett; Lily, Isaac and Rosemary Stoner; and Maddy, Curt and Lee Petrini.

■ **Amanda Bisnauth-Thomas**, 49, the spouse of retired Foreign Service Officer Michael D. Thomas, passed away on May 31 at home in Arlington, Va., after a long illness.

Ms. Bisnauth-Thomas was born in the village of Melville on Wakenaam Island in Guyana's Essequibo River. She was the

daughter of the late Motiram and Mohini Bisnauth. She was a graduate of St. Stanislaus College in Georgetown, Guyana, and Strayer University in Arlington, Va.

Ms. Bisnauth-Thomas was working as a database programmer for the Guyana Sugar Company when she met her husband during his first Foreign Service tour in Georgetown; they married during his second tour, in Lisbon.

She accompanied him on tours to Vientiane, where she taught at the Lao-American College; Chennai; and a repeat tour in Georgetown.

The recipient of multiple organ transplants, Ms. Bisnauth-Thomas was a committed volunteer with the Georgetown University Hospital and the Washington Regional Transplant Community.

In a final act of generosity, she donated her body to the Georgetown University School of Medicine to support the training of the next generation of transplant surgeons. A block party to celebrate her life was held in Arlington on June 16.

Ms. Bisnauth-Thomas leaves behind her husband, Michael; son, Thornton; brother, Mitch; many aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews; and the family of Jami Interiano—the donor of her liver and kidney.

People wishing to honor Ms. Bisnauth-Thomas' memory may sign up as an organ, eye and tissue donor ([www.beadonor.org](http://www.beadonor.org)) and/or as an anatomical donor (<https://som.georgetown.edu/donate/anatomical-donor-program>, or contact your nearest medical school). Memorial contributions may be made to the Washington Regional Transplant Community at [www.beadonor.org](http://www.beadonor.org).

■ **William Ames (Bill) De Pree**, 89, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died on July 2 in Bethesda, Md.

Mr. De Pree grew up in Zeeland, Mich., and was a graduate of Harvard College and the University of Michigan. He spent a year at the University of Wales in Aberystwyth as a Rotary Foundation Fellow.

Mr. De Pree retired in 1993 after 40 years of government service, two with the Army in Germany and 38 as a Foreign Service officer with the Department of State.

He served overseas in Egypt, Cyprus, Ghana and Sierra Leone. He also served as ambassador to Mozambique and Bangladesh.

His Washington assignments included stints with the Policy Planning Staff, the Office of Inspector General and as director of the Office of Management Operations.

After retiring, Ambassador De Pree continued to work as a consultant to the State Department, heading inspection teams of U.S. embassies.

He was active in both the American Foreign Service Association—see AFSA's appreciation on page 52—and DACOR (then known as Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired), serving as interim president and vice president for retirees at AFSA and on DACOR's governing board.

Amb. De Pree organized weeklong programs on the Foreign Service and foreign policy issues for Elderhostel (now Road Scholar) audiences and was instrumental in expanding the program from the Washington area to eight states.

He was the recipient of DACOR's Foreign Service Cup and AFSA's Achievement Award in recognition of his post-retirement work. He was an avid reader of history, politics and current events. He enjoyed traveling, meeting people and golf. Family members report that throughout his retirement, Amb. De

Pree kept trying to break 100 in golf, but without success.

Amb. De Pree was predeceased by Elisabeth Pierrou, his wife of 61 years, and two children, Carin and Peter. He leaves behind four children: Thomas, Birgitta, Susie and Anita; three sons-in-law; and six grandchildren.

■ **James Bruce Engle**, 98, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died at home in Peachan, Vt., on Nov. 7, 2017.

Born in a sod hut in Custer, Mont., to homesteaders Bruce and Verbeaudah Engle, James spent his childhood living in a boxcar in a West Burlington, Iowa, railroad siding.

After completing high school, he graduated first in his class from Burlington Junior College before going on to complete his bachelor's degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors at the University of Chicago.

As a Rhodes Scholar, Engle studied philosophy, politics and economics at Exeter College, Oxford University, in 1947. He was the first recipient of the Rhodes Scholarship to receive a Fulbright Scholarship, which took him to Naples, Italy, in 1950.

A career diplomat, Mr. Engle's first overseas assignment was as vice consul in Quito, Ecuador, from 1942 to 1944. An avid mountain climber, he led 11 expeditions to the highest peaks in the Andes, including Mount Chimborazo, without use of oxygen or modern safety equipment.

He then volunteered for Navy service during World War II and served in the Pacific. He was assigned to the U.S. military government during the occupation of Japan before completing his service with the rank of lieutenant junior grade.

Mr. Engle rejoined the Foreign Service after the war, serving in Rio de Janeiro, Naples, Rome, Washington, D.C., Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Bonn and Accra.

He received the Rockefeller Public Service Award for distinguished government service in 1958, which he applied to postgraduate study at King's College, Cambridge University from 1958 to 1959.

He was the deputy chief of mission in Managua from 1964 to 1967. He then served as province adviser in Phu Yen and consul general in Nha Trang before becoming deputy chief of mission in Phnom Penh in 1973.

President Gerald Ford appointed him U.S. ambassador to Benin in 1974. He went on to serve as ambassador to NATO and as political adviser to the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (with the equivalent rank of a three-star general).

Ambassador Engle subsequently headed up embassy inspection teams for the State Department's Office of Inspector General.

He concluded his career at the U.S. Department of Treasury, serving as director general of the United States-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation in Riyadh from 1984 to 1987.

After retiring from government service, Amb. Engle moved to Vermont, where he applied himself to the environment, sustainable forestry and the promotion of animal habitat, particularly for ruffed grouse and wetland birds.

He was a founding member of Vermont Coverts: Woodlands for Wildlife in 1991. He was named Caledonia County's Tree Farmer of the Year in 1997 and Tree Farmer of the Year for the state of Vermont in 2004.

In 2010 the Coverts established the "Furthering the Coverts Mission in Vermont James Engle Award," which is bestowed annually for outstanding achievement.

Amb. Engle was also recognized by the U.S. Association of Community Colleges as its 2013 "Outstanding Alumnus of the

Year" for exceptional lifetime achievement.

He is survived by his wife, Priscilla Joyce Engle (nee Wright) of London, England; children Stephen, Judith, Philip, Susan, John and Peter; daughters-in-law from Russia, Taiwan and Colombia; 12 grandchildren; two great-grandchildren; and a sister, Dorothy Erickson.

