

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

MARCH 2020



DEALING WITH RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

INTEGRITY FIRST

POWER AFRICA:
REDEFINING DEVELOPMENT

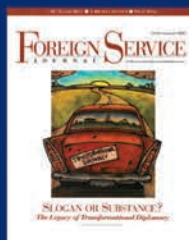
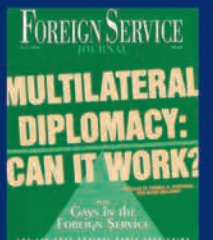
THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



READ AROUND THE WORLD

DEFINING
DIPLOMACY
for
100
YEARS

A CENTURY OF JOURNALS
www.afsa.org/fsj



Give your contacts, your friends & family an inside look at diplomacy with a GIFT SUBSCRIPTION to
THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Visit www.afsa.org/subscribe-fsj for details and to sign up, or email journal@afsa.org

Visit the online archive at www.afsa.org/fsj-archive



COVERED FROM SEA TO SHINING SEA.

We've covered the Foreign Service abroad since 1947,
and now we have you covered at home, too.



Auto - customized coverage options for total peace of mind
at special rates



Home - cover your property stateside whether you own your
home or rent — even an option for landlords



Umbrella - additional personal liability that acts as a safety
net to protect your assets

[clements.com/FSJ](https://www.clements.com/FSJ) | 1.800.872.0067

PROUDLY SERVING
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
SINCE 1947

 **clements**
WORLDWIDE



Tommy Chambers

Forbes Real Estate Council Member
& President of Chambers Theory

Jessica Stinnette

-Newly Announced-
Vice President of Property Management

BEST
WASHINGTONIAN
2018

BEST
WASHINGTONIAN
2019

Discover the
Intelligent
Way to rent
your
property!

\$371
More Rent
each month*

16
Days Faster
at renting
your home*

only 1
to offer
CentriQ Pro
Smart-home
App

0
Evictions
Thorough
Tenant analysis
& background
check

Property
Management
the way it
should be!



Make ONE phone call or Send ONE email to get the results or answers you want

-You'll experience a quick & thoughtful response from an expert on our team that focuses on client care.
-Results without reminders! You'll never have to "manage your property manager".



Do you want more rent for your property?

-Of course you do! Chambers Theory properties rent for 18% higher than the average of our competition*
-This equates to approximately \$371/month more rent... you'll make more than \$4,000/year more with us!



Experience less vacancy & enjoy a better quality of tenant!

-We rent homes 40% faster, with an average of 23 days on market compared to our average competition at 39 DOM* (All without sacrificing tenant credentials - zero evictions or outstanding Tenant judgements).



How well does your property manager know your home?

-We provide a smart-home app providing cost-evaluation tools and user-guides specific to your home.



Investment Advice & Property Management Expertise in DC & VA

Visit us at **ChambersTheory.com** or call **703.609.2323**

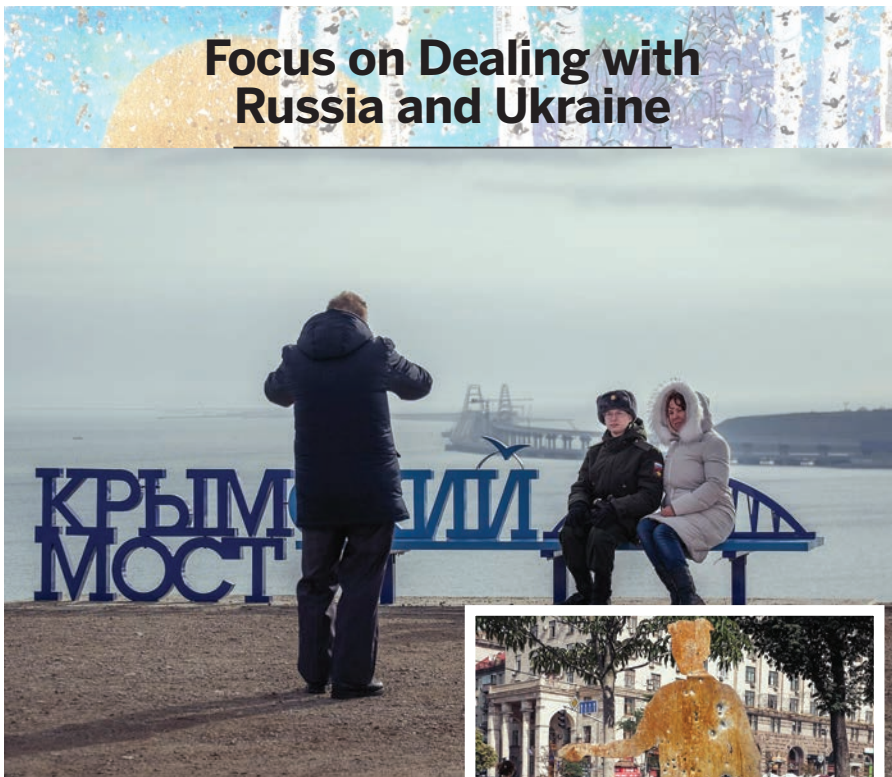
Offices in DC, Arlington & Herndon

*Statistics based on 2019 rental listing data for same-set geographic region in DC, MD, & VA. Data aggregated on 16 property management firms with at least 30 annual rental listings and information sourced through BrightMLS and doesn't include private/off-MLS listings.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

March 2020 Volume 97, No. 2

Focus on Dealing with Russia and Ukraine



22

Reflections on Russia, Ukraine and the U.S. in the Post-Soviet World

The struggle between Russia and Ukraine, in which the United States has been involved for three decades, reflects the challenges of the continuing post-Soviet transformation.

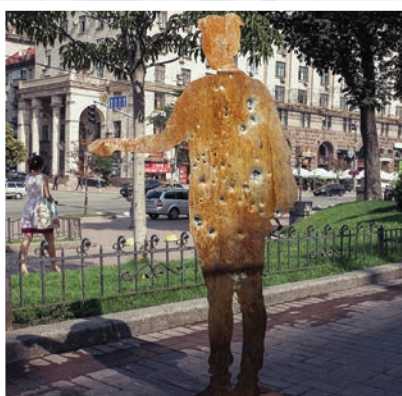
By John F. Tefft

35

The World Through Moscow's Eyes: A Classic Russian Perspective

To fathom the Ukraine dispute, a Russian scholar and head of the Carnegie Moscow Center shares what he thinks U.S. diplomats need to know about Russia.

By Dmitri Trenin



39

When Lightning Struck Twice: Drawing Down Mission Russia

Moscow assignments were never easy, but the dramatic ordered reductions of diplomatic staff in 2017 and 2018 were distinctly difficult.

By Michael A. Lally

42

Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine—From the FSJ Archive

Features

45

Energy Diplomacy Works: How Power Africa Redefines Development Partnerships

An ambitious USAID initiative to bring the U.S. government's resources to bear in Africa is producing results, offering a new model for development assistance.

By Andrew M. Herscowitz



50

Superpowered Public Diplomacy

Updating the PD toolbox with popular arts.

By Preeti Shah

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Perspectives

7

President's Views

The Foreign Service Act at 40

By Eric Rubin

9

Letter from the Editor

Going Through Things

By Shawn Dorman

12

Message from the Hill

We Need to Upgrade Our Diplomatic Capabilities

By Representative Brian Jefferly Mast

19

Speaking Out

Integrity First

By Alan Larson

85

Reflections

Sprint Training for Distance Runners

By Katie Mastin

86

Local Lens

Cúcuta, Colombia

By Keith Mines

Departments

10 Letters

14 Talking Points

71 In Memory

76 Books

Marketplace

80 Real Estate

82 Classifieds

84 Index to Advertisers

AFSA NEWS

THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

53 Honoring Early Diplomats and Consular Officers

54 State VP Voice—Being Treated More Like Our Military

55 USAID VP Voice—The FSA: It's More Than Just an Act

56 Retiree VP Voice—Powerful Tools to Defend the Foreign Service

56 Congress Approves Paid Parental Leave for Federal Employees

57 Support AFSA's Legal Defense Fund

57 A Letter to AFSA

58 Guidance on the Use of Diplomatic Passports

59 AFSA President Addresses Citizen Groups in Florida

60 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board Term Report

66 2019 AFSA Treasurer's Report

68 Congress Passes 2020 Appropriations Package, Including 2.6 Percent Pay Increase

68 Hatch Act: What Every Employee Needs to Know

69 Updates to the 2019 AFSA Tax Guide

70 Remembering Anthony Bishop, AFGE State Vice President



On the Cover—“Empire Half-Light”(2016), by artist and former FSO Rosemarie Forsythe. Her style mixes matte gem tones with metallics to achieve a look reminiscent of Byzantine icons or 15th-century illuminated manuscripts. For this first piece in her “Empire Twilight” series, she incorporated her declassified reporting cables from 1989-1991 Embassy Moscow. This piece was shown at AFSA’s first FS Artists Showcase Feb. 6 and is now owned by fellow Soviet/Russia specialist Anita Friedt. Both worked with Ambassador (ret.) John Tefft.

The Foreign Service Act at 40

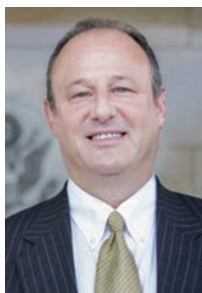
BY ERIC RUBIN

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the defining legislative foundation of our institution and a critical element of our country's foreign policy structure. As Harry Kopp writes in his superb history of AFSA (www.afsa.org/voice), members of both houses of Congress from both sides of the aisle took seriously the task of modernizing the Foreign Service and making it more efficient, effective and useful.

One thing is clear from the deliberations that led to the final 1980 Act: there was nearly universal consensus that the Foreign Service needs to be at the center of the U.S. foreign policy process. It was widely accepted that good policy could not be made without professional expertise and advice.

It was also generally agreed that political appointee ambassadors need to be qualified, and their numbers should be kept to a minimum. All of these concepts were laid out clearly in the final legislation.

The 1980 Act states: "A career foreign service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential in the national interest to assist the President and the Secretary of State in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States."



It continues: "The members of the Foreign Service should be representative of the American people," and the Foreign Service shall be

"operated on the basis of merit principles."

The act covered seven agencies (two of which no longer exist), created the Senior Foreign Service, reduced the number of FS personnel categories, established a single FS pay schedule, added new benefits and allowances, authorized a Foreign Service union and set parameters for a grievance system.

It also strengthened congressional oversight by requiring regular reports from the Department of State on affirmative action, professional development, workforce planning, language skills, ambassadorial nominations, operations of the inspector general and other matters.

So where are we today? We face two critical tasks. Most urgent is getting the career Foreign Service back to the center of the foreign-policy-making process as intended by the act. Today, our senior political leaders have almost no contact with senior career FSOs. We have only one career FSO serving as an under secretary, and none serving as a Senate-confirmed assistant secretary.

Many of the deputy assistant secretary positions are still occupied by FSOs in an "acting" capacity, more than three years into the Trump administration. We are also witnessing the departure of most career detailees from the National Security Council. The interagency process has been diminished.

The second urgent task is to modernize our Service. I applaud the pilot programs underway in several agencies to inject more flexibility into the sys-

tem—expansion of the leave without pay option is one example.

We need to focus on recruitment and retention, and consider changes to help make the Service more responsive to a 2020 workforce that has different needs and expectations than the 1980s workforce did. This includes making the Service more reflective of the rich diversity of America.

Looking back with the help of the Kopp book and *Foreign Service Journal* archives, it is important to remember that 1980 was less than a decade after the end of "two for one" rules mandating the rating of wives on their husbands' EERs, and also the rule forcing female FSOs to resign if they married.

We're in a different era, and we need to engage with members of Congress and congressional staff to ensure the core elements of the Foreign Service Act are protected and reinforced, while at the same time being prepared to innovate and modernize. While we work to protect the Foreign Service and to defend our colleagues who were drawn into the impeachment battle as fact witnesses, we need to keep a strategic focus as well.

AFSA would be grateful for your thoughts on what is working and not working in today's Foreign Service, and what changes you might like to see. Please send your input to our new email address—ideas@afsa.org—and let us know whether or not your comments can be shared with attribution as part of an *FSJ* compilation. I look forward to hearing from you. ■

Ambassador Eric Rubin is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

Editor-in-Chief, Director of Publications
Shawn Dorman: dorman@afsa.org

Senior Editor
Susan Brady Maitra: maitra@afsa.org

Managing Editor
Kathryn Owens: owens@afsa.org

Associate Editor
Cameron Woodworth: woodworth@afsa.org

Publications Coordinator
Dmitry Filipoff: filipoff@afsa.org

**Business Development Manager—
Advertising and Circulation**
Molly Long: long@afsa.org

Art Director
Caryn Suko Smith

Editorial Board
Alexis Ludwig, Chair
Hon. Robert M. Beecroft
Daniel Crocker
Joel Ehrendreich
Harry Kopp
Jess McTigue
Christopher Teal
Joe Tordella
Vivian Walker
Hon. Laurence Wohlers
Dinah Zeltser-Winart

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

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

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

© American Foreign Service Association, 2020

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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



CONTACTS



www.afsa.org

AFSA Headquarters:
(202) 338-4045; Fax (202) 338-6820
State Department AFSA Office:
(202) 647-8160; Fax (202) 647-0265
USAID AFSA Office:
(202) 712-1941; Fax (202) 216-3710
FCS AFSA Office:
(202) 482-9088; Fax (202) 482-9087

GOVERNING BOARD

President
Hon. Eric S. Rubin: rubin@afsa.org
Secretary
Ken Kero-Mentz: KeroMentzKA@state.gov
Treasurer
Virginia L. Bennett: vibennett@gmail.com
State Vice President
Thomas Yazdgerdi: YazdgerdiTK@state.gov
USAID Vice President
Jason Singer: jsinger@usaid.gov
FCS Vice President
Jay Carreiro: Jay.Carreiro@trade.gov
FAS Vice President
Michael Riedel: michael.riedel@yahoo.com
Retiree Vice President
John K. Naland: nalandfamily@yahoo.com
State Representatives
Joshua C. Archibald
Matthew Dolbow
Holly Kirking Loomis
Kristin Michelle Roberts
Tamir Waser
Lillian Wahl-Tuco
USAID Representative
Lorraine Sherman
FCS Alternate Representative
Mike Calvert
FAS Alternate Representative
Mary Parrish
USAGM Representative
Steve Herman
APHIS Representative
Jeffery Austin
Retiree Representatives
Mary Daly
Philip A. Shull

STAFF

Executive Director
Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org
Executive Assistant to the President
Richard Bruner: bruner@afsa.org
Office Coordinator
Therese Thomas: therese@afsa.org

PROFESSIONAL POLICY ISSUES
Director of Professional Policy Issues
Julie Nutter: nutter@afsa.org

ADVOCACY

Director of Advocacy
Kim Greenplate: greenplate@afsa.org

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

Director of Finance and Facilities
Femi Oshobukola: oshobukola@afsa.org
Manager, HR and Operations
Cory Nishi: cnishi@afsa.org
Controller
Kalpna Srimal: srimal@afsa.org
Member Accounts Specialist
Ana Lopez: lopez@afsa.org
IT and Infrastructure Coordinator
Aleksandar "Pav" Pavlovich:
pavlovich@afsa.org

COMMUNICATIONS

Director of Communications
Ásgeir Sigfússon: sigfusson@afsa.org
**Manager of Outreach and Internal
Communications**
Allan Saunders: saunders@afsa.org
Online Communications Manager
Jeff Lau: lau@afsa.org
Awards and Scholarships Manager
Theo Horn: horn@afsa.org
Strategic Messaging Coordinator
Nadja Ruzica: ruzica@afsa.org

MEMBERSHIP

Director, Programs and Member Engagement
Christine Miele: miele@afsa.org
Coordinator of Member Relations and Events
Ashley Baine: baine@afsa.org
**Coordinator of Member Recruitment
and Benefits**
Perri Green: green@afsa.org
Retirement Benefits Counselor
Dolores Brown: brown@afsa.org

LABOR MANAGEMENT

General Counsel
Sharon Papp: PappS@state.gov
Deputy General Counsel
Raeka Safai: SafaiR@state.gov
Senior Staff Attorneys
Zlatana Badrich: BadrichZ@state.gov
Neera Parikh: ParikhNA@state.gov
Labor Management Counselor
Colleen Fallon-Lenaghan:
FallonLenaghanC@state.gov
Senior Labor Management Advisor
James Yorke: YorkeJ@state.gov
Labor Management Coordinator
Patrick Bradley: BradleyPG@state.gov
Senior Grievance Counselor
Heather Townsend: TownsendHA@state.gov
Grievance Counselor
Pete Lyon: LyonPC@state.gov
Law Clerk
Briana J. Odom

Going Through Things

BY SHAWN DORMAN

“She’s going to go through some things,” said the president in his perfect call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky last July. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch went through some things—as she did her job, served her country and spoke the truth.