Donations may be made in Mr. Engle's name to Vermont Coverts: Woodlands for Wildlife, Inc., PO Box 328, Vergennes VT 05491.

■ **Tom Gallagher**, 77, the first openly gay Foreign Service officer, died on July 8 of cardiac arrest in Wall, N.J.

Mr. Gallagher was born in New York City to Thomas and Mary Josephine Murphy Gallagher, who were personal servants to the family that founded MGM and Random House.

At age 11 he began working as a caddy at the Hollywood Golf Club in New Jersey. He later earned a bachelor's degree from Monmouth University and a master's degree in social work from the University of Southern California.

After graduation, Mr. Gallagher entered the first Peace Corps group to Ethiopia. Seen off by President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy, the group was welcomed in Addis Ababa by His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie. He was assigned to the small town of Agordot in the province of Eritrea.

On returning to the United States, Mr. Gallagher worked at the White House before entering the Foreign Service in 1965. His first assignment was to Jeddah, where he planned the evacuation of the American community from western Saudi Arabia during the 1967 June War.

He was then posted to a small U.S. consulate in northern Nigeria, where he spent two years while the Biafran War raged in southern Nigeria. He was the first U.S. gov-

ernment officer to investigate an outbreak of Lassa fever, a close relative of Ebola, at its source in Jos, Nigeria.

Returning to Washington, D.C., in 1970, he ran the Southern African Students Program in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

In 1972 he moved to the Office of Personnel, where he made the first assignment of a female officer to the Office of the Secretary of State and the first assignment of a female officer to Arabic training. Forty years later, DACOR honored Mr. Gallagher with their annual Tragen Award for his support of the women's movement at State in its earliest days.

In 1975 he became acting U.S. consul general in Guayaquil. At age 34 he was the youngest chief of a major American diplomatic mission in modern U.S. history.

That same year Mr. Gallagher publicly came out as a gay man at a conference organized by the Gay Activist Alliance of Washington, D.C., making him the first officer of the U.S. federal government to come out publicly and voluntarily.

In 2013 Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton praised Mr. Gallagher for challenging the discrimination against gay people that was prevalent in 1975 and which, at the time, forced him to resign from the State Department.

Mr. Gallagher relocated to California, where he worked as an emergency room social worker at the UCLA Hospital in Los Angeles, taught interviewing skills at the UCLA School of Medicine and volunteered as director of the counseling program at the Gay Community Service Center in Los Angeles.

Moving to San Francisco to work at the Travelers Aid Society, he developed the first counseling program for children in the Tenderloin, the city's most notorious slum, and became director of Napa County's psychiatric emergency program in 1980.

In 1994, when President Bill Clinton lifted the policy of formal discrimination against gay Foreign Service officers, Mr. Gallagher returned to his diplomatic career. His first assignment on returning to the State Department was as consul in Madrid.

After serving as country officer for Eritrea and Sudan in the Office of East African Affairs, he was posted to Brussels as head of the visa section before returning to Washington as country officer for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Gallagher's final assignment was with the Office of International Health, where he served as regional adviser for Europe in what was, at the time, the most effective worldwide anti-AIDS program. He retired from the Foreign Service in 2005.

In 2012 Mr. Gallagher joined the New York City Gay Men's Chorus. He sang with the chorus on Broadway, at Carnegie Hall with Chita Rivera, at the Plaza Hotel with Bernadette Peters and at the Grand Canal Theater in Dublin.

In 2015 Monmouth University named Mr. Gallagher Distinguished Alumnus of the Year. In 2016 NJ Pride, the New Jersey gay organization, presented him with its Trailblazer award in recognition of his many years of gay activism. In 2016 the State Department issued an official apology to Mr. Gallagher for the fact that he had been forced to give up his career 40 years earlier.

Mr. Gallagher is survived by his husband, Amin Dulgumoni, and his former wife, Carolyn Worrell.

■ **John P. (Jack) Harrod**, 72, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died of an apparent heart attack on March 25 at his home in New London, N.H.

Mr. Harrod was born on July 13, 1945, in

Chicago, the son of John E. and Marguerite (Phillips) Harrod. He was educated in the Chicago public schools and attended Grinnell College in Iowa before transferring to Colgate University, from which he received a bachelor's degree in Russian area studies in 1966.

He then completed two years of graduate study in the same field at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and spent a summer session in Russian language study at Moscow State University. He was fluent in Russian, Polish and French, and had a working knowledge of Dutch.

Mr. Harrod joined USIA in 1968. His overseas assignments included Afghanistan, Poland and two tours in the former Soviet Union, where he played a key role with several American cultural exchange exhibitions and served as press attaché in Moscow.

During the first of those exhibitions he met Dolores (Dolly) Foley, of Manchester, N.H. The two were wed in Kabul in 1971.

From 1979 to 1981, Jack was a member of the State Department's Iran Hostage Task Force, serving as a media spokesman and a liaison with the four families of USIA hostages. In 1982 he received a Congressional Fellowship from the American Political Science Association, which enabled him to work with Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.) and Representative Jim Leach (R-Iowa).

From 1984 to 1992 Mr. Harrod oversaw USIA operations in Poland, and then Belgium. His final assignment was as director of USIA's Office of West European and Canadian Affairs, where he oversaw U.S. public affairs operations in 24 countries or multilateral organizations. In that capacity, he received USIA's highest recognition, the Distinguished Honor Award.

After retiring in 1996, Mr. Harrod was the senior consultant to the Public Diplomacy Foundation and served on the

boards of the Center for Belarusian Studies in Winfield, Kan., and the Monnet-Madison Institute in Cambridge, Mass.

From 1999 to 2003 he accompanied his wife on her assignment for the U.S. Department of Commerce at the U.S. embassy in Canada.

The couple moved to New London, N.H., in 2003. There, Mr. Harrod served on several town advisory panels; as chairman of the Energy Committee for three years; and as vice chairman and, later, acting chairman of the Democratic Party committee.

Mr. Harrod was predeceased by his parents and his wife, Dolly, who died in November 2006. He is survived by his son, William of Seattle, Wash.; his sister, Susan Harrod (and her husband, Dan Donahue) of Ashford, Conn.; a niece, Nancy Rosenberg (and her husband, Michael Owen) and their daughters Alexa and Hannah Owen; and a niece, Jane Rosenberg (and her husband, John Kern), and their children Madelyn and Kenneth Kern.

Memorial donations may be made to the Congressional Fellowship Program, c/o American Political Science Assn., 1527 New Hampshire Ave NW, Washington DC 20036.

■ **Darryl Norman Johnson**, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died on June 24 after a long battle with Parkinson's disease and Lewy body dementia.

Mr. Johnson was the second of three sons born to Norman Boyd Johnson and Eugenia Laurell (Nelson) Johnson. He was born on June 7, 1938, in Chicago, Ill., and soon made the first of many moves, to Des Moines, Wash., with his family.

An accomplished trumpet player, he considered becoming a professional musician. Instead, he heeded President John F. Kennedy's call and joined the Peace Corps

after two years at the University of Puget Sound, completing his bachelor's degree in English at the University of Washington, and then doing graduate work at the University of Minnesota and Princeton University.

Mr. Johnson met his first wife, the former Carol Lee Franz of Allegan, Mich., in Peace Corps training, and they moved to Thailand together in 1963. Mr. Johnson soon joined the State Department, and his first posting was to Bombay (now Mumbai). He subsequently served in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Washington, D.C., Moscow, Beijing and Warsaw.

Mr. Johnson was appointed the first U.S. ambassador to Lithuania in 1991 upon the breakup of the Soviet Union. He then returned to Taiwan, this time as chief of mission, before returning to D.C. as deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

He returned to Thailand as U.S. ambassador in 2001, enjoying several opportunities to play his trumpet with the king, an accomplished jazz musician. He served as ambassador to the Philippines from 2005 to 2006.

Ambassador Johnson had the opportunity to work on U.S.-China relations right after Nixon opened China, to work on Cold War diplomacy during the last decade of Soviet power, and to witness both the Tiananmen Square protests and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Ambassador Johnson retired to Burien, Wash., where he taught a class at the Scoop Jackson School of International Relations at the University of Washington and was active on several boards. Since 2016, he resided at The Grove, the memory care unit at Judson Park, less than a five-minute walk from his childhood home in Zenith, Wash.

He is survived by his wife of 26 years, Kathleen Dessa Forance Johnson; his

daughter Darawan (Johnson) Gideos; and his twin sons, Gregory and Loren Johnson. He is also survived by David, Clarissa and Emmett Gideos of Rockville, Md.; Ellen Richards and Kate Johnson of Austin, Texas; Eim and Zoe Johnson of Portland, Ore.; his brother Brian Johnson of Beverly, Mass.; his first wife, Lee Ware of Arlington, Va.; and his best friend, David Hughes of Woodinville, Wash. He was predeceased by his brother Linn Valen Johnson of the Seattle area.

The family welcomes contributions to the following nonprofit organizations: Friends of Thailand, the Michael J. Fox Foundation for Parkinson's Research and the Lewy Body Dementia Association. Please leave online condolences at [www.powerfuneralhome.com](http://www.powerfuneralhome.com).

■ **Stanton Jue**, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died at home in Arlington, Va., on July 14.

Mr. Jue emigrated from South China at age 14 and joined the U.S. Navy at age 17 after the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor. He served on a newly built destroyer in the Mediterranean and South Pacific and, as a Japanese and Chinese language specialist, in intelligence and psychological operations at naval headquarters in Honolulu.

After the war, he earned a Ph.D. in political science at the University of California, Berkeley, where he met his future wife, Florence. While a graduate student, he worked for the Committee for a Free Asia (later named the Asia Foundation).

Mr. Jue joined the Foreign Service as an information officer in 1956, one of the first Chinese Americans to serve as a diplomat with the State Department. His overseas postings included Phnom Penh, Taipei, Tokyo, Saigon, Seoul and Canberra.

Following a brief tour in Beijing in the

early 1980s, he returned to Washington, where he assisted with the normalization of diplomatic relations with China. His last assignment was as policy officer for East Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. Jue wrote extensively on U.S.-China relations and China's rise as a global power, including several articles in *The Foreign Service Journal*.

He is survived by his wife of 66 years, Florence; a daughter, Patricia (and her spouse, David Evans); grandchildren Catrin Evans and Guy Evans (and his spouse, Kazue); and great-grandchildren Michito and Reina.

■ **Howard Kavalier**, 69, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 13 in Arlington, Va., from complications arising from emergency surgery for a sudden illness.

Mr. Kavalier was born Feb. 5, 1949, in Great Neck, N.Y. He was the oldest son of Pearl and Leo Kavalier, from whom he inherited his wit, resilience and sense of duty. Mr. Kavalier grew up on Long Island and attended Great Neck South Senior High School.

He received his bachelor's degree from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa., and his law degree from American University's Washington College of Law. In later years Mr. Kavalier earned a graduate degree from The George Washington University.

After becoming a member of the New York Bar, Mr. Kavalier joined the Foreign Service. He served overseas in New Delhi, Jerusalem, Islamabad, Manila, Tel Aviv, Paris and (twice) Nairobi as a consular officer, a labor officer and as the U.S. representative to the United Nations Environment Program.

While posted in New Delhi, Mr. Kavalier met his wife, Prabhi. After they married she became an American

citizen and a Foreign Service officer herself, and they served around the world as a tandem couple for 16 years. The couple had two daughters, Tara and Maya, who were the loves of their lives.

In the summer of 1998, the Kavalier family was excited to be returning to Nairobi for a second time. They had been in Nairobi for just a few weeks when the embassy was bombed, taking Prabhi's life and leaving Mr. Kavalier alone to care for his two young girls.

Mr. Kavalier decided to return to Washington, D.C., to a position in the Bureau of Consular Affairs, and he later converted to the Civil Service.

For the next 20 years, Mr. Kavalier's daughters were his top priority. They made their home in McLean, Va., with their devoted housekeeper, Victoria "Bicky" Salvan, who was also a major source of comfort and care for Tara and Maya.

Friends and family members recall that Mr. Kavalier was forever grateful to the Bureau of Consular Affairs for giving him a flexible schedule, which allowed him to be home to greet his girls at the end of their school day. He was also grateful for the camaraderie and kindness of the colleagues who worked with him.

Mr. Kavalier was proud of his service with the Department of State and always strove to treat the people with dignity and compassion, colleagues remember. He was equally proud of his efforts to ensure that all of the victims of the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam bombings were recognized appropriately, and their families not forgotten.

Mr. Kavalier retired from State in 2016. He was delighted to have time to develop new interests, such as collecting art. He enjoyed taking trips with his companion of six years, Brenda Jacobs, and was very much looking forward to the next chapter of his life.