As the impeachment trial came to a quick end, the three-time ambassador retired. But while the Service lost another outstanding senior diplomat, it also gained a hero; the impeachment process brought to light—for those paying any attention at all—the integrity and dedication of career diplomats on the front lines implementing official U.S. policy and advancing relationships around the world.

At AFSA and through the *Journal*, we will continue supporting the Foreign Service as it goes through things, facing new challenges. We will continue pointing to the critical importance of professional diplomacy for national security and telling the story of the U.S. Foreign Service, both for our members and the public, and for the historical record.

One great story is that of the Power Africa program, the first “Energy Diplomacy Works” contribution to our ongoing Diplomacy Works series. In this issue, USAID FSO Andrew Herscovitz explains how this program is redefining development partnerships.

For our focus on dealing with Russia and Ukraine, it was a

Shawn Dorman is the editor of The Foreign Service Journal.



coup to get John Tefft—who has served as ambassador to both countries (and Georgia and Lithuania)—to write the lead article. This is must-reading for anyone who wants to know why we should care about Ukraine, and Russia.

Carnegie Moscow Center Director Dmitri Trenin presents “The World Through Moscow’s Eyes.” Understanding where our adversaries (and friends) are coming from is part of what makes diplomacy work.

FSO Michael Lally reminds us how the challenges in the U.S.-Russia relationship in recent years have affected the lives of U.S. Mission Russia staff. We also include a selection of excerpts from the FSJ Archive, the merest hint of the archive’s tremendous resources on Russia and Ukraine.

Elsewhere, FSO Preeti Shah reports

from Comic-Con on how the public diplomacy toolbox has been expanded; and retired FSO Alan Larson speaks out on the value of integrity in foreign policy.

Finally, as we close out the *FSJ*’s centennial year with this edition, I am pleased to report that the state of the *Journal* is strong. We count on our readers to share their views and experiences for these pages. Let us hear from you (journal@afsa.org). And please take the AFSA president up on his request for input (to_ideas@afsa.org).

And speaking of going through some things, during a recent cleanup at AFSA we discovered a 1994 letter from George Kennan for the *Journal*’s 75th anniversary. As the *FSJ* enters its second century, his words still resonate. ■

March 28, 1994

The American Foreign Service, in its chartered (but not always respected) capacity as a highly selected, non-political, and disciplined body of career officials trained for the representation of this country through its embassies and consular offices abroad, has never fitted easily into the American governmental establishment. Seldom have its nature, its functions, and its needs been understood either by the general public or by the press or even by those who were responsible for its financial support and administration at the Washington end.

The service has always had something of a dual identity, trying on the one hand to represent this country abroad ... , but trying at the same time to accommodate itself to the demands being brought to bear upon it from a Washington which would never fully understand what it was, why it existed, and what it was doing.

No institution connected with the Foreign Service can have found itself more in the center of these conflicting pressures than the organ which, for some 75 years, has tried to shape and maintain the Service’s own sense of identity and yet to help it to meet the demands placed upon it by both the political and the bureaucratic establishments at home: namely, *The Foreign Service Journal*. ...

This must never have been an entirely easy task; but the *Journal* has pursued it all these years with devotion and persistence. ... I am glad to wish it many more years of useful service to a cause which is none the less valuable for being so rarely understood.

Very sincerely,
George Kennan

The Promise of Independence

The conversation with Ambassador Hank Cohen in the December 2019 *FSJ* was an extraordinary article in an equally extraordinary issue. Students of diplomacy and the Foreign Service will benefit immensely from it. Congratulations to the *Journal* and Amb. Cohen.

In my 20-odd years as an LS [Language Services] contractor, I heard the same about Africa's lack of postcolonial progress as the ambassador revealed in the interview. When I interpreted at a Young African Leaders Conference at State some 10 years ago, at one point *all* the individuals who ventured opinions on their governments were uniformly critical.

Little wonder, then, that in recent years desperate thousands of Africans have tried to enter Europe as putative asylum-seekers, many losing their lives at sea, while others try to cross our border from Mexico.

Thus, the *promise* of independence for many Africans remains that. Let's hope Amb. Cohen's calling attention to the sad situation will cause political leaders and elites to do something, at last, for their own peoples. Everyone would stand to benefit—even they would, of course.

Finally, the ambassador touched on Africa and climate change. I hope he will expand on his view in the regional context. His other ideas and observations are so sound that more on these topics would be most welcome.

Louis V. Riggio
Former FSO and LS Contractor
Hollywood, Florida

The Mighty 102nd

I was glad to see AFSA State VP Tom Yazdgerdi's column in the December *FSJ* on understanding why people leave the Foreign Service. It's an important issue, and I'm sure we all look forward to getting past anecdotal reports and learning what lessons we may be able to draw from a fuller picture.

I do want to take issue, however, with Mr. Yazdgerdi's assertion that the 200th A-100 class was the first to have

women outnumber men. Our small but mighty 102nd brought 23 women and nine men into the Foreign Service in April 2001.

Matt O'Connor
FSO
Kaohsiung, Taiwan

An In-State College Tuition Win

July 18, 2019, was a special day when—thanks to Delegate Paul Krizek, who represents the 44th District in the Virginia General Assembly's House of Delegates—AFSA announced the new law allowing Foreign Service members and their dependents to meet less stringent requirements to receive in-state tuition in Virginia.

Under the new law, FS families will be required to reside in Virginia for no more than 90 days immediately prior to receiving a diplomatic assignment for continued work overseas.

As an FS child, my daughter went to five international schools, ultimately graduating in South Africa. I wanted her to be able to choose her college. She didn't want to study at the University of Florida, where I had graduated.

She wanted to study in Virginia

because she was born in Arlington and had always lived around families from the state.

She enrolled in a Virginia university, but we only had funds for her to attend two years as a nonresident. When her residency appeal was ultimately denied, she withdrew from the university after her second year.

Hope reemerged, however, with the AFSA announcement. In September, I moved to Virginia to begin language training at FSI for an onward assignment to Mozambique, and my daughter applied to James Madison University as a transfer student.

I was apprehensive, knowing no guidance had been issued on how to implement the new law. The JMU Residency Committee Members and both the dean and associate dean of admissions worked with us, however, quickly reviewing documentation they needed related to lodging and my onward assignment.

And now my daughter is officially a Duke and attending JMU! The battle for Virginia residency is over, and because of this new law, my daughter will stay in Virginia where she feels she belongs.

Sincere thanks to all.

Melissa Knight
USAID FSO
U.S. Embassy Maputo

On Afghanistan and the Growing Iranian Disaster

Let's start with a brief consideration of a few of our own major political adjustments. The Declaration of Independence, in 1776, bluntly states "all men are created equal," except for those men over there. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, in 1863, abolished slavery, but only in the Confederate states, where it had no effect.



The 13th Amendment abolished slavery in the United States in 1865, and the Civil Rights Act enforcing it, with considerable difficulty, was passed a mere 99 years later, in 1964.

The 17th Amendment, in 1913, changed election of U.S. senators to a vote by the citizens, not just members of the state legislatures.

Women got the vote in the 19th Amendment, in 1920. Each action faced opposition, and some generated unrest.

If a functioning democracy took this long to adopt basic, significant efforts to improve the operations of the government and the lives of its citizens, what can realistically be expected in Afghanistan, which appears to be struggling into the 18th century?

And consider this: By definition, you cannot impose democracy. That's an oxymoron, two contradictory statements in one sentence: "You cannot force people to make a free choice. OK, Afghans, here comes a weekend; become a democracy *now!*"

I had the pleasure of working with Ambassador Ryan Crocker in Baghdad. He later served as ambassador in Afghanistan, and his opinion piece in *The Washington Post* on Dec. 13, 2019, clearly displayed his intelligence, knowledge and understanding of the massive, extensive, entrenched obstacles the United States and its allies face there.

They have been multiplied by our own mistakes and miscalculations, which have made it vastly more difficult to accomplish a logically impossible task, especially in a short time.

Sadly, I am obliged to agree with part of the title of his essay, that Afghanistan "is not another Vietnam." It certainly isn't, and has infinitely worsened, by

any measure, especially in the years since his exemplary service there.

The Jan. 3 assassination of Qasem Soleimani will clearly add immensely to the serious dangers we have created there, and throughout the Muddle (sic) East.

*Edward Peck
Ambassador, retired
Chevy Chase, Maryland*

Consular Service Promoting Trade

I enjoyed Jay Carreiro's AFSA VP Voice column on the Commercial Service in the November 2019 *FSJ*.

In addition to the work of trade commissioners sent by the Department of Commerce, I think it is important to note the historical role of the Consular Service in trade promotion. In the past, consuls generated reports on all manner of trade issues of interest to U.S. businesses.

These reports—whether on the current price of grain in the country, the prevailing wages or the export opportunities for a particular American product—proved so popular with American businessmen that the Department of State changed their publication from annual to monthly in 1880.

This work greatly expanded in the 20th century. According to *The Foreign Service of the United States*, a history book published by the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs in 1961: "The efforts of American business to expand export markets after the war [World War I] were strongly supported by the trade promotion activities of consular officers.

"In the fiscal year of 1921 consuls answered 82,237 trade inquiries from

businessmen and prepared 15,582 reports on all phases of trade expansion, which were forwarded to the Department of Commerce for dissemination to businessmen.

"An average of 150 trade opportunities were reported each month, and during the period January 1-October 20, 1921, a total of 15,270 reports were supplied on foreign firms for the World Trade Directory Service at the Department of Commerce.

"In addition consuls employed their good offices to settle trade differences between American and foreign firms, thus contributing materially to the maintenance of the prestige of American businesses abroad" (p. 197).

While this function is no longer the responsibility of consular officers, it speaks to the enduring close relationship between State and Commerce in furthering U.S. and foreign trade.

*Stuart Denyer
Consul
U.S. Embassy Ljubljana* ■



Share your thoughts about this month's issue.

**Submit letters to the editor:
journal@afsa.org**

We Need to Upgrade Our Diplomatic Capabilities

BY REPRESENTATIVE BRIAN JEFFERY MAST



The most important and rewarding time of my life was the 12 years I spent in the U.S. Army. I became a bomb technician because I wanted to save lives and serve a cause greater than myself. I nearly gave my own life for that—I lost both my legs and a finger when a roadside bomb detonated beneath me—and have known more heroes than I can count who died defending others.

The selfless commitment of my brothers and sisters in arms, both on and off the battlefield, makes me truly believe that it takes a special kind of person to dedicate their life to serving our country.

Members of the U.S. Foreign Service make this commitment each and every day to spread the values of freedom, democracy and liberty around the globe.

In the current environment of great power competition and rivalry, I strongly believe that we need to upgrade our diplomatic capabilities and

I believe the documented deficit in overseas core diplomacy positions is a serious problem that needs to be addressed to ensure that America's commercial, economic and political standing in the world does not atrophy or give way to rising near-peer competitors.

support them fully to match our adversaries around the world.

In particular, we need to address the documented shortage in core diplomacy positions overseas. To this end, I have strongly urged the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State and Foreign Operations to encourage the State Department to create and fill new Foreign Service positions at overseas posts.

In my letter to the State Department, I specifically encouraged the agency to expand mid-level FSO positions—grades FS-3, FS-2 and FS-1—at overseas posts. Our goal must be to ensure that full

complements of U.S. diplomats are staffing country teams, deployed around the world promoting U.S. interests. I believe the documented deficit in overseas core diplomacy positions is a serious problem that needs to be addressed to ensure that America's commercial, economic and political standing in the world does not atrophy or give way to rising near-peer competitors.

That's why it was so important to get this language included in the appropriations package that passed the House on Dec. 17, 2019, and was signed into law by President Donald Trump three days later.

Representative Brian Jeffery Mast (R-Fla.) represents Florida's 18th district. He serves on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and on the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. Born and raised in Grand Rapids, Michigan, he served in the U.S. Army from 2000 to 2012.

Unfortunately, we are also all too familiar with just how often artificial barriers or needless government bureaucracy gets in the way of those who want to serve. For example, Foreign Service officers are currently forced to take home leave on returning to the United States between assignments and often find themselves without any means of housing. This is simply unacceptable, especially when anyone who is serving or has served in the military can tell you we have hotels and vacation rental homes on bases across the nation.

That's why I introduced legislation to expand military housing benefits to Foreign Service officers who temporarily lose their housing allowance while on mandatory home leave status. This bill would allow Foreign Service officers to rent a place to stay during that short transition period before or after overseas deployment.

The good news is that this bill was included in the National Defense Authorization Act for 2020, which passed the House of Representatives on Dec. 11 and was signed into law on Dec. 20, 2019.

The bottom line is that we must continue working hard to ensure the safety and security of the United States through strong diplomacy, robust funding for our military, unwavering support for our allies, and development of a comprehensive national security strategy founded on the idea that the world is safest when America is strongest.

Thank you for all you do to promote peace and democracy around the globe. Your commitment to service before self continues to inspire me, and I look forward to working with you in the future to preserve our nation's security for generations to come. ■



Property Specialists, Inc.

A professional and personal service tailored to meet your needs in:

- Property Management
- Tenant Placement
- Tax-deferred Exchange
- Real Estate Investment Counseling

Specializing in
**PROPERTY
MANAGEMENT**

4600-D Lee Highway Arlington, Virginia 22207

(703) 525-7010 (703) 247-3350

Email: info@propertyspecialistsinc.com

Web address: propertyspecialistsinc.com

Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

Support AFSA's

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

LDF

AFSA'S LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

Established in 2007, the Legal Defense Fund provides financial assistance to members with legal issues that involve possible far-reaching significance to the rest of the Foreign Service, such as cases involving due process or fundamental fairness.

To make a contribution, visit

www.afsa.org/donate

You may also send a check for "AFSA Legal Defense Fund" to:
AFSA, c/o LDF, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037



Data for Diplomacy

Before a standing-room-only crowd on Jan. 16 in Main State’s Burns Auditorium, officials shared their plans to bring the department’s data analytics into the 21st century.

We are at a critical inflection point at the State Department on data analytics,” Under Secretary for Management Brian Bulatao told the crowd. “This is a generational shift.”

“We created the Center for Analytics to infuse a culture of data into our thinking at State,” Jim Schwab, the director of the Office of Management Strategy and Solutions (MSS), said. “Data analytics is everywhere in society, and we are starting to use it in many areas at State.”

Janice Degarmo, the deputy director of MSS and acting chief data officer at the Center for Analytics, shared several examples of new data analytics projects already in action or in development.

One is a dashboard called Congressional Insights that helps prepare embassy staffers for upcoming visits by congressional delegations. With

600 codels a year, the State Department puts in a ton of work figuring out how to interact with lawmakers effectively, Ms. Degarmo said.

Now, at the press of a button, staff can get all the pertinent information about any member of Congress, using 40 different data sets. The dashboard features headers such as Sponsored Legislation, State Department Engagement, Home State Profile, Potential Topics of Interest, CODEL Travel History and International Exchange Programs in the

lawmaker’s state.

The Global Presence Navigator, another project under development, will enable a global look at the State Department’s presence in countries around the globe—personnel, facilities, spending, assistance programming and more. “We can look at our footprint globally, regionally, and down to the post level,” Degarmo said. “We are beginning to overlay indicators of strategic importance, as well.”

The Center for Analytics has also developed a Chinese Activities Platform on Classnet that can help the U.S. government track Beijing.

“There is great value in leveraging data as a strategic asset,” Mr. Bulatao said. “It is imperative that we have the most informed employees who are able to understand analytics faster than our adversaries.”

The Foreign Service Institute is now offering courses on data analytics, he added. FSI trained 700 people in data analytics in 2019, he said, “and we think it will double over the next couple of years.”

Senate Confirms Biegun as State #2

The Senate voted 90-3 on Dec. 19 to confirm Stephen Biegun, President Trump’s former North Korea envoy, as Deputy Secretary of State. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo swore in Mr. Biegun on Dec. 21.

Before taking on the role of envoy to North Korea, Mr. Biegun was vice president of international government relations for Ford Motor Company.



Stephen Biegun.

He served as executive secretary of the National Security Council from 2001 to 2003. In that role, he was a senior staff member for National

Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice.

Before that, he spent 14 years as a foreign policy adviser to members of the House and Senate. Mr. Biegun is a graduate of the University of Michigan.

Pompeo Berates Reporter over Ukraine Questions

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo lashed out at NPR reporter Mary Louise Kelly after an interview, apparently angered by her questions about the Trump administration’s removal of Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch from Ukraine and whether he owed Amb. Yovanovitch an apology for not defending her publicly.