He was a member of the congregation of Temple Rodef Shalom in Falls Church, Va., and had many friends and neighbors who supported him and his daughters from the time they moved home to the present.

Mr. Kavalier was buried on Aug. 28 in Arlington National Cemetery next to his beloved wife, Prabhi, at a site with a clear view across the Potomac River to the Department of State.

He is survived by his daughters, Tara and Maya of McLean, Va.; and by a younger brother, Richard, of Boston, Mass.

Memorial contributions may be made to Human Rights Watch.

■ **Leonard L. Lefkow**, 90 a retired Foreign Service officer with the United States Information Agency, died on June 25 in Rockville, Md., of respiratory failure.

Mr. Lefkow was born in New York City on May 2, 1928. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1946 to 1947 before obtaining a bachelor's degree from the University of Washington in 1951.

Mr. Lefkow joined USIA in 1962 after four years as an investigative reporter and assistant city editor with *The Louisville Times*. He had previously worked for the Associated Press in San Francisco, Reno and Hong Kong.

His first assignment with USIA was as White House correspondent during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

From 1966 to 1972, Mr. Lefkow was posted to New Delhi, serving as press attaché during a difficult period in Indo-U.S. relations, which included the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War.

A highlight of his tour in India was accompanying Ambassador Kenneth Keating to deliver moon rocks to the remote Himalayan kingdoms of Bhutan and Sikkim.

Mr. Lefkow attended the National War College at Fort McNair from 1972 to 1973, writing his thesis about Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

In 1973 he was assigned to Tel Aviv, serving as embassy spokesperson during the Yom Kippur War and handling the large media contingent covering the shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Mr. Lefkow served as deputy chief for news at the Voice of America in Washington, D.C., from 1975 to 1976 before being posted to London, where he was the speechwriter for Ambassador Anne Armstrong.

From there Mr. Lefkow was posted to Paris, where he served as information officer.

From 1979 to 1981, he was on the staff of the National Security Council, serving as assistant press secretary to National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and White House spokesperson Jody Powell.

In 1982 he was assigned to Nairobi, where he served as public affairs officer and was promoted to minister counselor. He spent two years as USIA director for Africa before returning to Tel Aviv in 1988 for his final foreign posting.

Mr. Lefkow retired in 1990. A horse racing enthusiast since his Louisville days, he dabbled in purchases of tiny shares of thoroughbreds after his retirement in the hopes of saddling a Kentucky Derby winner.

Mr. Lefkow was predeceased by his wife, Barbara Vine of Rochester, Minn., whom he married in 1955. Survivors include daughters Laurel Lefkow of London, England, and Leslie Lefkow of Amsterdam, the Netherlands; son David Lefkow of Washington, D.C.; and five grandchildren.

■ **Donald Charles Leidel**, 90, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died on April 19 at home in Sarasota, Fla.

Born in Madison, Wis., he earned his bachelor's degree in political science and a JD degree from the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Ambassador Leidel spent 41 years in government service with the United States Air Force, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of State.

He served in Austria, Germany, Argentina, Mexico and Bahrain, where he was ambassador from 1983 to 1986 and again in 1989. His other overseas experience included a study on racial attitudes in Africa based on visits to five African countries, and post-retirement consultancies in Slovakia and Oman.

His Washington, D.C., assignments included service as executive director in the Bureaus of Educational and Cultural Affairs and European Affairs, deputy director of management operations and dean of the School of Professional Studies at the Foreign Service Institute.

Before moving to Sarasota, Fla., in 1994, Amb. Leidel was the Scarff Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wis.

In retirement he enjoyed lecturing on diplomacy and U.S. policy in the Middle East and established the Donald C. Leidel International Business Scholarship Fund to send up to six University of Wisconsin undergraduates to attend the Middle East Institute annual conference in Washington, D.C., every fall.

Amb. Leidel was an avid tennis player, a world traveler and a loyal Chicago Cubs and Wisconsin Badgers fan.

He is survived by his wife, Beverly; children Katherine, Peter and Michael; a brother, Fred; grandchildren David (and his wife, Michelle), Katy, Jennifer

and James; and a great-grandchild, Joshua.

■ **Melvin H. Levine**, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on March 19 at home in New Bedford, Mass., surrounded by family.

Born in New Bedford, Mass., a son of the late Israel Louis and Libby Rose (Epstein) Levine, Mr. Levine attended New Bedford public schools, Harvard College and Harvard Law School.

Between college and law school, he served two years in the U.S. Army.

After graduating from law school in 1957, Mr. Levine joined the Foreign Service. During his first overseas assignment in France, he met Texas resident Katherine "Kitty" (Vann) Levine, who was also working at the U.S. embassy. The two were married for 54 years.

After marrying, they moved to Vietnam for Mr. Levine's next diplomatic assignment. He was inside the U.S. embassy in Saigon in March 1965 when a Viet Cong soldier detonated a car bomb that killed 22 and injured 183, including Mr. Levine. He later made a full recovery.

Other posts include Italy, Taiwan and South Korea and a stint as part of National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger's staff at the National Security Council in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Levine retired from the Foreign Service after a 27-year career and moved back to New Bedford, where he wrote three unpublished novels that drew on his diplomatic experience.

Mr. Levine's public pursuits focused on education and lifelong learning. He served as a longtime trustee of Friends Academy, a private K-8 school, and as a library associate at the Claire T. Carney Library at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth.



He was also president of the local Harvard alumni association for many years.

Mr. Levine is survived by his wife, Katherine; his son Tyrrell Levine (and his wife, Kiro); daughter, Kara Leibel; son Brian Levine (and his wife, Jane); a sister, Lillian Shwartz; and grandchildren Timmy Wang and Kayla Levine. He was predeceased by his brother, Jacob “Jack” Levine.

■ **Helen (Sue) Carpenter Low, 91**, a Foreign Service spouse, died on April 26 in her apartment at an assisted living and memory care residence in Ashland, Mass.

Mrs. Low was born in Tulsa, Okla., on Oct. 9, 1926. The family relocated to Findlay, Ohio, during the Great Depression, when she was 7 years old.

Mrs. Low applied to Denison University in 1944, long after the application deadline, but she was admitted based on having won a highly competitive State of Ohio scholarship. She graduated from Denison Phi Beta Kappa with an economics major in 1948.

In 1949 she received her master’s degree in philosophy, politics and economics from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. She completed her honors at Oxford University, Somerville College, as a Fulbright Scholar in 1951.

Mrs. Low married Stephen Low in 1956, and together they started a life in the Foreign Service with tours in Uganda, Senegal, Brazil, Zambia and Nigeria, as well as a stint in Santa Barbara, Calif., in 1982. After leaving the Foreign Service in 1987, they spent five years in Bologna, Italy.

In addition to raising three sons and serving as a Foreign Service spouse, Mrs. Low was active in improving the

status of Foreign Service women and spouses, researching and writing papers for various governmental and nongovernmental organizations, leading and supporting women’s groups overseas and at home and supporting her local community.

She traveled widely and maintained a keen interest in current affairs, music, art, geology, photography, philosophy and spirituality.

Mrs. Low played an active leadership role in the Association of American Foreign Service Women, chairing groups and directing surveys. She wrote recommendations and testimony for congressional hearings that led to a policy framework to support and acknowledge the role of spouses in the Foreign Service, and the establishment of the Foreign Service Spouse Corps.

Mrs. Low was predeceased by her husband in 2010. She is survived by her sons, Diego of Massachusetts; Rod (and his wife, Helen) of Honolulu, Hawaii; and Jesse (and his wife, Julie) of Cairns, Australia; and grandchildren Ciara, Roisin, Stephanie, Lena and Philip.

■ **Mark Mitchell, 58**, an active-duty Foreign Service officer with USAID, died on May 6 as the result of a car accident in Tbilisi, Georgia, where he was posted.

Mr. Mitchell graduated from California State University, Fresno with a bachelor’s degree in business administration. He then joined the Army, rising to the rank of captain in the intelligence branch before returning to school to earn a master’s degree in international relations and a law degree from the University of South Carolina.

He then worked for the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Defense Intelligence Agency before joining USAID.

Mr. Mitchell served in Brazil, Dji-

bouti and Afghanistan before being posted to Georgia in 2015.

Mr. Mitchell is survived by his husband, Paulo Mendonca; his parents, Betsy and Russell Mitchell; and a sister, Melissa Mitchell.

■ **Stafford King Mousky, 85**, a former Foreign Service officer with USAID, died on Dec. 6, 2017, in New York City after a long battle with Parkinson’s disease.

Mr. Mousky was born in St. Cloud, Minn., on Oct. 11, 1932, the son of Carl and Estelle Mousky. His father was a government official for the state of Minnesota, and his mother was a schoolteacher.

He graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School in St. Paul, Minn., and later graduated magna cum laude with a bachelor’s degree in history and political science from Hamline University. He went on to serve in the U.S. Navy for four years, spending two years on aircraft carriers in the Pacific.

Mr. Mousky joined USAID in 1960, serving as a development specialist until 1977. He served on the Bolivia desk in Washington, D.C., before moving to Peru in 1965.

He later served as chief of the Development and Planning Division of the Latin America Bureau of USAID and as the senior USAID economic and social adviser to the U.S. Permanent Mission to the United Nations, where he served under permanent representatives George H.W. Bush, John Scali, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, William Scranton and Andrew Young.

In 1977 he was seconded to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) as chief of the Office of the Executive Director, and later became chief of the Governing Council for the U.N. Liaison and External Relations Branch.

Mr. Mousky concluded his UNFPA career as senior adviser for the Secretariat

of the International Conference on Population and Development, witnessing the adoption of the Programme of Action at ICPD in Cairo.

Following his retirement from the United Nations in 1994, Mr. Mousky served as a member of the governing board of the Association of Former International Civil Servants, a senior adviser to the International Organization for Migration, a board member of the U.S. Committee for UNFPA and a member of the DPI/NGO Executive Committee, serving as a mentor to countless colleagues.

Mr. Mousky is survived by his wife, Laurence Mousky (née Melhem); his son, Marc Mousky; and his sister, Carol McCall.

■ **Virginia S. Murphy**, 99, widow of the late USIA Foreign Service Officer Edmund R. Murphy, died of congestive heart failure on Feb. 25 at her home in Chevy Chase, Md., six days shy of her 100th birthday.

Mrs. Murphy was born and grew up in New Orleans, La., where she met Edmund Murphy, a naval officer in the Armed Guard during World War II. They were married in January 1945.

After the war ended, Mr. Murphy's Foreign Service career began, and the couple moved to Washington, D.C.

Following Mr. Murphy's assignment on the Latin American desk, the couple served in Mexico City, Lyons, Buenos Aires, Port-au-Prince, Bogotá and Helsinki. Mr. Murphy retired from the Service in 1973.

Mrs. Murphy raised five children, two of whom, Linda Ann and Edmund Robert Jr., predeceased her. She was also predeceased by her husband.

Mrs. Murphy is survived by three sons: John Donald of Chevy Chase, Md.;

Lawrence Bostick of Monrovia, Md.; and Michael Alan of Berkeley, Calif.; four grandchildren; and four great-grandchildren.

■ **Rudolf Vilem Perina**, 73, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador, died suddenly at home in Vienna, Va., on June 14.

Born in Czechoslovakia in 1945, Mr. Perina and his parents fled that country following the 1948 communist takeover. The family lived as refugees in Switzerland and Morocco before immigrating to the United States in 1950.

Mr. Perina earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago in 1967 and later received masters and Ph.D. degrees in European history from Columbia University. While studying in New York, he participated in filming a documentary about the 1968 Prague Spring reform movement in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Perina worked for more than three decades on east-west relations in Europe during and after the Cold War, and on the Dayton Accords following the dissolution of the former Republic of Yugoslavia.

Prior to his retirement, he served as ambassador to the Republic of Moldova, U.S. special negotiator for Eurasian conflicts in the former Soviet Union, principal deputy assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs, and director of European and Soviet affairs for the National Security Council.

Following his retirement from the Foreign Service, he served as chargé d'affaires at U.S. embassies in Chisinau (2006), Yerevan (2007), Reykjavík (2010), Prague (2013) and Bratislava (2015). He also led inspections of embassies around the globe.

In 2007, Amb. Perina completed an

oral history of his life and career for the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, which is available online through the Library of Congress.

In 2010, Amb. Perina was the Scarff Visiting Professor of International Relations at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wis. He also served until his death on the Council of Advisers of the Wende Museum, a research institute and archive of the Cold War located in Culver City, Calif.

Amb. Perina is survived by his wife, Ethel Hetherington Perina; two daughters, Kaja and Alexandra Perina, and their husbands; and four grandchildren.