“I’ve defended every single person on this team,” Secretary Pompeo said in the interview, recorded on Jan. 24.

Pressed by Ms. Kelly on whether he could point to specific remarks in which

Contemporary Quote

“As America is currently rethinking its relation to the world, I have a simple message: America is needed. America is needed in the Sahel. America is needed in the Near East. And alliances are to be treasured: not as burdensome relics, or as commercial endeavors; but as a web of bonds, of values, of influence, whose collective value far exceeds that of each part.”

—French Defense Minister Florence Parly,
in a speech at the Harvard Kennedy School, Jan. 28.

he had defended Amb. Yovanovitch, Secretary Pompeo responded: “I’ve said all I’m going to say today.”

Ms. Kelly later reported that shortly after the interview, “the same staffer who had stopped the interview reappeared, asked me to come with her—just me, no recorder, though she did not say we were off the record, nor would I have agreed.

“I was taken to the Secretary’s private living room where he was waiting and where he shouted at me for about the same amount of time as the interview itself. He was not happy to have been questioned about Ukraine. He asked, ‘Do you think Americans care about Ukraine?’ He used the F-word in that sentence and many others.

“He asked if I could find Ukraine on a map. I said yes, and he called out for aides to bring us a map of the world with no writing. I pointed to Ukraine. He put the map away. He said, ‘People will hear about this.’”

On Jan. 25, Secretary Pompeo released the following official statement:

“NPR reporter Mary Louise Kelly lied to me, twice. First, last month, in setting up our interview and, then again yesterday, in agreeing to have our post-interview conversation off the record. It

is shameful that this reporter chose to violate the basic rules of journalism and decency.

“This is another example of how unhinged the media has become in its quest to hurt President Trump and this Administration. It is no wonder that the American people distrust many in the media when they so consistently demonstrate their agenda and their absence of integrity.

“It is worth noting that Bangladesh is NOT Ukraine.”

The Washington Post reported on Jan. 26 that it had obtained emails indicating that the Secretary’s staff was aware that Ms. Kelly would ask the Secretary about several topics and raised no objections.

On Jan. 27, *USA Today* and other media outlets reported that the State Department had blocked NPR diplomatic reporter Michele Kelemen from the Secretary’s plane for his upcoming travel to Ukraine and several other countries.

“We can only conclude that the State Department is retaliating against National Public Radio as a result of this exchange,” said Shaun Tandon, president of the State Department Correspondents’ Association. Kelemen “was in rotation as the radio pool reporter” for the trip, he added.

Secretary Pompeo has had run-ins with other reporters. In October, he told Nashville TV reporter Nancy Amons that it “sounds like you’re working, at least in part, for the Democratic National Committee,” after she questioned him about the Trump administration’s decision to withhold aid from Ukraine. He made similar comments to PBS news host Judy Woodruff in October, as well.

Experts Featured on Commission on Unalienable Rights Panel

The State Department’s Commission on Unalienable Rights—charged by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to offer him advice about the role human rights should play in foreign policy—has invited a series of constitutional and human rights experts to speak before it over the past few months.

On Jan. 10, two human rights experts—sometimes critical of the Trump administration’s human rights record—addressed the commission: Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch, and Diane Orentlicher, professor of international law at American University’s Washington College of Law.

Mr. Roth told the panel that it is difficult for the United States to have moral authority on human rights when the president supports autocrats, or when families are separated at the border, or when the CIA tortures people. “Countries I speak with in my work ask about that,” he said.

Roth said he disagreed with Secretary Pompeo’s notion that there had been a “proliferation” of rights in recent times. There have been no new human rights agreements in at least the past 13 years, he said. Some social movements are now seeking rights—for example, LGBTQ advocates seeking economic

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Restoring American leadership both at home and around the world begins with rebuilding the State Department and expanding our budget for foreign assistance. ... Whatever issue we face, whether it's conflict in Syria or Ebola pandemics in Africa or Zika in South America, our response is more effective if we use the tools of diplomacy and work with our allies.

In my first one hundred days as president, I will launch an effort to rebuild and restore our diplomatic corps. That begins with immediately depoliticizing foreign policymaking and ensuring that the State Department and international agencies receive sufficient funding.

—Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.), at an event at the Council on Foreign Relations, Dec. 11, 2019.

rights in Lebanon—but those are long-established rights that have been denied to these groups, he added.

Picking and choosing human rights gives “a green light” to the enemies of human rights, Roth said. “The Saudi Arabias, Chinas and Russias of the world want to pick and choose the rights they

like. They'll be more likely to do that if the U.S. is also selective on rights.”

Ms. Orentlicher, who served as deputy for the Office of War Crimes Issues at State from 2009 to 2011, told the commission that the United States had developed bipartisan consensus about human rights in the 1980s.

“I saw early on how robust U.S. support could make a huge difference on human rights for women and others,” she said.

But she worries that the consensus is now “under severe stress.” With the decrease of U.S. leadership on human rights, America now signals ambivalence and worse in its commitment to human rights, she said.

Some of the most dangerous emerging threats come from private actors, she pointed out, adding that social media's amplification of the messages of bad actors needs urgent attention.

Ms. Orentlicher encouraged the State Department to continue promoting human rights and urged the department to ensure that all employees are literate on human rights issues.

She was “cheered” to see Secretary Pompeo's support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, she said, adding that it is urgent that the United States reanimate its commitment to the UDHR.

Heard on the Hill

A Bipartisan Effort to Support Diplomacy

In 2017, Senator [Dan] Sullivan [R-Alaska] and I co-founded the Foreign Service Caucus to support our diplomats, a bipartisan start toward turning the tide. This week, we have taken additional steps forward with the passage of paid parental leave for federal employees, and we will pass a well-deserved pay raise shortly. There is so much more we can do.

Senators can start right now and take personal responsibility for ushering in a new era of respect for all of our public servants. I ask my colleagues on both sides of the Capitol to stop the insults, stop the verbal assaults, and stop questioning the patriotism of these fine Americans.

We can fight over programs; we can fight over budgets;



but let's not speak ill of civilians who serve. Let's not hurl the term “bureaucrat” as a slur. Let's not call people in certain government agencies “scum.” Let's disagree with witnesses without questioning their patriotism

—Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.),
Senate floor speech, Dec. 18.

Dedicated Patriots

My parents worked for the embassy in New Delhi when I was born, and I can tell you that the people who serve our nation around the

world as part of the Foreign Service, our intelligence agencies and DOD [Department of Defense] are some of the most incredibly dedicated patriots I have ever seen.

—Sen. Michael Bennet (D-Col.),
interview on MSNBC, Jan. 17.

Podcast of the Month: KennanX

KennanX is a new podcast, put together by the Kennan Institute (part of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), that is dedicated to educating listeners about Russia, Ukraine and the surrounding region.

The host is Jill Dougherty, who during her three-decade career at CNN served as a foreign affairs correspondent covering the State Department. KennanX has released two fascinating podcasts so far.

The first, a discussion of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor meltdown and its legacy, features Craig Mazin, creator and producer of HBO's Chernobyl; Serhii Plokhii, director of the Ukraine Research Institute at Harvard University; Masha Gessen, staff writer at the *New Yorker*; and Maxim Trudolyubov, senior adviser at the Kennan Institute and editor-in-chief of the Wilson Center's blog, *The Russia File*.

The second is a discussion about arms control and the importance of the New START nuclear weapons treaty between the United States



and Russia, with diplomats Rose Gottemoeller and John Beyrle.

The Kennan Institute is a U.S. center for advanced research on Russia and Eurasia. It is the oldest and largest regional program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The Institute was co-founded in 1974 as a joint initiative of Ambassador George F. Kennan, then Wilson Center Director James Billington and historian S. Frederick Starr.

The Wilson Center features several additional podcasts, including *Need to Know*, which shares nonpartisan foreign policy expertise, the Russian History Audio Archive and Global Women's Leadership Initiative.

Visit wilsoncenter.org/collection/kennanx-podcast or wilsoncenter.org/wilson-center-podcasts.

The 97 Percent: OIG Finds Lasting Impact of Hiring Freeze

The State Department Office of the Inspector General released a report on Jan. 22 stating that "staffing gaps, frequent turnover, poor leadership, and inexperienced and undertrained staff frequently contribute to the Department's other management challenges," and that "workforce management issues are pervasive, affecting programs and operations domestically and overseas."

The OIG found that the 16-month hiring freeze implemented by the administration shortly after President Trump took office is still affecting department operations. All 38 bureaus and offices that responded to an OIG survey, and 97 percent of embassies and missions overseas, reported that the hiring freeze was having a somewhat or major negative impact on employee morale.

"Employees told OIG that the hiring freeze contributed to excessive workloads, and the lack of transparency about



MARKETPLACE

AFSPA

afspa.org/aip
afspa.org/dental
afspa.org/life

Chambers Theory
chamberstheory.com

Clements Worldwide
clements.com

**Federal Employees
Defense Services**
fedsprotection.com

Jack Realty Group
[jackrealtygroup.com/
state.php](http://jackrealtygroup.com/state.php)

Property Specialists, Inc.
propertyspecialistsinc.com

**Richey Property
Management**
richeypm.com

**Windecker Financial
Planning**
windeckerfp.pro

WJD Management
wjdp.com

WHEN CONTACTING AN ADVERTISER,
KINDLY MENTION
THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



50 Years Ago

The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations

My conviction in 1966 when I sponsored the Title IX legislation of the Foreign Assistance Act was that our foreign aid programs depended too much on a faulty bit of conventional wisdom; the hypothesis was that developing nations most urgently need economic assistance, which promotes a better standard of living, which in turn eases social tension and fosters the growth of democratic institutions.

The assumption that economic aid actually does enhance living conditions for the peoples of emerging nations is challengeable on two grounds: first, that the total amount of U.S. economic aid to emerging nations is often too small to accomplish any general miracles, and second, that economic assistance seldom has any very direct

or massive effect on the most impoverished citizens of the third world.

The first point can be substantiated by comparing the amount of our economic aid with the Gross National Product in Latin America, where we have expended more than in most sections of the world. The amount of our assistance has not equaled one and one half per cent of their GNP. Economic transfusions at that rate might keep the patient alive, but they can hardly be expected to send him quickly on his way to full recovery. ...

Thus Title IX seeks to broaden AID's mandate from an unquestioning reliance upon the conventional wisdom to a more searching, critical appraisal of



the interaction between our external aid and the dynamics of change and growth in a developing nation. ...

New nations need to develop skills for

self-management if they are to become stable and responsible members of the international community. Yet too much of our foreign assistance has proceeded on the myth that if only we sufficiently bolster the material resources of the emerging nations, they will discover within themselves the innate capacity to manage their own affairs.

—Congressman Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), excerpted from his article with the same title in the March 1970 FSJ.

the objectives intended to be achieved by the hiring freeze caused some to be concerned about losing their jobs,” according to the report.

In its response, the department agreed with the OIG that it is “critically important” to staff at adequate levels and claimed that the department has made progress: “Under Secretary Pompeo’s leadership, currently the department is just 1 percent shy of its goal to have over 13,000 Foreign Service employees by January 2020, with nearly 12,800 FS staff on board as of October 2019.”

Yovanovitch: We Will Persist and Prevail

On Feb. 5 the U.S. Senate, voting along partisan lines, acquitted President Donald J. Trump on two charges—abuse of power and obstruction of Congress—

bringing a five-month impeachment process to an end. Focusing on foreign policy toward Ukraine, the impeachment inquiry put a spotlight on U.S. diplomats.

Ambassador (ret.) Marie Yovanovitch, who became a central figure in the inquiry after she was pulled suddenly from Ukraine and later called to testify before the House Intelligence Committee as a witness, retired from the Foreign Service in late January after a 34-year career that included three ambassadorships.

In a Feb. 6 op-ed in *The Washington Post*, “These Are Turbulent Times. But We Will Prevail,” Amb. Yovanovitch reflected on her experience:

“It was an honor for me to represent the United States abroad because, like many immigrants, I have a keen understanding of what our country represents. ...

“Unfortunately, the last year has

shown that we need to fight for our democracy. ‘Freedom is not free’ is a pithy phrase that usually refers to the sacrifices of our military against external threats. It turns out that same slogan can be applied to challenges which are closer to home. We need to stand up for our values, defend our institutions, participate in civil society and support a free press.

“Every citizen doesn’t need to do everything, but each one of us can do one thing. And every day, I see American citizens around me doing just that: reanimating the Constitution and the values it represents. We do this even when the odds seem against us, even when wrongdoers seem to be rewarded, because it is the right thing to do.” ■

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Cameron Woodworth.

Integrity First

BY ALAN LARSON

Endemic in many countries, corruption is a deadly virus that can infect any nation. Fighting corruption abroad and banishing it from U.S. foreign policy must be core responsibilities of U.S. diplomats.

Revelations of questionable executive branch conduct in U.S. foreign policy toward Ukraine led to riveting hearings at which several members of the Foreign Service were called to testify as fact witnesses, under subpoena. They did so with honor and integrity.

Corruption in foreign policy occurs when policymakers betray the trust the American people place in them to formulate and conduct foreign policy in the public interest, not their personal or private interest. The stakes are high, because foreign policy involves the security and prosperity of every citizen.

As professionals entrusted with conducting U.S. foreign policy at a time of deep political polarization in the United States, we can expect that the issue of corruption in foreign policy will remain a central theme. The question for career diplomats is how to navigate this period in a way that demonstrates and pre-

Our alliances cannot be strong unless other countries can trust what we say and are confident we will honor our commitments.

serves our integrity and allows the U.S. Foreign Service to most effectively serve the American people.

We need to address corruption in a focused way as a mainstream issue and an area of special skill, like foreign languages and area studies. Today, when democratic institutions are distrusted and under assault around the world, the Foreign Service should double down on nonpartisanship, professionalism, expertise and honesty.

“Integrity First” should be a central tenet of U.S. foreign policy initiatives and fundamental to the way foreign policy professionals help formulate and conduct foreign policy.

The Most Unfair Trade Practice of All

Take bribery. In 1988, when I was the principal deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Congress passed an omnibus trade act that

instructed the State Department to negotiate an arrangement in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Under the arrangement, governments would enact and enforce laws modeled on the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act to dissuade their companies from bribing foreign government officials to gain business.

The U.S. delegation to the OECD took ownership of the task. Not long thereafter, in 1990, I became ambassador to that organization, and the task became my responsibility. It was slow going, but we made progress. On returning to Washington, I led a dedicated team from the State, Justice and Commerce departments that persuaded other countries to conclude the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention in 1997.

One of our most compelling arguments was that when countries offered tax deductions for overseas business bribes (as several OECD countries did!), their finance ministers were in the room, figuratively, when bribes were being paid.

The OECD Anti-Bribery Convention gradually came to be enforced more effectively; more countries became signatories, and it is now an important part of the international economic architecture. It not only levels the playing field for U.S. workers and companies; it also elevates standards of conduct in international trade and investment.



Alan Larson retired from the Foreign Service in 2005 with the rank of Career Ambassador. He served as under secretary of State for economic, business and agricultural affairs; assistant secretary of State for economic and business affairs; and ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Since 2005, he has been senior international policy adviser

at Covington and Burling, an international law firm, where he co-leads the Global Problem Solving practice. He is chair of the Board of Directors of the Coalition for Integrity, an anti-corruption NGO, and a director of Helping Children Worldwide, which provides health and education services for vulnerable people in Sierra Leone.

Career professionals at State need to give high priority to protecting the FCPA and sustaining and upgrading the OECD Convention.

The “MCC Effect” and Corruption in Security Assistance

Economists—including me—were slow to recognize the extent to which corruption impeded economic development in poorer countries. When the George W. Bush administration sought to create a new foreign assistance institution that would appeal to Republicans as well as Democrats, President Bush insisted on incorporating strong and objective anticorruption conditionality into the admission requirements for what became the Millennium Challenge Corporation.

As a result of the “MCC effect,” potential recipients of MCC programs became quite proactive in initiating reforms to address their perceived weaknesses, including in curbing corruption. It is important that the American people, some of whom believe foreign aid budgets are bigger than they are, have confidence that aid is not wasted and foreign assistance professionals are good stewards of tax dollars allocated for foreign assistance.

The MCC was designed to take a long-term and deliberative approach to economic assistance, specifying certain indicators of good governance, economic freedom and countries’ investments in their own people to inform decisions about recipients.

But such a deliberative approach is not always possible. For example, the Bush administration soon confronted the very different challenge of devising emergency economic and security assistance programs for Afghanistan and Iraq after military interventions there. Even in those early days, there were indications

that massive U.S. economic and security assistance programs would be plagued by corruption. And they were.

Our government never completely resolved the problem of corruption in our assistance programs to those two countries. In December 2019 *The Washington Post* published articles based on “Lessons Learned” interviews with a range of senior U.S. government officials involved in these programs conducted by the Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction.