■ **James Perry Thurber Jr.**, 90, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died on June 16 in Los Altos, Calif., after a brief illness.

Mr. Thurber was a graduate of Milton Academy in Massachusetts and spent a 13th high school year at the Thatcher School in Ojai.

He earned a bachelor's degree in journalism from Stanford University and a master's degree in international relations from The George Washington University. He attended the National War College from 1973 to 1974.

Mr. Thurber served in the U.S. Army during the Korean War, from 1950 to 1952. He then worked as a reporter and editor for the *Wall Street Journal* in the San Francisco, New York, Philadelphia and Detroit offices.

His last assignment for the *Journal* was as bureau chief in Houston. From 1956 to 1967 he worked in various administrative positions at Stanford University, including as assistant to the university vice president and provost.

Mr. Thurber joined USIA in 1967 and

served in Tanzania, Malawi, Nigeria and Pakistan. He also served as chief of the policy guidance office at USIA in Washington, D.C., and as director of USIA operations in North Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf and South Asia.

In 1980 he was awarded the State Department's Award for Valor for his actions during the takeover and destruction of U.S. Embassy Islamabad by a Pakistani mob, during which two Americans and three Pakistani employees were killed.

Prior to his retirement in 1990, he received a USIA Superior Honor Award for his role in developing a Fulbright Exchange Program between the United States and Canada. At the time of his retirement, he was Minister Counselor for public affairs at Embassy Ottawa.

In retirement Mr. Thurber served as president of the Los Altos History Museum, a member of the board of Hidden Villa Ranch, a member of the Los Altos Library Commission, director of the Bus Barn Stage Company, director of the Los Altos Community Foundation, a member and later president of the Foot-hill-DeAnza Colleges Foundation, and commissioner and chair of the Santa Clara County Airports Commission.

He was also director of the League of Conservation Voters, treasurer of the Foreign Service Association of Northern California, a member of the Mayor's Blue-Ribbon Committee for Affordable Housing and a trustee for Goodwill Industries of Santa Clara County.

Mr. Thurber was an elected member of the Santa Clara County Democratic Party Central Committee, as well as the California State Democratic Central Committee. He was director of the county finance committee for many years, as well as treasurer of the United Democratic Campaign.

He also served as president of the Democratic Century Club and the Peninsula Democratic Coalition. He was the Democratic candidate for Congress in 1962 and an elected delegate to three national Democratic conventions.

Mr. Thurber is survived by wife, Emily Forrest; and four children: James Perry Thurber III (and his spouse, Debra McGibbon), Harriette Thurber Rasmussen, Alexander Forrest Thurber (and his spouse, Courtney Graham) and Mary Thurber Martin; 12 grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren.

■ **Margaret "Peggy" Lewis West, 88**, a former Foreign Service secretary, died at home in Kingsport, Tenn., on May 18.

Born in California and raised in Denver, Mrs. West took in her first cat at age 5, learned to ski and planted a victory garden at age 12, thus discovering her lifelong passions at an early age.

A 1948 graduate of Denver East High School, she took the train to Middlebury College and was christened "Peggy" by her dorm sisters. In Vermont she thrived at her studies, raced on the college ski team and was sought out for her excellent typing skills.

Following graduation in 1952 with a bachelor's degree in political science, Mrs. West served two tours of duty with the State Department in Athens.

While there she was visited by an acquaintance, her future husband Arthur "Sandy" West, who was on leave from his U.S. Navy aircraft carrier.

The couple married in 1957 and, after a brief stay in Gainesville, Fla., made their home in Fayetteville, N.Y., where they raised three children.

Mrs. West enjoyed gardening, her cats and ski trips to Colorado. Her family recalls that she was an accomplished cook and seamstress.

She was a member of Trinity Episcopal Church and did secretarial work for several organizations, including the Nutrition Department at Syracuse University.

Her volunteer work included helping with the Boy Scouts, serving as a Girl Scout leader and a day camp counselor at Camp Adelphi, and supporting the Syracuse Symphony Orchestra, the AARP Tax Program and the Center for New Americans at Interfaith Works.

In 2016 Mrs. West moved to Kingsport, Tenn., to be closer to her youngest daughter.

Mrs. West was predeceased by her husband, Arthur; her parents, Harry and Margretta Lewis; her brother, Charles Lewis; sister-in-law, Tanya Lewis; and nephew, Colin Lewis.

She is survived by her son, Charles West (and his spouse, Adrienne) of New Mexico; daughters Mary West (and her spouse, Frank English) of North Carolina, and Elizabeth Blakely (and her spouse, Dale) of Tennessee; grandchildren Lowell, Quint, David, Taylor, Valerie, Arthur and Bodhi; a younger brother, Harry T. Lewis Jr. (and sister-in-law Penelope Lewis) of Denver, Colo.; 16 nieces and nephews; and a host of other family members and cherished friends.

Memorial contributions may be made to Interfaith Works—Center for New Americans, 1010 James Street, Syracuse NY 13203.

*If you would like us to include an obituary in In Memory, please send text to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org). Be sure to include the date, place and cause of death, as well as details of the individual's Foreign Service career. Please place the name of the AFSA member to be memorialized in the subject line of your email. ■*

## In Defense of a Life-Saving Discipline

### War on Peace: The End of Diplomacy and the Decline of American Influence

Ronan Farrow, *W. W. Norton & Co.*, New York, 2018, \$27.95/hardcover, \$14.99/Kindle, 392 pages.

REVIEWED BY HARRY W. KOPP

There is a school of literary criticism, much in vogue during this reviewer's student years, that says the text on the page, and only the text, is worthy of close study. The intentions, background, even the name of the author do not matter—meaning and value are to be sought in the words alone.

But it is impossible to write about *War on Peace* without reference to the author's remarkable biography. Ronan Farrow grew up with 13 siblings, most of them international adoptions with physical and mental disabilities. His mother, and theirs, is the actress Mia Farrow. His father (and brother-in-law) is filmmaker Woody Allen—unless, as his mother has hinted, it was Frank Sinatra.

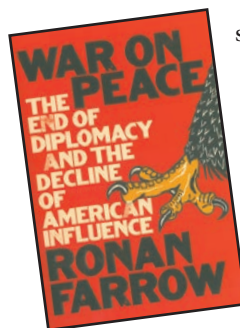
Farrow entered college at 11 and graduated at 15. He spent two years with UNICEF in Nigeria, Eritrea, Angola and Sudan, where an untreated infection left him in a wheelchair for several years. He earned a law degree at Yale, practiced with the white-shoe firm Davis, Polk & Wardwell, and studied international relations at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar.

He was a staff member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a special adviser at the State Department, first to Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Richard Holbrooke (2009-2010) and then to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton.

He won a Pulitzer Prize for his exposé of movie mogul Harvey Weinstein in *The New Yorker*, where he is a contributing writer. He has written only one book—this one—but cut him some slack: he is just 30 years old.

*War on Peace* is long-form, first-person journalism, drawing on experience and interviews. It's a book with a point of view. There is nothing subtle about it. When Farrow grinds his axe, the blade and whetstone are on full display. He states his thesis in a prologue: "What follows," he writes, "is an account of a crisis. It tells the story of a life-saving discipline torn apart by political cowardice."

The "anticommunist zeal that propelled American involvement from Vietnam to Afghanistan," Ronan continues, planted the "seeds of the trends



something of an afterthought.

The story of Richard Holbrooke's time as Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan during 2009 and 2010 is the heart of the book. Farrow first met Holbrooke in New York in 2004, when Farrow was 16 and Holbrooke was 58. In 2009 he lobbied his

way into a job with Holbrooke (much as Holbrooke, a diplomatic star in President Bill Clinton's administration, had lobbied his way into Hillary Clinton's State Department).

Farrow calls Holbrooke "a creature of another era," one whose experience as a junior Foreign Service officer in Vietnam bred a contempt for "mil-think" that colored his thinking about the war in Afghanistan and how to end it.

Holbrooke's military counterpart in Afghanistan and Pakistan was General

### Farrow seems to assign more blame for the failures of U.S. foreign policy to the U.S. military than to their civilian political leadership.

that would explode under President Trump—the devaluing and deprioritization of diplomacy, the rise of generals in policymaking. ... Hundreds of thousands of innocents would become casualties of those [American military] interventions."

Farrow builds his case around personalities he worked with or interviewed, and on American policy in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Colombia, Egypt and Syria. A final section on the Trump administration is presented as a culmination of long-established trends, although—perhaps because Farrow cannot conceal his loathing—it reads as

David Petraeus, commander of the Central Command and later commander of U.S. and international forces in Afghanistan. According to Farrow, Petraeus called Holbrooke "my wingman," a term Holbrooke found insulting. "His job should be to drop bombs when I tell him to," said Holbrooke (who during the 1995 Bosnian crisis had directed NATO strikes on Serbian targets).

Throughout his career, Farrow says, Holbrooke, "an impossible blowhard," impressed and antagonized people he needed to work with. He won no friends, but in Farrow's view "he was the rare asshole who was worth it."

## The story of Richard Holbrooke's time as Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan during 2009 and 2010 is the heart of the book.

Although he built a staff of nearly 100, Holbrooke and his office had no real bureaucratic home and no clear role in what was then called the AfPak theater. He had few resources—General Petraeus, he complained, “has more airplanes than I have telephones.” He worked and traveled constantly, searching for a path to a political solution to a problem that he may not have fully understood.

“A negotiated settlement with the Taliban,” Farrow says, was “the white whale to Holbrooke’s Ahab.” General Petraeus, however, wanted no talks until the forces aligned against the Taliban had a stronger battlefield position. When Holbrooke told him, “Dave, we need to talk about reconciliation,” Petraeus replied, “Richard, that’s a 15-second conversation.” The White House, and indeed Secretary Clinton, followed the Pentagon’s lead.

As Holbrooke’s health began to fail, people close to him urged him to quit, but he refused. Farrow writes: “He felt he was the only one capable of giving an honest assessment of the harsh realities. But beneath the sweep of history was a small human struggle, of ego and age and fear.” Farrow, who was present, provides a harrowing but tender account of the meeting with Secretary Clinton at the State Department, during which Holbrooke suffered the massive heart attack that killed him. When doctors confirmed his death, Farrow told Clinton, “He was the closest thing to a father I ever had.”

With Holbrooke absent from the story, Farrow’s book loses some of its

narrative drive and emotional punch. Even so, the sketches of figures prominent and obscure, based on Farrow’s own interviews, remain fascinating.

These include Abdul Rashid Dostum, the ethnic Uzbek warlord whose U.S.-backed Northern Alliance captured Kabul at the beginning of the Afghan war in 2001; Husain Haqqani, Pakistani journalist, politician and ambassador to the United States (2008-2011); Freddy Torres, a Colombian truck driver kidnapped by unknown persons in 2006; Sally Evans, mother of Thomas Evans, who joined the al-Shabaab terrorist group and died in an attack on a military base in Northern Kenya; American diplomats Anne Patterson, Robin Raphel and Tom Countryman; and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson.

Farrow seems to assign more blame for the failures of U.S. foreign policy to the U.S. military than to their civilian political leadership. A mass grave in Afghanistan, for example, is described as the result of “a strain of post-9/11 foreign policy led not by diplomats, but by soldiers and spies.” In Somalia, a CIA decision to back a series of warlords against a coalition of sharia courts (which Farrow says were a stabilizing force) turned “a local nuisance” into “a terrifying new threat to international security.”

In Syria, he writes, Kurds, Turks, the Free Syrian Army and the Syrian Defense forces (both rebel groups) fought each other, all of them using U.S. arms and air support. “This,” says Farrow, “was what tactics without strategy looked like: deadly farce.”

The Trump administration, says Farrow, “concentrated ever more power in the Pentagon, granting it nearly unilateral authority.” Around the world, “America’s relationships took on a distinctly military flavor.” Diplomats who survived the State Department purge were disdained and ignored. For the Foreign Service, shut out of the action, watching the administration’s performance is “like being locked outside watching an enthusiastic dog tear up your upholstery.”

Farrow’s prose is clear and strong, despite the occasional stylistic oddity. Colombia in the 1980s is “an Escheresque tessellation of faction and violence.” A chapter on Robin Raphel’s travails with the FBI ends with unconscious parody: “She fixed her blue eyes on me. ‘I wasn’t doing the wrong thing. ... I was doing the real thing.’ Robin Raphel pulled on her coat and stepped back out into the cold.” These clunkers are rare enough to be called unique.