The interviews suggest not only that reconstruction efforts were deeply thwarted by corruption, but also that our procurement methods, the massive amounts of aid, and intelligence officials’ cash payments to Afghan leaders actually exacerbated and fueled the corruption already present in Afghan society.

I expect that a similar review of our experience in Iraq would produce broadly similar conclusions. We owe the American people a serious effort to review and learn from the failures and successes of the past 15 years.

Our development professionals must rigorously implement anticorruption provisions in all foreign assistance programs, and introduce effective programs to assist countries in curbing corruption.

Interagency discussions should be held aimed at translating the lessons learned, especially those about corruption, into workable principles for major economic reconstruction programs motivated by national security concerns.

The Challenge of China and Russia

Addressing corruption will also figure prominently in foreign policy challenges ahead with China and Russia. Because so many economic decisions are centralized and placed in the hands

of government officials, authoritarian and communist governments are especially prone to corruption.

As there is neither transparency nor mechanisms to ensure accountability of the powerful to the people, government officials often extort companies and individuals. Ordinary citizens and companies that would otherwise shun bribery find that it is a survival technique.

In testimony to the Senate on trade relations with Russia in 2012, I called for the United States to pursue a “rule of law for business” agenda alongside normal trading relations. I suggested a rule-of-law triangle focusing on open trade, investment protection and fighting corruption. Congress embraced this suggestion and called on the State Department to report each year on progress achieved.

It will come as no surprise to *Journal* readers that Vladimir Putin and Russia have been unresponsive, and the department so far has had little to report. But as the United States looks to rebuild its economic relationship with Russia, we must insist that a “rule of law for business” agenda form a central part of any new economic relationship.

China is a more complex potential threat to our system and values because it has developed a strong economy that is deeply intertwined with ours. Formulating policy toward China wisely and executing it effectively will be major tasks for the next generation.

China is not invincible, however, and the leadership of this rising power sees official corruption, and the disgust of the Chinese people toward it, as a vital threat to the regime. The Chinese people want more elbow room to exercise political rights most people take for granted.

As we reformulate and refine trade policy toward China, we must bring Beijing into the OECD Anti-Bribery Conven-

tion and not allow Chinese companies to play by different rules than those on which other major economies insist.

We should also keep in mind that refreshing and preserving the integrity of our democracy and economy at home could be the most effective strategy for empowering the Chinese people to push their government to be more open and accountable.

Maintaining Integrity in Foreign Policy

Our alliances cannot be strong unless other countries can trust what we say and are confident we will honor our commitments. Integrity is an essential ingredient for the institutions that keep our democracy healthy and our economy dynamic.

Members of the U.S. Foreign Service take an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution. One of the deadliest enemies of our Constitution is corruption, both abroad and at home. We all must candidly and proudly tell the story of how the checks and balances of American democracy address corruption allegations in the United States.

As professionals, FSOs know that elected officials have the final word in determining foreign policy. The Foreign Service must continue to be nonpartisan, but we can and should find ways to forcefully make the point that integrity is an essential ingredient for effective national security and foreign policy. As Secretary of State George Shultz said when testifying in 1987 on the Iran-Contra matter, "Trust is the coin of the realm."

As a cadre of professionals, the U.S. Foreign Service plays a small but essen-

Speaking Out is the *Journal's* opinion forum, a place for lively discussion of issues affecting the U.S. Foreign Service and American diplomacy. The views expressed are those of the author; their publication here does not imply endorsement by the American Foreign Service Association. Responses are welcome; send to journal@afsa.org.

tial role in insulating foreign policy from corrupt influences. Our country has been well served by having a creative mix of noncareer and career officials providing expert foreign policy advice.

But all who serve must be qualified. To further insulate foreign policy from inept or corrupt influences, the State Department should review past recommendations and issue new guidelines for assessing qualifications for ambassadors and other Senate-confirmed foreign affairs officials, noncareer and career nominees alike. The Director General of the Foreign Service should ensure that all officials receive serious training on how to maintain integrity in difficult circumstances.

We should build broader and deeper understanding in the public of what career foreign policy professionals do and how we do it. Retired foreign affairs professionals should facilitate roundtable conversations around the country about why integrity must be a core ingredient of America's foreign policy.

The Foreign Service should not be drawn into partisan debates about impeachment or the outcome of the 2020 election, but we can and should be ready to tell our fellow citizens about the patriotism and professionalism that drew us into diplomatic careers and the commitment we have to fighting corruption.

"Integrity First" is one nonpartisan campaign we can all support in 2020. ■



Not all PLI Providers are the Same

With every significant event, we provided coverage for State Department employees when they needed it.

Go Ahead Ask Around

This is just one more reason we have a reputation for doing right by federal employees.

Cost. Coverage. Commitment.
Enrollment takes just 5 minutes.

www.fedsprotection.com
866.955.FEDS

Reflections on Russia, Ukraine and the U.S. in the Post-Soviet World

The struggle between Russia and Ukraine, in which the United States has been involved for three decades, reflects the challenges of the continuing post-Soviet transformation.

BY JOHN F. TEFFT



John F. Tefft is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, who completed his more than 45-year diplomatic career as the U.S. ambassador to the Russian Federation from 2014 to 2017. Earlier he served as ambassador to Lithuania (2000-2003), Georgia (2005-2009) and Ukraine (2009-2013). From 2004 to 2005, he served as the deputy assistant secretary of State for European and Eurasian affairs. He has also served in Jerusalem, Budapest and Rome, and as deputy commandant of the National War College in Washington, D.C. He is now a senior fellow at the RAND Corporation.

The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 was one of the great strategic inflection points of our time. It brought a formal end to the Soviet empire, but did not change the desire of Russian leaders to maintain a strong sphere of influence in the new independent nations on its periphery. In doing so, Russia confronted a resurgent national patriotism in some of those countries, along with a strong desire to integrate into Western political and security organizations.

Ukraine, along with Georgia, has been the primary battleground, literally and metaphorically, for this struggle. Ukraine shares a common historical heritage with Russia. Its leaders both competed and worked together with Russia for centuries. Both Russia and Ukraine initially managed the breakup of the Soviet Union and the reemergence of Ukraine as an independent country reasonably well, but tensions over what Russians call their “Near Abroad” were present from the start. Those tensions grew over time as Russia sought to reestablish its hegemonic control over an increasingly assertive and nationally conscious Ukraine.

This culminated in late February 2014, when Russian President Vladimir Putin decided to seize Crimea and foment a hybrid war in Ukraine’s eastern oblasts of Donetsk and Lugansk, the Donbas. The war has been fought by Russian and Russian-proxy forces with Moscow providing the direction, financing and



ROSEMARIE FORSYTHE

weapons. These actions shredded the fabric of post-Soviet European security. Tragically, more than 13,000 people have died in the continuing fighting in the Donbas, and negotiations to find a solution have yet to achieve lasting results. Even if a resolution of the conflict is eventually reached, however, residual antipathy from this war will likely make it hard for Russia and Ukraine to find the compromises necessary to build a lasting peace.



The United States has found itself in the middle of the struggle between Russia and Ukraine for more than three decades. Much of my Foreign Service career centered on this issue, as successive American administrations worked with the European Union and its member nations to help find a secure place in Europe for an independent Ukraine, while also trying to shape a cooperative relationship between Russia and Euro-Atlantic institutions such as NATO. To understand how we arrived at this point, we need to start in the days leading up to the end of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

On Sept. 4, 1991, not long after the failed August coup attempt against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Secretary of State James Baker held a press conference at the State Department and outlined what would become U.S. policy goals as the Soviet Union collapsed and the new independent states came into being. Secretary Baker was about to leave for a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Moscow

where he would meet with Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and other leaders. He then planned to visit the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had already declared independence from the USSR.

Secretary Baker told the journalists gathered in the State Department Briefing Room that his discussions would be guided by five basic principles:

- self-determination consistent with democratic principles,
- recognition of existing borders,
- support for democracy and the rule of law,
- preservation of human rights and the rights of national minorities, and
- respect for international law and legal obligations, especially the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris.

It was already apparent when he spoke that the centrifugal forces that would soon break up the USSR were well advanced. His goal at the press conference was quite clearly to lay out U.S. policy guidelines for the historic transition already underway.

This was particularly true in Ukraine. A strong, renewed spirit of national independence had been growing for some time. On Aug. 24, 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament, the Rada, led by Speaker Leonid Kravchuk, had voted to declare independence from the Soviet Union. On Dec. 1 a referendum was held, and 92 percent of the people of Ukraine voted in favor of approving the Rada's Declaration of Independence. The turnout was 84



DIBOBRZYNSKI/SHUTTERSTOCK

Map of Eurasia.

percent. Eighty percent of the inhabitants of the Donbas region voted for independence, and more than 54 percent chose independence in Crimea.

The next day, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin recognized Ukraine as an independent state. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a telegram of congratulations to Kravchuk, expressing hope for close cooperation and understanding in “the formation of a union of sovereign states.” On Dec. 7-8, Kravchuk met with Russian President Yeltsin and Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at Belavezhszkaya Puscha in Belarus and announced the end of the Soviet Union as a “subject of international law.” To replace it, they created the Commonwealth of Independent States. On Christmas Day 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist, and each of the former Soviet republics became truly independent.

The United States had initially been cautious in recognizing the impending collapse of the USSR. There were serious debates within the George H.W. Bush administration about how quickly to move, fed by a fear that the demise of the USSR could lead to the fragmentation of the region and a potentially chaotic situation with international implications. Command and control of the Soviet Union’s nuclear weapons was a major preoccupation of Washington. Secretary Baker famously said: “A Yugoslav-type situation with 30,000 nuclear weapons presents an incredible danger to the American people—and they know it and will hold us accountable if we don’t respond.”

President Bush himself had warned against “suicidal nationalism” in his famous Aug. 1, 1991, speech to the Ukrainian Rada in Kyiv. Bush had put his hope in Gorbachev to reform and hold the USSR together. The two leaders had worked closely together on German reunification and other issues high on the White House foreign policy agenda. The Rada speech backfired. It outraged

Ukrainians and many Americans who felt it was in the United States’ clear interests to more forthrightly support an independent Ukraine. One critic, *New York Times* columnist William Safire, criticized Bush’s speech as a miscalculation and dubbed it the “Chicken Kiev speech.”

Within a month, however, Gorbachev was severely weakened by a failed coup attempt, and the Ukrainian people had voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence. It now became clear at the White House and throughout the U.S. government that the USSR was coming to an end. Secretary Baker moved quickly to forge relationships with Russia, Ukraine and the other new states.

From the start, the United States pursued a two-pronged post-Soviet strategy: trying to build a good relationship with the new Russia, marked by cooperation and even partnership, but at the same time making a major effort to create productive bilateral relationships with the new independent states. This approach reflected U.S. strategic objectives as well as American values. In his 1997 book *The Grand Chessboard*, former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski characterized Ukraine as a “geopolitical pivot because its very existence as an independent country [means] Russia ceases to be a Eurasian empire.” Although not often publicly expressed by officials to avoid antagonizing Russia, this strategic recognition has undergirded much of U.S. policy to this day.

Geopolitical objectives were augmented by a desire in the Bush administration to help build democracies and market economies in the new states, as Secretary Baker had stated in his press conference. In the following months, he visited each new capital, meeting with each nation’s new leadership. Under his direction, the State Department moved quickly to create and staff new embassies in each capital, along with new consulates general in

Vladivostok and Yekaterinburg in Russia.

It was a major achievement of the U.S. Foreign Service. The new embassies and consulates positioned the United States on the ground throughout the Eurasian landmass to promote American interests. In Kyiv, the United States had already established a consulate general in February 1991, but then upgraded it to an embassy on Jan. 23, 1992, when the U.S. and Ukraine established full diplomatic relations.

Efforts to manage this two-pronged policy in Eurasia have continued under every U.S. administration, Republican and Democratic, for the past three decades. Initially, the United States was able to balance the relationship reasonably well, but over time this balancing act became more difficult.

Despite the formal recognition of Ukrainian independence by Yeltsin, many in the Russian political elite, particularly in the security services and the military, never accommodated themselves to Ukraine's independence. While the Yeltsin government officially signed onto the 1994 Charter of Paris for a New Europe, guaranteeing sovereignty for all states of the former Soviet Union, the so-called Russian power-ministries (supported by politicians like the late Moscow mayor, Yuri Luzhkov) continued to work in Crimea and other areas such as Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in ways that undercut those principles.

I witnessed a very candid example of attitudes among the Russian elite at a farewell reception in June 1999, when I was completing my assignment as deputy chief of mission in Moscow and returning to Washington to prepare for a new assignment as ambassador to Lithuania. A senior Russian official with whom I had worked came up to me, toasted me with a shot of vodka and said: "Well, John, good luck in Lithuania. You know we always understood that the Baltic nations were different, unlike Ukraine and Georgia—which, of course, are part of Russia."

Even most members of the Russian elite who recognized Ukraine's independence saw Ukraine as an integral part of Russia's history and wanted to keep it within Russia's sphere of influence. They resented efforts by the United States and the European Union to offer Ukraine a place in a broader Europe.



A more assertive Russian policy toward Ukraine slowly emerged after Vladimir Putin succeeded Yeltsin as president. During the first decade of the 21st century, Russia's economy had steadily improved due to massive profits from the extraction of oil and natural gas. Russian resentment against American policy and its



A close-up of Crimea, showing Ukraine and Russia.

desire to reassert itself on the world stage grew correspondingly. At the 2007 Munich Security Conference, Putin launched a broad-based diatribe against U.S. foreign policy, criticizing the United States for its development of ballistic missile defenses, its military actions in Iraq, NATO expansion and promoting democracy within Russia's legitimate sphere of influence.

Putin's desire to keep the United States and Europe out of the "Near Abroad" grew more pronounced. This approach had been strongly influenced by his negative reaction to the Western-supported Orange Revolution in Ukraine in late 2004. Putin was personally stung when Ukraine's Supreme Court blocked the corrupt election of Putin's favored candidate, Viktor Yanukovich, and ordered a new election that paved the way for Viktor Yushchenko to be elected president. This "colored revolution" came to be seen as a seminal event by many in the Russian elite. Reflecting their lack of understanding of real democracy, some believed that the



Protest against joining NATO, organized by Viktor Yanukovich's party, in Kyiv's Maidan Square in 2005.



At a national prayer event early in the morning in the center of Kyiv in late November 2013 during the “Euromaidan” revolution, Ukrainians protested the Yanukovich government’s decision to turn toward Russia and the Eurasian Economic Union instead of signing an association agreement with the European Union.

CIA had organized it all. They feared that what had happened in Ukraine could happen in Russia. Putin opposed democracy in Ukraine, in part because he feared losing control of that nation, but also because he feared the impact of real democracy on his control of Russia itself.

In Putin’s view, things went from bad to worse when Yushchenko sought Ukrainian integration with Europe and NATO. Russia’s position hardened particularly over the prospect that Ukraine could become a member of NATO. In April 2008 at a summit in Bucharest, NATO leaders debated whether to grant Ukraine and Georgia a membership action plan (MAP), which would have potentially set them on the road to eventual membership in the organization. At the end of the summit, the leaders, many under heavy Russian pressure, could not reach consensus on this, simply stating instead that one day the two countries would become NATO members. Even that decision outraged Putin, who saw it as a challenge to Russia’s sphere of influence. Ironically, Russian leaders misread the decision: It actually meant, in effect, that even a MAP for Ukraine and Georgia was not going to be approved for many years.

At a dinner on the final day of the summit, Putin tried to explain Russian opposition to Ukraine’s membership in NATO to President George W. Bush. Not realizing that a microphone on the table had not been turned off, Putin was heard saying to Bush: “You don’t understand, George, that Ukraine is not even a state. What is Ukraine? Part of its territory is Eastern Europe, but the greater part is a gift from us.” Putin clearly was referring, first, to the western regions of Ukraine that at various points of history were controlled by Lithuania, Poland and Austria.

In the second part of that sentence he was referring to eastern and southern parts of Ukraine, which were colonized by Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries, and to the decision taken on Feb. 19, 1954, by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (when Nikita Khrushchev was general secretary of the Communist Party) to transfer the Crimean Oblast from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In subsequent years, Putin’s rejection of a truly independent Ukraine has become more frequent, and he often asserts that Russia and Ukraine are one nation, one people with only cultural differences. This, of course, arouses the ire of Ukrainians.

Many in the Russian political elite had long chafed at NATO’s first two expansions to include nations of Central Europe and the Baltic region. Although Russia had agreed in 1997 to a joint cooperative program in the NATO-Russia Founding Act and to the 2002 reboot of the act that was designed to give new impetus to NATO-Russia relations, it never seriously invested much effort to build cooperative security through the act’s mechanisms, particularly after Putin came to power. With memories of Napoleon and Hitler ingrained in their collective psyche, and despite possessing the world’s largest nuclear arsenal, Russian leaders had not abandoned their historical anxiety about invasion of the homeland. They refused to accept the idea of a new security relationship with the West, even with post-Soviet reassurances by NATO of a desire for political and military cooperation.