We all know that the plural of anecdote is data, and *War on Peace* has anecdotes aplenty. The book’s persuasive power comes from accumulation—readers looking for analytic rigor will be disappointed. *War on Peace* will resonate with those inclined to accept its thesis; others will probably never open it in the first place. ■

---

*Harry W. Kopp, a former Foreign Service officer, is the author of several books on diplomacy, including (with John K. Naland) a third edition of Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service (Georgetown University Press, 2017) 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.*

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# Playing Squash with Arlen Specter

BY ALEXIS LUDWIG

Word went out from on high that someone from the embassy community was needed to play squash with Senator Arlen Specter, then a Republican from Pennsylvania, who was scheduled to make a brief stop in Guatemala City in early 1996. Wherever the senator happened to travel, whether at home or abroad, someone always was; an hour or so set aside in his schedule for squash was an absolute requirement. This was non-negotiable.

Washington Post columnist Al Kamen had even made snarky note of the senator's disciplined daily squash habit—and the commandeering of partners required to accommodate it. But no matter. The senator was undeterred by mere gossip.

Specter was up and coming at the time. Several years earlier, his aggressive cross-examination of Anita Hill during the confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas had thrust him into the national lime-light, and he had emerged as a formidable force in the Senate since. "Snarlin"



*Alexis Ludwig is a 24-year Foreign Service veteran who recently concluded a tour as a career development officer for senior-level FSOs and*

*began as the deputy permanent representative at the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. He worked as a vice consul in Guatemala from 1994 to 1996. Mr. Ludwig is chair of the FSJ Editorial Board.*

**In the halls of the chancery and over lunch in the cafeteria, conversations turned to strategy. Should I seek to win, or allow the senator to do so? Should I ensure a tough struggle, deliberately drawing it out? Or show unambiguous dominance, to underscore some larger political point?**

Arlen" his colleagues reportedly called him. Treat him right, or watch out!

It seems somehow fitting that I can't quite recall what official purpose brought Mr. Specter, who was then chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, to Guatemala. What I do remember were the embassy's exhaustive efforts to find him the right squash partner. Should it be someone from inside or outside the mission? Local or American? Was a level of English required, or just a certain threshold of skill at the sport? This was serious business, and we had to get it right.

Thinking back, I don't remember how or why I was the one chosen in the end. I'm sure I didn't exactly volunteer. Probably a combination of the pickings being slim and the first and second choices being out of town that day. I had played squash from time to time some years before as a graduate student, and had held my own against other okay players. But what if the senator was one of the exquisitely skilled, a member of the fearsome squash elite? What then?

I had had a previous experience with

this element, in the form of a thorough thrashing at the hands of a fellow graduate student—the aptly named Angus, from Oxford. I had come to think of myself as pretty decent at squash ... until I faced Angus. His dominance of the pivotal T-area was total and complete, his movements on the court focused, economic and spare.

Angus held the long narrow racket expertly low, parallel to his side and, with a quick succession of barely visible flicks of the wrist, sent the small, hot, black ball spinning with a stunning accuracy and precision of placement just above the red tin and invariably skipping and skidding shallow, fast and far out of my disheveled reach for the easy kill. He couldn't even try to pretend to keep me in the game. I was a rank amateur playing chess against Bobby Fischer. It was over before it began.

If Senator Specter was anything like Angus, I thought to myself, I was toast, and the embassy's reputation for excellence possibly in tatters. I lost some sleep, but I kept my crackling doubts locked up inside.

Meanwhile, in the halls of the chancery and over lunch in the cafeteria, conversations turned to strategy. Should I seek to win, or allow the senator to do so? Should I ensure a tough struggle, deliberately drawing it out? Or show unambiguous dominance, to underscore some larger political point? Pluses and minuses were offered on both sides.

The assumptions being made struck me as flawed, deceived by appearances. In my early 30s at the time, I was a good athlete and still in my physical prime. Senator Specter was more than twice my age, and on a different curve in life's arc entirely; he was not yet stricken by the cancer that felled him years later, but still. Advantage Ludwig, the thinking went.

The point turned out to be moot.

We met in the locker room, minutes

## It turned out to be a legitimate hard-scrabble battle.

before the match was to begin. I was still lacing my tennis shoes when he walked in. I saw an opportunity for an exchange of pleasantries, but the good senator was having none of it. His focus was elsewhere. I'm not even sure we shook hands. I quickly understood that, for him, this episode would be about the squash and the squash alone. Conversation would play no role. Fine.

It turned out to be a legitimate hard-scrabble battle, with lots of running and sweating, a succession of momentum shifts and many tough points fought down to the wire. There was no reason to play it one way or the other, just to play it. Thank God! All told, we were evenly

matched. The senator had the advantages of technique, rhythm and experience, as well as the clear desire to win; I had stamina, speed and athleticism on my side.

Let the record show that I was recovering from a chest cold at the time, which caused me to get winded more easily than I might have otherwise. I had also been away from the courts for a number of years, and was out of practice. As a result, I blew a series of potentially easy kills. Apart from that, for good or ill, Senator Specter beat me fair and square.

Perhaps that's why he shook my hand before he bid me "adios," turned, and headed for the showers. ■

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Cheered on by one of the organizers, the winner of a Tuareg camel race crosses the finish line. We had been invited to this significant event in the desert outside of Niamey in which 30 racers participated, and which was honored with the presence of the local prefect. Hundreds of people had gathered to watch, but they were held back from the racetrack by a number of security guards and thus are not in the photograph. The 17-kilometer race took about 25 minutes for the fastest riders to complete. The second- and third-place camels are visible at the left, alongside the pace-setting vehicles. The prize for the winner was 200,000 CFA (about \$400, or half the average yearly income in Niger). ■

*Gemma Dvorak is an EFM currently living in Niamey, Niger, with her spouse on their first overseas tour. A freelance editor and photographer, she is enjoying the FS life and making the most of the opportunities this post affords. She is a former associate editor of The Foreign Service Journal and editor of AFSA News.*

*This photo was taken on Feb. 4, 2018, with a Nikon Coolpix P7000 camera, 1/813 sec exposure, ISO 100.*

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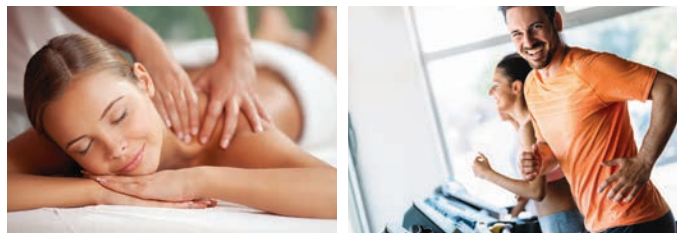
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