Opposing NATO also played a major role in Russian domestic politics. Increasingly, the NATO bogeyman was used by Putin and others to play on Russian fears and thereby generate domestic support for the Putin administration. This became especially true after the 2008 world financial crisis brought the Russian 2000-2008 economic boom to an end, and the Kremlin could no longer justify the regime’s legitimacy on the basis of steadily rising living standards. The Russian elite reverted to defining Russian security in zero-sum terms, seeing the nations on the Russian periphery as secure buffers. They refused to see the potential benefits to Russia of having more secure and economically prosperous nations in Central and Eastern Europe. They did not want to recognize that NATO was fundamentally a defensive alliance and had sought to build cooperation with Moscow. They needed an enemy.

In late 2008 Russia invaded Georgia, following a long period of military provocations against the Caucasian state. The invasion of Ukraine came in 2014. Both military actions were designed to reassert Russia's claims to regional hegemony and to keep NATO from making Ukraine and Georgia members of the Alliance. Putin justified Russian action on the grounds of protecting Russian-speaking residents wherever they might live.

Russia held a referendum in Crimea on March 16, 2014, and claimed that, with an 83.1 percent voter turnout, 96.77 percent voted for the integration of Crimea into the Russian Federation. Voters were not given the choice to remain an autonomous oblast within Ukraine under the current constitutional structure, an option that U.S. International Republican Institute polls in the years before the Russian invasion had consistently shown was favored by a plurality if not a majority of the Crimean population. In a May 2013 IRI poll, for example, 53 percent of Crimean residents interviewed responded to a question on the future status of Crimea by saying they wanted to remain autonomous in Ukraine; 23 percent wanted to be separated and given to Russia; and 12 percent wanted autonomy for Crimean Tatars in Ukraine.

Russian policy did not have to follow a confrontational path.



Russians and Ukrainians march for peace in Moscow, 2014.

Russian experts have articulated in private and in public an alternative approach that the Kremlin did not take. Dmitry Trenin, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, wrote in March 2018, for example, that Russian policy had not served Russian interests: “Since the start of the conflict in Donbas, the formation of the Ukrainian political nation has proceeded on a clear anti-Russian platform. It did not have to be, had Russia’s foreign policy been more enlightened. The emergence of independent Ukraine—as well as Belarus—is a natural process, something that Russia would be better off understanding and accepting as a fact.

“As independent nations,” Trenin continued, “Ukraine, overtly, and Belarus, less so, are tilting toward the European Union, for the same reasons as Romanians and Bulgarians. A clever Russian policy should have seen that and offered them a concept of how to ‘go West’ without breaking with Russia. This is too late for Ukraine but can still be done with Belarus.”



A Ukrainian soldier on guard duty and an armored vehicle troop carrier on the front line in Donbas, 2016.



The Ukrainian Army 53rd Brigade in Donbas, February 2016.



Ukrainian patriotism and a deepening national consciousness are no longer simply major issues emanating from the traditional hotbeds of Ukrainian nationalism in the western regions of the country. They now increasingly emanate from the entire nation, particularly from many among the younger generation who do not have the memories of the Soviet Union shared by their parents and grandparents.

At the same time, the number of Ukrainians supporting integration into Europe has grown. It is now easier to obtain a visa and travel to Europe, including visa-free trips to E.U. member countries for many categories of travelers. Other benefits of the association agreement signed by former President Petro Poroshenko in Brussels on June 27, 2014, are also being felt in Ukraine. This was a major goal of Ukraine during and after the Orange Revolution and remained so during much of the presidency of Viktor Yanukovich (February 2010–February 2014). During my tenure as ambassador to Ukraine, which coincided with Yanukovich's presidency, Ukraine and the E.U. had negotiated an association agreement and a comprehensive free trade agreement with support from the United States.

Yanukovich's sudden reversal in November 2013—when he decided not to sign the association agreement and instead seek membership in the Russian Eurasian Union in exchange for a \$15 billion loan from Russia—had shocked the Ukrainian population. It led to the protests on the Maidan Square in Kyiv, followed by violent repression of the protest by the regime, Yanukovich's flight to Russia and, subsequently, the Russian invasion of Crimea and military operation in the Donbas.

During my time in Kyiv, the Ukrainian people had increas-

In Putin's view, things went from bad to worse when Yushchenko sought Ukrainian integration with Europe and NATO.

ingly seen ties to the European Union as not only realizing the European destiny of Ukraine, but as a means of introducing the rule of law inside Ukraine itself and eliminating unchecked corruption by Ukrainian and Russian oligarchs. For years Ukrainian governments had been pressured by Moscow to do its bidding, particularly in the energy sector. Ukraine has been a major transit country for sending Russian gas to Europe. Ukrainian businessmen made deals with Russian state firms, raking off profits as middlemen from the transshipment of energy across Ukraine.

Ironically, Russia's proxy war in the Donbas and its approach to Ukraine over the last six years have themselves helped forge a much stronger and more widely shared sense of national identity, and contributed to even greater popular support for Ukraine's independence and for greater integration with the West. Russian actions in Crimea and the Donbas in 2014 caused a sharp drop in the number of Ukrainians who had a positive attitude toward Russia. From more than 90 percent during the 2008-2010 period, it fell to as low as 24 percent in early 2014.

Attitudes seem to have improved somewhat this year, however. On Oct. 15, 2019, *The Moscow Times* reported the results of a joint study done by the independent Russian Levada Center and Ukraine's Kiev International Institute of Sociology, which found that attitudes toward each other's country seem to be

improving after the election of President Volodymyr Zelensky in May 2019. According to the study, 56 percent of Russian respondents assessed their attitude to Ukraine as “good” or “very good.” A May 16, 2019, Ukrainian poll conducted by several Ukrainian survey and polling organizations showed that there is now a roughly 60-40 split between Ukrainians who have very or quite positive attitudes toward Russia and those who do not. According to this poll, however, Ukrainians still have a much more sharply negative attitude toward President Putin himself. Only 12.6 percent of those polled described their attitude toward Putin as positive, 65.6 percent as negative and 16.6 percent as neutral, with the rest undecided.

The results of a Pew Research Center Poll—“European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism,” published in October 2019—revealed that 79 percent of Ukrainians have a favorable view of the European Union, compared to 11 percent unfavorable and the rest undecided. Support for mem-



A wounded Ukrainian soldier.

ARTHUR BONDAR

bership in NATO has grown substantially since my time in Kyiv. During my tenure, support for NATO membership remained relatively constant at around 23 to 24 percent. As my colleague and former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer noted in a June 6, 2019, article for Brookings Institution, polls over the past four years have shown pluralities—in some cases, even a major-

The Best Place to Stay in Arlington... and More.

When you stay at the Arlington Court Suites Hotel, you're at your home away from home for a few days.

- Complimentary hot breakfast buffet daily, light dinner available Tuesday and Wednesday and cookie night on Thursdays.
- Walking distance to the Courthouse Metro, restaurants, pubs, AMC Theater, and shops. Complimentary shuttle within one mile from the hotel. DEDICATED SHUTTLE TO FSI.
- 187 Studio, One, Two, and Three Bedroom Suites with king size or two queen size beds. Featuring complete kitchens that are fully equipped with china, glassware, cutlery, and cooking utensils.

ARLINGTON COURT SUITES

1200 N. Courthouse Rd. • Arlington, VA 22201
 703-524-4000 (Mention this code: LFSJ)
 SalesTeam@arlingtoncourthotel.com
 www.arlingtoncourthotel.com



ARTHUR BONDAR

A view of the Crimean Bridge, also called the Kerch Bridge, a pair of Russian-constructed parallel bridges spanning the Strait of Kerch between the Taman Peninsula of Krasnodar Krai in Russia and the Kerch Peninsula in Crimea, seen from the Kerch Peninsula in 2019. Accommodating both road and rail traffic the nearly 12-mile-long bridge is the longest bridge in Europe and the longest bridge Russia has ever built.

ity—in favor of joining the Alliance. For example, a January 2019 survey had 46 percent in favor as opposed to 32 percent against. Clearly the war in the Donbas has forced a substantial change in the attitudes of Ukrainians about the security of their country.



The United States–Ukrainian relationship has traversed a rocky road over the last three decades. Ambassador Pifer has written an excellent history of it, *The Eagle and the Trident: U.S.-Ukrainian Relations in Turbulent Times* (Brookings Institution Press, 2017). He chronicles how the United States was able to persuade Ukraine to transfer nuclear weapons from its territory to Russia for elimination, but had less success in persuading the Ukrainian leadership to adopt reforms necessary to become a successful modern European state. The U.S. and Ukraine have also had disagreements over sales of sophisticated weapons and technologies to regimes in Iran and Iraq, and human rights violations inside Ukraine.

Yet, despite our differences, the U.S. has consistently supported Ukraine’s sovereignty and independence from Russia, as well as Ukrainian territorial integrity. The Obama administration wined when President Yanukovich cut a deal with Putin in early 2010 extending the Russian lease on the Sevastopol naval base in Crimea. In 2014 the Obama administration responded to the Russian invasion of Crimea with a firm set of sanctions and, eventually, military training and some nonlethal military equipment for Ukrainian troops fighting in the Donbas. The Trump administration went further, providing Javelin anti-tank weapon systems and other defensive systems to aid Ukraine. Most analysts credit this support along with the bravery and increasing professionalism of Ukrainian soldiers for helping Ukraine stem the pro-Russian tide in the east.

The overwhelming election victory of President Zelensky underscored the desire of Ukrainians of all political stripes for an end to the war in the east, for real change in the country and for integration with the West. This includes many of the Russian-speaking Ukrainians living in eastern Ukraine outside Donetsk and Lugansk who voted for Zelensky, himself an easterner born in Kryvyi Rih. Most U.S. analysts believe his election represents a triumph for democracy and Ukraine’s vibrant civil society. They believe the United States should do all it can to

encourage Zelensky to take the steps he promised—and which successive American administrations have sought—to build a more democratic, less corrupt and economically prosperous country.

Zelensky’s election may open up an opportunity for a settlement in the Donbas and for Russia to extract itself from the conflict—provided the Kremlin wants to get out. The Dec. 9, 2019, meeting in Paris between Presidents Putin and Zelensky held out the promise of a lasting cease-fire and a possible political settlement, but progress will depend on how the meeting is followed up. For much of the past six years, Moscow has viewed sustaining a simmering conflict in the Donbas as a useful means of keeping pressure on the government in Kyiv and distracting it from the internal reforms it needs to pursue. Zelensky will have to negotiate carefully with the Russians. Ukrainians favor a negotiated solution to the Donbas conflict, but they do not want to compromise Ukrainian sovereignty, and they have made clear they do not want new elections in the Donbas until Russian troops are out.

On the domestic front, the Ukrainian Rada has already adopted significant new reform legislation. This includes, for example, a law lifting immunity for members of the Rada, which was used for years by politicians and businessmen seeking to protect themselves from criminal charges for corruption. In addition, the new Ukrainian prosecutor general, Ruslan Ryaboshapka, is already hard at work taking on the entrenched corruption in the country. Ryaboshapka has a history of fighting corruption; he worked for Transparency International and, famously, resigned in protest in 2017 from the National Agency for Prevention of Corruption.

Ryaboshapka has taken exception to criticism, particularly in the United States, that Ukraine is still awash in corruption

today. In a Nov. 27, 2019, interview with the *Financial Times*, the prosecutor general said he was “‘bothered’ by daily depictions of a lawless Ukraine in the U.S. impeachment inquiry. ‘This is not fair ... Ukraine is not as corrupt as is being presented there. ... We have made significant progress as of late.’” It is in the clear interests of Ukraine and the United States that Ryaboshapka succeed. In fact, nothing will probably have a greater long-term impact on the development of Ukraine and its relations with Russia than building a strong and less corrupt economy.

Although American policy toward Ukraine has remained consistent overall, there has been a constant drumbeat among critics who believe that the United States should be more realistic about Russia. Some American analysts argue that Washington should take the prospect of NATO membership off the table for Ukraine and Georgia, in exchange for a Russian withdrawal from the Donbas. Others recommend that Ukraine concede sovereignty of Crimea to Russia in exchange for financial and other considerations for Ukraine.

Russian actions in Crimea and the Donbas in 2014 caused a sharp drop in the number of Ukrainians who had a positive attitude toward Russia.

Critics of these approaches argue that they would, in effect, recognize Russia’s claim to a privileged sphere of influence in neighboring states. They argue that there is no guarantee that Russian behavior will change, and that Russia could very well continue to pursue its aggressive attempts to dominate the region. Others argue that the people of Ukraine (along with Georgia and other Central and Eastern European nations) will simply not accept Russian domination. They do not want to cede territory to Russia, or return to being a country without the independence and freedoms they have come to expect.



Choose **SDFCU** for your mortgage and save

- ✓ \$750 off closing costs*
- ✓ Free 60-day rate lock at low rates

Apply or get pre-qualified today:
www.sdfcu.org/mortgages

703-739-3092 mortgage@sdfcu.org

STATE DEPARTMENT
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

*New money only, not valid on refinancing an existing SDFCU mortgage. Applications must be submitted by April 30, 2020 and settlement to occur by July 31, 2020. Additional restrictions may apply. Applicants are approved based on current credit worthiness.

Equal Opportunity Lender • Federally Insured by NCUA



(Above) Border guard patrol boats and a brand new Russian battleship in Sevastopol Bay in Crimea, 2019. (Right) Russian Navy warships and Russian soldiers on an auxiliary fast boat in Sevastopol, 2019.



As I look back on my experiences dealing with both Russia and Ukraine, three factors stand out.

First, most Russian officials with whom I worked when I was ambassador in Moscow had a limited understanding of how Ukraine has changed over the past three decades. Serving in Ukraine immediately before the Russian seizure of Crimea and aggression in the Donbas, and then serving in Moscow for three years soon thereafter, brought home to me on an almost daily basis the gap between the mythic Ukraine and the reality of modern Ukraine. Russians often looked at their Ukrainian “cousins” through an imperial prism and did not recognize the true nature of independence that has developed in the nation.

In particular, many of the assumptions underlying Russia’s invasion of the Donbas were mistaken, notably that Ukraine’s Russian speakers all wanted to be a part of Russia. For example, the idea that Russian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians living in south-

ern Ukraine bordering the Black Sea would welcome becoming a part of a land bridge linking Crimea with Donbas as part of a new “Novorossiya” was based on the mistaken notion that these people wanted to be a part of a “New Russia.” This idea is rooted in a history of the conquest of this region by Catherine the Great and Potemkin in the 18th century, and bears little resemblance to contemporary Ukraine. Moreover, I don’t believe most official Russians have any real understanding of the attitudes of Ukrainian young people.

Second, Vladimir Putin and the elite currently ruling Russia still cling to the notion that Russia can reassert its imperial-style control over Ukraine, Georgia and other independent nations of the former Soviet Union. While the annexation of Crimea was extremely popular inside Russia in the aftermath of the invasion, the people seem to be tiring of the unending war in the Donbas and the steadily declining standard of living that has characterized Russia since 2014. This was caused, in part, by the imposition of economic sanctions by the West as a response to Russian aggression.

Third, underlying the Russian-Ukrainian struggle has been an effort in *both* countries to find a new post-Soviet national identity in the modern world. Beyond the larger geopolitical struggle, the quest to define who is a modern Russian and who is a modern Ukrainian has turned out to be a long process. The conceptions and myths involved in this effort in both countries are many. Both want to root their national identity in the past, but the future they then envision for their nation is starkly different. Putin and the ruling elite of Russia see the future as a resurrection of their country as a great power, with imperial-style sway over their former dominion (it is unclear how many Russians share this view). Ukrainians, on the other hand, see their future as a part of Western politics and culture, as the geopolitical pivot between East and West.



With U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry looking on, Russian President Vladimir Putin, at right, greets U.S. Ambassador John Tefft prior to their meeting in the Kremlin on Dec. 15, 2015.



The process of emerging Russian and Ukrainian national identities was aptly characterized by *New York Times* correspondent Neil MacFarquhar as “the statue wars” in a Nov. 4, 2016, article. On that day, Russian President Vladimir Putin unveiled a nearly 60-foot-high statue of his namesake, Prince Vladimir the Great, in Borovitskaya Square just outside the Kremlin Walls in Moscow. Russian Patriarch Kirill stood by his side. In light of Russia’s 2014 seizure of Crimea and military incursion in eastern Ukraine, the unveiling was viewed by many analysts as a symbolic reassertion of Russia’s nationalist claim not only to empire, but also to being the political and religious heir of the Kievan Rus, the loose confederation of East Slavic and Finnic peoples who inhabited the region from the ninth to the 13th centuries. Vladimir is celebrated not only as a great political leader of the Kievan Rus, but as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox Church. His baptism in Crimea around 988 brought Christianity to the Slavic peoples of the region and is used by Moscow to justify its claims to Crimea.


In Kyiv, meanwhile, another statue of St. Vladimir (in Ukrai-



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and members of the U.S. delegation at a U.S.-Russia bilateral meeting in Moscow on April 12, 2017. Right to left: U.S. Ambassador to Russia John Tefft, interpreter Marina Gross, Secretary Tillerson, Chief of Staff Margaret Peterlin, and senior advisers Brian Hook and R.C. Hammond.

nian, Volodomyr) has stood since 1853 on a historic bluff high above the Dnipro River. St. Volodomyr is celebrated by the Ukrainian people as the Grand Prince of Kyiv, the father of the Ukrainian nation. They point to the creation of Kyiv and other cities in the region during the 11th century—long before Moscow



Cigna International Dental Plan

Enroll Anytime

- True international plan; covers any dentist worldwide
- Access to international network of over **100,000 dentists in 160 countries**
- All network providers undergo extensive screenings and on site inspections
- No deductibles for overseas services
- Dependents covered, up to age 26

afspa.org/dental





English for the Job

Week-Long Training for Your LE Staff at Post

- ⇒ Business Writing
- ⇒ Customer Service Skills
- ⇒ Public Speaking and Power Point
- ⇒ English Language Assessment

We can come to you!

Email for a quote:
maryanna@englishforthejob.com

Inquire about past performance at the following US Embassies and Consulates:
Dakar, Abu Dhabi, Bamako, Dar es Salaam, Freetown, Banjul, Dubai, Amman

Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training



ADST WANTS YOU!

Help us continue capturing, preserving, and sharing the experiences of America's diplomats.

We need your support to grow our collection of oral histories, books, podcasts, and more!

Become a Member at:

www.ADST.org



Ukrainian street art in Kyiv reminds the population of the war in Donbas, 2019.

became a city of power and money—as evidence of their true inheritance of the legacy of Volodymyr and his family. They, too, celebrate St. Volodymyr for Christianizing the Kievan Rus and point to Saint Sophia Cathedral, built in central Kyiv in the 11th century, as the main focus of orthodoxy in the region. Reflecting a new sense of ecclesiastical independence from Moscow, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (which had broken with the Russian Orthodox Church once Ukraine regained independence in 1991) was formally recognized as autocephalous or independent by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 2018.



The problems between Russia and Ukraine will require many years to resolve. In so many ways they reflect the challenges of the continuing post-Soviet transformation of Eastern Europe. Understanding the causes of the Russo-Ukrainian dispute and finding solutions will require patience and steady diplomacy by the United States and the members of the European Union. We have a vital interest in seeing the war in the Donbas come to an end in a way that fully preserves Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We also have a vital interest in helping Russia and Ukraine learn to live with each other in the modern world. Unchecked, Russian revisionist policy in Ukraine will continue to undermine the future of European security and the postwar order in which we have invested so heavily. Similarly, continuing to support the internal reforms in Ukraine that President Zelensky has promised, and maintaining strong bipartisan support for Ukraine's path forward, will remain essential if we are to help this key nation achieve its potential and become a true model in a Europe whole, free and at peace. ■

The World Through Moscow's Eyes

A Classic Russian Perspective

To fathom the Ukraine dispute, a Russian scholar and head of the Carnegie Moscow Center shares what he thinks U.S. diplomats need to know about Russia.

BY DMITRI TRENIN

U.S. diplomats dealing with Russia need, above all, to have a firm grasp of the main trend lines in Russia's history. Spanning 1,250 years from mid-ninth-century Viking Prince Rurik to President Vladimir Putin, in power for the last two decades, this history matters immensely. They also need to appreciate the unique advantages and attendant vulnerabilities of Russia's geography, stretching as it does across 11 time zones from Norway in the northwest to North Korea in the southeast, and covering much of northern Eurasia in between.

Equipped with a basic understanding of Russia's roots and its physical position, they then need to be able to look at the world, including the United States, from Moscow's perspective.



Dmitri Trenin has been director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, part of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a global think-tank, since 2008. Before joining the center in 1994, he served in the Soviet and Russian Army (1972-1993). His foreign postings included Iraq (with the military assistance group), East Germany and West Berlin (liaison with Western allies), Switzerland (INF/START talks) and Italy (NATO Defense College). He is the author of Russia (Polity, 2019), What Is Russia Up To in the Middle East? (Polity, 2017), Should We Fear Russia? (Polity, 2016), Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011) and several other books.

Ukraine's movement away from Russia represents a most difficult and painful divorce within the core of the historical Russian state. As such, it is only partly a foreign policy matter.

The Primacy of the State

American diplomats intent on understanding Russia would probably appreciate the primacy of the state in Russian collective experience and thinking. They might even gain the insight that while foreign invasions—Napoleon's in 1812 and Hitler's in 1941 immediately come to mind—were disasters on a scale unimaginable by most Americans (the war to push back and defeat the Nazis alone cost 26-28 million lives of a total Russian population of about 200 million), domestic chaos on account of the failure of the rulers of the day to control the vast country and manage popular discontent was far worse, leading to the collapse of the state, the economy, international standing and public morals at least three times: in the early 17th century, in 1917 and, most recently, in 1991.

An uncanny capacity for self-destruction has brought Russia over the precipice several times in the course of the country's history. Yet each time Russia was able to make a comeback—in a somewhat different form and shape, usually repudiating its previous incarnation, but soon proving to be its former self's rightful heir in more ways than one. There is a continuum of Russian history from ancient Rus of Novgorod and Kiev to the grand duchy and later czarism of Muscovy, to the Russian empire of St. Petersburg, and on to the Soviet Union and the present-day Russian Federation. A resurgent Russia is not unusual; it is a time-tested historical phenomenon.

Keeping this in mind, Americans dealing with Russia would not be surprised by the near-absolute priority of domestic stability and external security considerations in successive Russian governments' policies. Understanding that the Russian people spent 250 years under the yoke of Mongol rule, these American diplomats would not be surprised by the stubborn prevalence of Asian political culture in contemporary Russia. Nor would they be surprised—looking at the plains to the west of Moscow stretching all the way to Berlin and Paris, and the steppes populated by nomadic warriors all the way to the Caspian and Central

Asia to the southeast—by the profound sense of insecurity shared by all Russian leaders or by their need for rapid mobilization of available resources.

Students of Russian politics and history would probably have to conclude that the roots of Russian autocracy run very deep, and that replacing them with a democratic model cannot be an easy task. The task is not made any easier by the extent to which sheer survival has been the country's top concern historically and, in light of that, the relatively secondary importance attached to economic and trade issues and even the population's living standards. This does not close the path to representative government accountable to the people, but it does suggest that a successful model can only arise indigenously rather than be imported.

The Roots of Russian Realpolitik

Those looking at Russia's foreign relations would soon discover that the country is essentially a loner. It is not part of any international large family, whether Europe, the Atlantic community or the West. Asians do not recognize Russia as Asian, either. Its identity is distinct and unique. At bottom, it is ethnically mainly Eastern Slavic, but culturally most profoundly affected by Christian orthodoxy. For centuries after the fall of Constantinople, Russia was the only independent Eastern Orthodox nation in the world, standing between the Catholic and Muslim-dominated worlds.

Another highly relevant layer was added by Russia's imperial experience. Its contiguous empire stretched at some point from Finland's Åland Islands just off Stockholm to Alaska, and from northern Persia to northeastern China. As it expanded, Russia incorporated vast areas populated by Turkic, Finno-Ugric and Mongol peoples, as well as a plethora of ethnic communities in the Caucasus and elsewhere, to create a highly diverse imperial polity, where religious and cultural diversity was usually preserved. While deeply involved in European power politics, Russia was also playing a "Great Game" against the British empire in Asia. The Soviet period added a revolutionary fervor that set Russia apart from the rest of the world. This was followed by superpower rivalry, which brought both true globalism and an Iron Curtain. Now, with the Soviet Union and superpower status gone, Moscow is back on its feet, globally active again, but also virtually alone in the world.

This proud but precarious stance makes it imperative that Russia handle itself—and be seen by others—as a great power. This is particularly important because Russia has often been coming from behind, and was looked down on by the more

advanced Western countries as an undeserving upstart, a barbarian, or some such. These days, great power status implies a high degree of national sovereignty, resilience in the face of outside pressure, and freedom of action. In the past, Russia has been willing to pay a high price rather than submit to foreign dominance. World War II—or the Great Patriotic War against Hitler’s invasion, as the Russians refer to it—is a prime example. The experience of that war, with its untold tragedies and ultimate triumph, is the most sacred part of Russia’s collective memory.

Except in the early post-revolutionary period, Russia’s foreign policy has been squarely built on the principles of realpolitik. What matters most is one’s power and one’s will. The weak get beaten; the cowards are cowed. A sound foreign policy is guided by national interests, and requires sobriety and pragmatism. Russia’s preferred model of global governance is a concert of powers, as after the Vienna Congress of 1814-1815 or the Yalta Conference of 1945.

Indeed, the United Nations Security Council, where five permanent members decide jointly on the most crucial security issues in the world, is an ideal model in Moscow’s eyes. True, Russia cannot impose its will on others; but, more important, it can prevent any decision that would not agree with its interests. With bitter memories of communism still fresh, Russian leaders deem all ideologies misleading, and believe that high-sounding values often reveal themselves as hypocritical. In this, basic Russian cynicism about international relations inevitably clashes with what Russians perceive as Western hypocrisy.

This reveals itself most starkly in Russia’s attitude toward U.S. democracy promotion. Even though this endeavor is very different in form and results from the Soviet-era promotion of communism, Russians believe that it conveniently combines ideological needs with geopolitical advantages. Just as any newly established communist regime in the past looked up to Moscow for guidance and support, so new democracies, they argue, seek to curry favor with the United States to consolidate their power and protect their security.

Ukraine Is More Than a Foreign Policy Matter

Moscow does not care much about—and does not think much of—nascent democracy in Georgia or Ukraine, where it prefers to see mostly chaos, oligarchy and mob rule; but it is wary of U.S. military presence and activities in its neighborhood and Washington’s virtually unconditional support for Russian neighbors’ historical or current grievances against Russia.

NOVA PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE
- MANAGEMENT INC. -

Chosen by Ambassadors.

“ My husband and I regularly recommend Peake Management to our colleagues, without hesitation. ”

CONTACT US:
Geoff Clopton
703-891-5316
geoff@peakeinc.com

BEST OF
Falls Church
2019
Presented by, Falls Church Award Program

CORPORATE HOUSING
in Washington, DC

Stay with Confidence.
We have certified corporate housing providers on staff.

- TDY per diems accepted
- Sliding scale welcome
- Local woman-owned business
- Wireless broadband internet
- Fantastic Foggy Bottom and Dupont locations
- Certified corporate housing providers on staff
- All major credit cards accepted
- Room and ride packages available.

CAS Corporate Apartment Specialists
Throughout Metropolitan Washington, DC

www.CorporateApartments.com
(800) 914-2802 | F: (703) 979-2813 | sales@corporateapartments.com

For Russians, the Atlantic alliance is a U.S.-owned platform for pressuring Russia in order to weaken it and, in extremis, an advanced position from which to attack the Russian heartland.

Ukraine's movement away from Russia represents a most difficult and painful divorce within the core of the historical Russian state. As such, it is only partly a foreign policy matter. The Russo-Ukrainian separation will take decades and likely generations to become a fact fully accepted in Russia. For Ukraine, the process of nation-building has involved a thorough rejection of anything to do with Russia and severance of all contacts with it.

In Moscow, U.S. policies in Ukraine have been largely seen as aimed at diminishing Russia through undermining its great power position (e.g., Zbigniew Brzezinski's famous quote that Russia without Ukraine cannot be an empire) and even as a dry run for regime change in Moscow. In Russian eyes, the most dangerous element of U.S. policy has been Washington's support for Ukraine's NATO membership. For Russians, the Atlantic alliance is a U.S.-owned platform for pressuring Russia in order to weaken it and, in extremis, an advanced position from which to attack the Russian heartland. Fears of the dangers associated with NATO's eastern enlargement are probably exaggerated, but they remain an article of faith within the Russian security and military communities, where memories of Hitler's surprise attack of 1941 live on.

The United States is unlikely to stop supporting its Ukrainian clients, Russian leaders believe. U.S. political and diplomatic support, as well as military assistance, to Ukraine will continue into the future; and thus, a major irritant in U.S.-Russian relations will continue to exist. Yet NATO membership for Ukraine—intolerable for Russia for security reasons—will probably remain out of reach, Russians conclude. Without acknowledging it, Washington cannot ignore the possibility that such a move, even before it is consummated, might precipitate a preemptive Russian action. Since Ukraine clearly matters much more to Russia than it does to the United States, Moscow believes it has a de facto veto on Ukraine's NATO membership through high-cost military intervention. Should the conflict escalate, Russia will

have an edge in escalation dominance. A prudent U.S. policy needs to make sure that its actions in Ukraine do not cause it to stumble into a military conflict with Russia.

A Trying Period Ahead

From Moscow's vantage point, as far as overall U.S. relations with Russia are concerned, the United States has no best way forward now, only a least bad one. Confrontation is here to stay, at least for the medium term. Possibilities for any serious U.S.-Russian cooperation will be extremely limited over the next five years or so. Whatever the outcome of the 2020 elections, the U.S. body politic will probably continue to need Russia as a villain. This attitude will express itself in ever-mounting sanctions pressure. The specter of an all-powerful America having no real use for Russia while seeking to hurt it whenever it can will, in turn, be used by the Kremlin and its allies to shore up Russian patriotism and civic nationalism.

Vladimir Putin regards President Donald Trump as a realist politician, defending and promoting the U.S. national interest while eschewing liberal expansionism. He believes he can do business with Trump on the basis of Russian and American interests. Alas, Putin also has to acknowledge that the embattled U.S. president has to deal with a Congress and media that are very hostile to Russia, and thus is not capable of materially improving U.S.-Russia relations. Apart from U.S. and Western weariness with Ukraine after six years of conflict there and the relatively modest U.S. interest in that country, the Kremlin has not seen any serious change in the U.S. position on Ukraine under Trump as compared to the Obama administration.

Russians see past and present Ukrainian leaders as desperately trying to ingratiate themselves with those who wield power in the White House or are likely to emerge as winners in U.S. presidential elections: whether Hillary Clinton in 2016 or Donald Trump in 2020. Trump's own actions, recently subject to impeachment proceedings, are shrugged off as part of the messy business of politics, where abuse of office, even in democracies, is far more frequent than publicly revealed or admitted.

During this trying period, the United States and Russia need to prevent direct military collision between themselves. Unlike during the Cold War, the worst might now result not from a premeditated all-out attack, but rather from accidents, incidents or proxy conflicts escalating to a dangerous level. Conflict prevention and management will require, above all else, direct contacts and 24/7 communication between the military and security departments of the two countries. More substantive dialogue will remain severely constrained. ■

When Lightning Struck Twice Drawing Down Mission Russia

Moscow assignments were never easy, but the dramatic ordered reductions of diplomatic staff in 2017 and 2018 were distinctly difficult.

BY MICHAEL A. LALLY

Over recent months, there has been much media focus on the Foreign Service, including its role to protect national security and advance U.S. interests. Less is known about the people, who often work behind the scenes and beyond the headlines. While Foreign Service officers are contractually bound for worldwide assignment, jobs in Russia were never for the fainthearted. High-stakes policy issues, unblinking and aggressive surveillance of diplomats and family members, a heavy workload and a recalcitrant Russian bureaucracy made this a self-selecting hardship post.

In the bygone days of U.S.-Russian cooperation, more than 30 U.S. government agencies once formed U.S. Mission Russia, from Moscow to our consulates in Yekaterinburg, St. Petersburg

and Vladivostok. Scores of direct-hire employees, Foreign Service Nationals, contractors, eligible family members (EFMs) and TDY (temporary duty) staffers serviced the engagement, which ranged from high-level visits and basic diplomatic tradecraft to facilitating U.S. business and people-to-people exchanges.

Following Russia's occupation of Crimea and its launch of the ongoing war in eastern Ukraine in 2014, Moscow and Washington diverged on many issues, from arms control and Ukraine to the very size and nature of our diplomatic missions. As U.S.-Russia relations deteriorated, staff were caught up in the diplomatic conflict.

In December 2016 President Barack Obama expelled 35 Russian diplomats and announced a series of sanctions in response to Russian interference in the U.S. election. Seven months later, in July 2017, in response to stepped-up sanctions, President Vladimir Putin ordered a dramatic drawdown of hundreds of U.S. mission staff in Russia. Eight months later, in March 2018, the United States expelled 60 more Russian diplomats and ordered the closure of the Russian consulate in Seattle in response to an assassination attempt in England on a former officer of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB). And a few days after that, in response, President Putin expelled 60 U.S. diplomats and shuttered the consulate in St. Petersburg.



Michael A. Lally ("Lucky 21" on the PNG list) was Minister Counselor for Commercial Affairs for Eurasia, based in Moscow, from 2017 to 2018. He is currently assigned to the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

As U.S.-Russia relations deteriorated, staff were caught up in the diplomatic conflict.

In Russia, as our government-to-government contacts dropped dramatically, we needed creative approaches to report on Russian politics and the economy, provide support for American citizens and companies in the country, and facilitate Russians' travel to the United States. Washington needed direct information for policy formulation, and U.S. Mission Russia's job was to deliver, regardless of the obstacles.

As we approach the second anniversary of the March 29, 2018, expulsion of our diplomats, their story of grit, professionalism and patriotism reminds us of the Foreign Service ethos and our direct contributions to the nation.

Strike One: The Kremlin-Ordered Drawdown, 2017

Although the March 2018 expulsion of dozens of our Foreign Service members and their families received international media attention, the much larger, Kremlin-ordered staff reduction in July 2017 attracted less scrutiny. After receiving the order in late July, Ambassador John Tefft quickly gathered the country team to relay the bad news: We would have to identify and separate several hundred staff in less than 30 days. The ambassador called on all of us to handle this with discretion, sensitivity and dignity toward all staff members. To ensure that Mission Russia could continue to operate despite significant staffing cuts, then Deputy Chief of Mission Anthony Godfrey (now U.S. ambassador in Belgrade) urged the leadership team to preserve institutional memory.

Overnight, U.S. Mission Russia was transformed. Scores of American officers and their families had to leave the country in less than four weeks. Some received the news while away from post and could not return; others packed out, sold their homes and found their assignment rescinded with nowhere to go.

The overwhelming impact of this first round of cuts, however, fell to our FSN staff. Many had served in the mission since the heady days of the early 1990s, when U.S.-Russian relations were full of hope and promise. These Russian colleagues would often recall meeting a U.S. president or a famous American musician, or a much-admired former supervisor who attended their wedding. For many, working for U.S. Mission Russia was not just a job—it was a way of life. Now, single mothers, tandem FSN couples and veterans of more than 20 years faced loss of their livelihoods. Their service

to the U.S. government severely complicated future job prospects, if not making them practically unemployable.

Hundreds of staff hours went into determining how to preserve core diplomatic and administrative function. But people came first, always. One on one, for weeks at a time, our officers explained to dedicated FSNs that we had to separate them, even though they had done nothing wrong. We did so with humanity and respect, showing these American values even in the toughest of times. Many of the officers who had to fire American and Russian staff were also preparing themselves to leave. I vividly recall one of many separation meetings, where I delivered the bad news to a local staffer. His stoic response: "You know our history and our government. We know who did this. Thank you, but don't worry. All will be fine."

For others who remained at post, the future was uncertain. But one thing was crystal clear: U.S. Mission Russia—and the mission—would continue.

Strike Two: Persona Non Grata, 2018

As months passed, U.S. Mission Russia adjusted to the "new normal" of delivering on the bilateral relationship while remaining tremendously understaffed. Fortunately, the arrival of Ambassador Jon Huntsman and his wife, Mary Kaye, buoyed our spirits and renewed our hope for improvement in bilateral relations. Having served as chief of mission in Singapore and Beijing earlier in his career, Amb. Huntsman was clear-eyed about the challenges we faced. He spent a lot of time with staff, rebuilding morale and sharing his vision. Time and again, Huntsman would remind audiences: "Just because our staff was cut by nearly 70 percent does not mean our workload has gone down the same amount. Indeed, it has gone up."

That spring, news broke from the United Kingdom of an assassination attempt on Sergei Skripal, a former FSB intelligence officer, and his daughter. For the first time since World War II, a military-grade chemical weapon had been used on civilians in Europe (a first responder was hurt in the attack and recovered; another British citizen died from incidental contact with the poison, novichok).

To respond to this latest Russian perfidy, nearly 30 nations joined the United States in expelling more than 150 Russian diplomats around the world. As is the nature of diplomatic work, much of this was done quietly, without fanfare, but with steely purpose. As we watched the news unfold, we waited for the next shoe to drop; the Kremlin quickly noted it would respond "symmetrically."

Late on a Thursday evening, March 29, 2018, it got personal. A diplomatic note ordered the expulsion of 60 colleagues from

U.S. Mission Russia and the closing of U.S. Consulate General St. Petersburg within 48 hours. In a hastily arranged ceremony, former DCM Godfrey and Consul General Tom Leary lowered the flag over the consulate for the first time since 1972.

The Kremlin split families, declaring one of a tandem couple persona non grata, leading to difficult choices and leaving the remaining FSO with new responsibilities for children who needed to complete the school semester in place. Literally overnight, many of us had less than a week to transfer an ongoing, extra-heavy workload, get kids out of school, pack out of our homes and look for new jobs.

As U.S. Mission Russia had risen to the occasion just months earlier, it did so again. The days prior to departure showed the best of humanity and professionalism. Everyone in the community came in to help. Critical projects were quickly picked up; impromptu babysitting and packout arrangements were made to allow staff to work; meals appeared out of nowhere, delivered to offices where many did double shifts. Trunkloads of clothing and food were delivered discreetly to Moscow-area churches.

A star public affairs officer published a video farewell from mission that showed a proud, professional face of America, despite the sad occasion (featured in *The Washington Post*, it has gotten more than 40,000 hits). This was done even as that officer's spouse prepared for departure. Another colleague superbly captured the mission's resolve in an *FSJ* piece (July/August 2018, "When the Going Gets Tough: Moscow"). We were all Americans, regardless of where we were from, our rank, our home agency or our length of service. We had each other's backs.

PNG day was a blur of bags, bustling workers, animal crates, bleary-eyed sadness and logistical urgency. More than 130 exhausted family members, scores of dogs and cats and hastily packed belongings were loaded onto the chartered aircraft. Reminiscent of a scene from Ben Affleck's Academy Award-winning film "Argo," the pilot announced, "We are now entering American airspace" to the whoops and hollers of a planeload of friends and family.



COURTESY OF MICHAEL LALLY

Ambassador Jon Huntsman, at left, with Michael Lally, bids farewell to departing staff on the plane just before takeoff.

At Washington's Dulles Airport, we were met by dozens of colleagues with "Welcome Home" signs, American flags and offers of help. Many volunteered after hours to help with mounds of luggage, cranky babies in strollers and a fleet of taxis to get us "home," wherever that was supposed to be. As we hugged and said our good-byes at the baggage carousel, we realized that the last weeks and months had bonded us together like no other assignment. We even had nicknames for each other, based on our number on the PNG list received from the Kremlin.

Two Years On, Lessons Learned

After the adrenaline rush of the PNG, many of us were pulled in two directions. First, the urgency of the basics: finding shelter and schools for our kids. Second, landing a new assignment. Family members or spouses had to start all over again on their job search. Social media lit up as informal support networks sprouted, while home agencies tried to figure out what to do with all of us. With the help of compassionate ambassadors and DCMs, some of us quickly moved on to other overseas assignments or were reassigned to Washington; for others, it took longer to find the right new position.

About two weeks later, we all caught up at an impromptu potluck feast, where we told our stories because we knew others would completely understand, shared job tips and offered references. But U.S. Mission Russia was never far from our minds, particularly the colleagues who stayed behind. We Skyped and emailed, conscious that the FSB was eavesdropping as much as ever. Our remaining colleagues were the real heroes; they put their heads down and continued to advance American interests in a hyper-hostile environment. As one wisely noted, "Those that are leaving wanted to stay; those that stayed are wondering when they're leaving."

Leadership always matters, but true crises test the mettle of everyone up and down the management chain. Strong leadership, a close-knit country team and a sense that we were all in this together made the difference. Indeed, there was an unspoken code: Not a soul uttered a serious word of complaint. History put us all together in that place, at that time, proud of our country and determined to visibly defend our values against Russian aggression. ■

Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine

From the FSJ Archive



We Recognize the Soviet Union

Ambassador Bullitt then presented his credentials to President Kalinin on December 13 [1933]. Mr. Bullitt was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Flack, First Secretary at Berlin, and Mr. George F. Kennan, Third Secretary at Riga.

Mr. Bullitt said in part: "That mission, Mr. President, is to create not merely normal but genuinely friendly relations between our two great peoples, who for so many years were bound to each other by traditions of friendship. The firm establishment of world peace is a deep desire of both of our peoples, and the close collaboration of our governments in the task of preserving peace will draw our peoples together."

—Walter A. Foote, January 1934

Contacts with the Soviets

It is diplomacy by culture—but a cultural diplomacy subject to a central plan, in which even the arts and sciences serve the Party line first and foremost. ...

There is already in the last year an observable decline in the ignorance and prejudice with which the Soviet and non-Soviet worlds regard each other, and there is a tendency to meet exaggerated propaganda with a certain degree of disbelief. The forty-year freeze in cultural relations between the two countries could well be melting. If so, the Soviet citizen may gradually have more opportunities to test his beliefs against direct observation, thus breaking out from the intellectual isolation in which he has found himself. For isolation is dangerous to any country in a world Community where the free communication of ideas means progress if not salvation.

—Frederick T. Merrill, March 1959



Russia and the West

If the West is successfully to thwart the communist dream of universal empire, it is less important for us to know why the Soviet leaders wish to "bury" us than to know how they propose to do it. It is very clear that they do not intend to leave the process to the mystical force of history, however "inevitable" its outcome.



They are going to help the process along with all of their resources and it is the task of Western statesmen to estimate what those resources are, the way in which they have been used in the past, and how they are likely to be used in the future.

It is all the more essential, under these circumstances, that we develop widening channels of communication, of cultural and educational exchange, between the two societies. ... It is at least possible that the cumulative impact of the real world of experience on the imaginary world of Marxian dogma will gradually bring about profound changes in the latter.

—J.W. Fulbright, October 1963

Eastern Europe: The Unstable Element in the Soviet Empire

Soviet control of most of Eastern Europe has given it forward military bases and possession of the traditional invasion routes into Europe. The Soviet position constitutes a kind of pistol at the head of the West. The peoples and resources of the area increase Soviet economic and military power. Soviet control over Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland appears tighter and firmer than ever before. ...

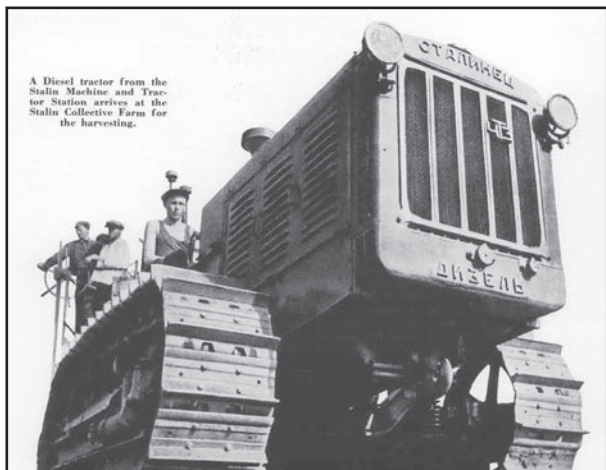
Our economic and military strength is so vast that we do not understand its significance, while our power when added to that of our allies almost staggers the imagination. However, our greatest strength is almost invisible, because it is the social vitality, the effervescent intellectual vigor, and the freedom and openness in which we live and face our serious problems.

The central position in our foreign policy should remain the peaceful reconstruction of Europe. This should be accomplished without alarming the Soviet Union but providing the states and peoples of Eastern Europe with the independence and right to self-determination which they deserve and seek.

—Robert F. Byrnes, July 1971



The Soviet Ukraine: Its Resources, Industries, and Potentialities



—E.C. Ropes, August 1941

Moscow Today: An Interview with Arthur Hartman

The U.S.S.R. is a closed society, and our purpose in being in Moscow is to understand and report on it as fully as possible. So we have to balance the risk and the opportunities. We want our people to know how to handle themselves and to engage, to get out and talk to Soviets and to do what you can only do on the spot in Moscow.

On the human side, we read reports in the press that the abrupt removal of local employees necessitated having political officers, for instance, scrub toilets and do other housekeeping chores. What has it been like? ... Well, we found out because we were the only embassy in the world that actually operated—and is still operating—without any local employees.

When will our operations in the Soviet Union return to normal? Moscow is a very abnormal place. We are going to have to establish a balance between making sure our people are not open to security risks and making sure that they can still get out and observe Soviet society.

—May 1987

The Perils of Perestroika

Following the deaths of three aged Soviet leaders in three years, the selection of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Communist Party was an extraordinarily important event. In Gorbachev, the U.S.S.R. not only has a vigorous leader in his 50s, but an individual of considerable political talent and intellectual acumen. Almost without exception, those who have talked with the new general secretary have found him to be intelligent, well informed, and purposeful. His style of “openness,” his criticisms of many Soviet traditions and methods, and his proposed solutions, if implemented, will result in profound changes for Soviet society. Gorbachev has set for himself a surprisingly difficult agenda: reinvigorating economic performance, civic consciousness, and, most broadly, public morality. The outcome of this program, however, is very much in doubt.

His hidden agenda was a widespread assault on accumulated privileges, waste, corruption, and laziness. The anti-alcohol campaign bought him time, while beginning the kind of sociopolitical regeneration he was seeking.

Far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, the unfolding of perestroika and glasnost may affect the whole Eastern bloc. On the other hand, if the reforms implicit in these terms are not realized, then both perestroika and glasnost could be harbingers of political entropy, with egregious consequences for the Soviet

Ambassador to the USSR, 1952

At first he [George Kennan] endured Soviet regulations, including those that precluded travel more than 25 miles outside of Moscow, forbade him to speak with Soviet citizens, and required him to purchase most Soviet publications through the Foreign Ministry.



When Kennan served in Moscow during the 1930s and 1940s, he had friends among the Soviet employees at the embassy, but in 1952, the stone-faced servants at Spaso House shunned communication, groundskeepers declined to work, and security officers followed Kennan wherever he went, depriving him of enjoyable strolls among the Russian people. “I came gradually to think of myself as a species of disembodied spirit,” recalled Kennan, “capable, like the invisible character of the fairy tales, of seeing others and moving among them but not of being seen, or at least not of being identified by them.”

Kennan told his colleagues that he still favored an eventual diplomatic solution with Moscow over Korea, Berlin, and other issues. “I would negotiate with the Soviet representatives coldly and brutally and in full acceptance of the fact that their ultimate aim is to ruin us, and that they believe our ultimate aim is to ruin them.”

—Walter L. Hixson, May 1987



people as a weakening superpower senses its own peril. That the potential of his ideas may not be realized is understood most fully by Gorbachev himself.

—Daniel N. Nelson, November 1987



Helping Russia Reform

Our attitude should be one of partnership on a very long journey of trial and error—not to impose our vision of the Good Society on Russia, but to improve life for the Russian people in ways they consider helpful. If we are perceived to be a concerned, friendly country without an ideological axe to grind, we will be more successful in addressing the problems in our relationship, which will inevitably arise.

We should continue to treat Russia as a great power, without condescension. ... The Russian leader needs to be treated, however, as someone who is cooperative with the United States for his own hard-headed national reasons and in no way someone we can take for granted.

The Clinton Administration should assume that: It may well end up paying more to Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus for implementation of START I and II and the storage and destruction of nuclear weapons than it anticipated, but it will be a small price to pay for maintaining forward momentum in our arms control programs.

—Thompson R. Buchanan, April 1993

New Era Beckons for Ukraine

When Leonid Kravchuk was head of ideology in Soviet Ukraine, he would arrive at his office at 9 a.m. At 9:30 a.m. he would receive a phone call from Moscow with the day's instructions. After the call, he would pick up another phone, pass the orders to the party cadres, and his work for the day was done. As president of an independent Ukraine, Kravchuk laments that the problem with Ukraine is that the phone from Moscow no longer rings. This story, while apocryphal, does underscore the many challenges Ukraine faces. It is a new country devoid of much of the infrastructure necessary for organizing and leading a country. Its leadership, products of the Moscow-centered decision making of the Soviet era, is more comfortable with carrying out rather than creating ideas and goals.

Long known as the breadbasket of Europe, Ukraine had been an economic mainstay of its colonial rulers, most recently the Soviet Union. Many believed its size, its location and its agricultural and mineral resources destined it to be a leading regional



actor. Thus, as Ukraine moved towards independence, there were high expectations that its leaders would quickly take advantage of its potential and blossom politically and economically.

Located at the crossroads between Europe and Asia, defended by no natural borders and blessed with rich agricultural soil, Ukraine has historically been the target of aggression or the site of empires fighting out colonial drives. None of the occupations have been conducive to Ukraine's development. Indeed, they have aimed at destroying Ukrainian identity. ...

Ukraine's concern regarding Russian intentions is understandable. But there is another dimension. Pressed from various sides, Ukraine has historically sought to maintain its security by appealing to or allying itself with outside forces, since it never has had the internal experience or resources to maintain its own security.

—Roman Popadiuk, June 1994



The Plummeting of Yeltsin's Star

In fact, the terrible performance of the Kremlin in this war [Chechnya] has dramatically changed the political situation in the former Soviet Union. ... The developments in Chechnya also have uncovered deep disarray of the Yeltsin administration. ... Numerous times in

the last month, the administration has proclaimed victory, even as Russian casualties continued to mount. ... The Chechen war has also drastically damaged the international image of both Russia and Yeltsin.

—Vladimir Shlapentokh, April 1995

Oral History in Real Time: The Maidan Revolution

"Bearing witness to the fact that this was a movement of the people for the people, a movement of dignity, self-organized—to bear witness to what the government's troops were doing or not doing. ... I think it was an extraordinary time, when you saw resources and people coming together, and to explain that and to convey that to Washington was important. [It was important] to say it's not just any old protest. And to explain also that there were some fundamental values that people were supporting, and why it was in our interest to help make sure that there was a space for people who were protesting, that there was a democratic way to do this. That's what I think our role was—and the role of the diplomat."

—Joseph Rozenshtein, April 2017 (quoting Deputy Economic Counselor Elizabeth Horst, 2014)



ENERGY DIPLOMACY WORKS

How Power Africa Redefines Development Partnerships

ISTOCKPHOTO.COM/ZHAOJIANKANG

An ambitious USAID initiative to bring the U.S. government's resources to bear to help increase access to electricity in Africa is producing results, offering a new model for development assistance.

BY ANDREW M. HERSCOWITZ

“**S**e fue la luz!” (The power went out!) was the first Spanish phrase I learned as a 16-year-old exchange student in the Dominican Republic in 1987. Power outages were frequent and unpredictable. Of course, lack of electricity was not the only challenge for Dominicans at the time: They also endured weak education and health care systems, a large gap between the wealthy and the poor, and an absence of critical infrastructure throughout the country, among other things.

My experiences in the Dominican Republic—more than 30 years ago, and living with the minister of public works' family no

less—sparked my lifelong interest in economic development. I realized then that access to electricity is fundamental to the social and economic development of any country. Power provides light for children to study into the night. Power gives farmers tools to increase and improve agricultural output. And in the Dominican Republic, it lets Presidente beers chill to just above freezing while merengue and bachata blare over loudspeakers until the morning hours, keeping thousands of small businesses thriving.

Power is life and a cornerstone of economic development.

Answering the Call

What I didn't know then was that, years later, power would be at the core of my work. After a career with a law firm, I joined the U.S. Agency for International Development in 2001 and a year later found myself back in the Dominican Republic, work-



Andrew M. Herscovitz, a member of the Senior Foreign Service with the rank of Minister Counselor, has been the U.S. coordinator for Power Africa, a USAID-managed program, since 2013. He served previously as mission director in Ecuador, deputy mission director in Peru, and legal adviser for the Andes and the Caribbean. A graduate of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and its law center, he practiced law before joining the Foreign Service with USAID in 2001. In 2018 he won a Service to America "Sammie" medal.

Power Africa aims to double access to electricity in sub-Saharan Africa so as to improve lives, strengthen economies, and help people emerge from poverty with self-reliance and dignity.

ing as a Foreign Service officer. Given my earlier experience with electricity outages there, I was thrilled to work on a project with the National Rural Electrification Cooperative Association to expand rural electrification, introduce modern metering, and attract private sector financing for the metering project.

My work with USAID took me from the Dominican Republic to Peru and, in 2013, to Ecuador, where I served as the mission director. There, as I visited a project in the Galapagos Islands one sunny day, I received a phone call. The proposal was immense: Help develop and lead an ambitious initiative to bring the U.S. government's collective resources to bear to increase electricity access in sub-Saharan Africa. Days later, I was on a plane to begin what has been an incredible journey, working with more than 170 public and private-sector partners to help bring first-time electricity to more than 74 million people through "Power Africa."

Power Africa aims to double access to electricity in sub-Saharan Africa to improve lives, strengthen economies, and help people emerge from poverty with self-reliance and dignity. More than 570 million people in Africa are without access to electricity. Power Africa's goal is to drive power projects that will provide more than 30,000 megawatts (MW) of new power generation and help create 60 million new electricity connections for homes and businesses by 2030. If you estimate that there are, on average, five people per household, reaching Power Africa's goal means turning lights on for approximately 300 million people.

This great challenge held great opportunity, so in August

2013 my family and I moved to Nairobi, Kenya, home to Power Africa's first headquarters and the first-ever U.S. presidential initiative to be headquartered outside of Washington, D.C.

The Power Africa Model: An Interagency Approach

Though the U.S. government has advised countries on electricity access for years, Power Africa's approach is different. Flipping the traditional development model on its head, we have taken a demand-driven, transactional approach. We look at actual transactions between the private-sector entities working in the energy sector—such as investors, local entrepreneurs and manufacturers—and governments to identify obstacles, from environmental to regulatory, that prevent these transactions from moving forward. And we use the power of diplomacy to level the playing field for U.S. investments in the energy sector.

The program is field-driven and has a broad geographic

scope. Led by USAID, the 12 U.S. government agencies that implement Power Africa activities have provided financing and technical assistance to support the power sector in 40 countries over the past six years. We maintain a robust "boots on the ground" presence with hundreds of dedicated power experts situated around the continent. In short, we are a team of roving diplomats, bankers, and technical experts, all focused on the same mission—increasing access to electricity.

The key to success is effective coordination across multiple U.S. government agencies. The Power Africa Coordinator's Office established and leads a regular interagency working group where we discuss openly the challenges and opportunities to reach our shared mission. While each agency has its own resources to support Power Africa's mission, some agency resources are limited, and USAID frequently works through the Coordinator's Office to help different agencies step up their efforts. The Millennium Challenge Corporation, for example, has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on power compacts in sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, the Coordinator's Office funded two deal teams that



Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, at left, and Power Africa Coordinator Andrew Herscovitz sign an MOU in Jerusalem in December 2017 for increased cooperation between the government of Israel and Power Africa to increase access to electricity in sub-Saharan Africa.

helped the Overseas Private Investment Corporation far exceed its initial commitment of financing \$2 billion, with a current deal pipeline of more than \$2.5 billion.

The Coordinator's Office has staff dedicated to liaise full time with agencies to ensure we have the best information and tools available to help partner countries and private-sector developers overcome obstacles and get power project deals done. Businesses and governments can knock on one door to draw on an array of tools from across the U.S. government. Assistance ranges from mitigating risk and promoting exports to designing new policies and regulations, and even teaching households how to read an electricity meter. If there's a tool out there that can help a project move forward, we find it, learn about it, and inform businesses and governments about it. We want to get deals across the finish line and turn lights on for people and businesses as quickly as possible.

Early on, we recognized that even the U.S. government does not have all the tools and resources necessary to achieve our ambitious goals, so we reached out to international partners for help. After our first year, Sweden committed \$1 billion to Power Africa's



POWER AFRICA/XAUME COLLEROS

Power Africa helps provide first-time electricity access to homes and businesses in Africa. Here, a young boy studies under a solar lantern at his home in Senegal in October 2017.

APPLY FOR AN AFSA SCHOLARSHIP



Past recipients of AFSA's Academic Merit and Community Service Awards

Nearly \$350,000 in Merit and Financial Aid scholarships will be awarded, in total.

Applications will be accepted starting **December 2, 2019**.

Deadline to apply is **March 16, 2020**.

For more information, visit www.afsa.org/scholar.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT | ART MERIT | COMMUNITY SERVICE | FINANCIAL AID

Power Africa’s approach is different. Flipping the traditional development model on its head, we have taken a demand-driven, transactional approach.

efforts and even established its own Swedish interagency Power Africa team. The World Bank committed \$5 billion, and the African Development Bank committed \$3 billion—and both entities have already exceeded their original commitments. Our partners also include the governments of Israel, the Republic of Korea, Norway, Canada, the U.K., France, Japan and the European Union.

Power Africa actively recruits private-sector partners to help achieve our goals. These partners are required to commit to supporting Power Africa goals by adding new megawatts, new connections, or financing essential energy infrastructure. Currently, Power Africa counts more than 150 companies and nongovernmental organizations among its partners, of which 75 are U.S. companies.

Overcoming Obstacles

The dedication of the extended U.S. government Power Africa team and its partners is palpable, because we all recognize that access to electricity underpins development efforts across all sectors and advances economic prosperity and self-reliance.

One significant obstacle to advancing power projects is the absence of enforced laws and regulations that support transparent practices. Power Africa works closely with governments and regulators to institute reforms and create the right conditions to attract investment, and it’s succeeding.



President of the Republic of Zambia Edgar Lungu prepares to power on the Bangweulu Solar Plant during the project's inauguration in Lusaka in March 2019.

In Nigeria, for example, a major gas project poised to bring power to a million people was stalled due to a legal position taken by the country’s previous attorney general. He wanted any disputes to be resolved in Nigeria, rather than via an international tribunal; but no lenders would invest with this condition. In response, Power Africa rallied our partners to elevate the issue and focused efforts on a state visit by Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari to the United States. A week after President Buhari returned to Nigeria, the attorney general changed his position. That decision allowed the private sector to commit to the project. Phase 1 of the project was commissioned in May 2018 and is now delivering reliable electricity to Nigeria’s national grid.

What’s important to note here is that our intervention on this one particular deal in one particular country helped many other power projects across the continent. Our work to facilitate this reform created a legal model for other deals, making them attractive to private-sector investment. When we overcome an obstacle to one deal, it is not uncommon that other deals will benefit from Power Africa’s work.

As China becomes an increasingly important player in African infrastructure, including in the energy sector, Power Africa is rallying the tools of the U.S. government to improve the business climate for American companies and investors, help African public and private partners develop energy plans and procurement policies that account for critical factors beyond lowest cost, and streamline collaboration between like-minded partners. With the recent launch of Prosper Africa, another U.S. government initiative coordinated by USAID to advance two-way trade between the United States and the African continent, Power Africa can further its progress by working hand in hand with the private sector and African partners to achieve lasting development outcomes and expand investment opportunities.

The Power Africa model is producing results and attracting public and private investment commitments to the African energy sector. Through Power Africa, the United States has mobilized more than \$56 billion in commitments from the public and private sectors, of which more than \$40 billion comes from private companies.

Progress Across Many Sectors

We recently met a man in Kenya, Morris, whose life has markedly improved because of Power Africa. Morris owns a barber-shop on Ndeda Island in Lake Victoria. In 2018 the American company Renewvia Energy, the U.S. Trade and Development Agency and USAID finalized a wind and solar mini-grid project on the island. Nearly 10,000 residents and businesses now have a

safe and reliable source of power. Morris' profits have increased by more than 50 percent, and his ability to support his family has improved greatly—so much so that he is able to sponsor two of his brothers in their education. Morris told us that he hopes his brothers will use their education to make better lives for themselves. He says that more Kenyans are visiting the island, and predicts that the village will grow and add many more shops, services and jobs to the local economy.

We know that energy solutions save lives. When the Ebola epidemic hit Liberia in 2014, Power Africa deployed emergency generators that allowed health clinics to provide 24-hour care, which helped treat patients and stem the outbreak. One of our projects in rural Liberia powered approximately 200 households, streetlights, and public facilities, including a school, clinic, community center and cooperative office. Electrification strengthened the rural community's resilience and ability to bounce back after the devastating losses from Ebola.

Power Africa also creates political and economic opportunities for Americans. Access to reliable sources of electricity helps people, businesses and countries emerge from poverty and create more stable economies; and this, in turn, opens trade opportunities for U.S. businesses. It is estimated, for example, that General Electric has exported more than \$250 million worth of equipment from the United States since Power Africa's launch, helping secure 1,500 American jobs. A small company in Ohio, Rickly Hydro, estimates that 40 percent of its 25-person workforce was dedicated to filling an equipment order for a Power Africa project in Tanzania.

Power Africa is making a difference across all sectors—from health and education to gender and agriculture. To date, we have helped close 126 deals that will generate more than 10,000 MW of new and critically needed electricity, nearly half of which (4,000 MW) is already operational and turning lights on across the continent. Collectively, these 126 transactions that have reached financial close are worth more than \$20 billion, real money from the private sector disbursed in support of our development goals.

Power Africa has a number of important achievements to its credit. The program:

- established nearly 16 million new electricity connections for homes and businesses that provide first-time access for roughly 74 million people. With every new connection, comes dignity, self-reliance and economic promise.
- facilitated the first-ever independent power producer transactions in Malawi, Ethiopia and Senegal, paving the way for enterprise-driven development in those countries.
- helped electricity distribution companies in Nigeria dramatically reduce their losses and increase revenues, which strengthens power delivery and improves the health of the entire energy sector.
- created the Power Africa Tracking Tool, a mobile app that monitors power project deals across sub-Saharan Africa. With a simple tap, our partners, potential investors and the general

public can find details on more than 900 deals representing upwards of 80,000 MW of installed electric power.

Our most important partners are African governments, particularly those committed to advancing energy sector reforms. Together, we are reducing barriers to investment and moving projects from financial close to production of electricity, lighting up homes and strengthening economies. Power Africa represents American economic

diplomacy and development policy at its best, working across U.S. agencies, public and private-sector partners and African governments to promote a shared mission that has the potential to change millions of lives for the better.

Our team is proud that the U.S. government is replicating or adapting the Power Africa model to shape new initiatives, such as the administration's USAID-led Prosper Africa and Department of State-led Asia EDGE initiatives. As the new U.S. Development Finance Corporation is launched, lessons are being drawn from Power Africa's experience to ensure seamless interagency collaboration. We have accomplished much to date, but have a long way to go. Our model is working, and we look forward to hearing the chorus "lights on" in every language across Africa. ■



Power Africa Coordinator Andrew Herscowitz, at left, tours the Té Power Plant in Guinea with Power Africa partner Endeavor Energy's Managing Director Amadou Ba, at center, and USAID/Power Africa Senior Adviser Rockefeller Herisse in November 2019.

Superpowered Public Diplomacy

Updating the PD toolbox
with popular arts.

BY PREETI SHAH

"I wonder if sparkly sneakers are too out there?" I thought to myself as I prepared to moderate the second annual State Department-sponsored panel on popular arts diplomacy at the 2018 San Diego Comic Convention. SDCC is the premier comic book and popular arts convention in the world, and the biggest revenue-generating annual event in San Diego, California.

My proximity to San Diego while I was the public affairs officer in Tijuana gave me the opportunity to establish inroads for Consulate General Tijuana and State with SDCC. It was a way to add to our public diplomacy (PD) toolbox for audience engagement.

As it turns out, I didn't need to worry about my footwear. Unless dressed like Wonder Woman or Daenerys Targaryen, one faded into the hundreds of thousands of people who were flocking to this event. My sparkly sneakers were positively humdrum. My message, however, wasn't.



Preeti Shah joined the Foreign Service in 2004 and has served in Mexico, Afghanistan, Turkey and Nicaragua, in addition to several tours in Washington, D.C. She is a public diplomacy-coned officer currently in Jakarta. She fell in love with comics as a child, discovering Indian mythology as portrayed through superheroes, secret powers, good guys and bad guys.

Old Script, New Actors

In PD lore, we learn how the U.S. Information Agency's cultural envoys helped spark a desire for free expression within those behind the Iron Curtain during the Cold War. We learn how painters, musicians and performance artists brought in new audiences to witness firsthand the boundless spirit of creativity of America's most talented artists.

And we learn how our own ongoing reckoning with true diversity and inclusion, as told through jazz and other mediums, gave our PD forebears entrée into segments of society previously deemed inaccessible.

In pursuit of the same goals, comics and popular arts are a much-needed update. While the playbook remains basically the same, we just need new players to connect with our screen-driven, digital media-consuming, distraction-filled world.

America's film industry needs no promotion in the traditional "commercial officer" sense. That said, acknowledging our most popular exports as vehicles to broadly reflect U.S. values and society modernizes our PD toolbox. And yet, some of these tools have been available for decades.

Take, for example, the American Film Showcase, a juggernaut funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs that has had a long partnership with the University of Southern California's School of Cinematic Arts. AFS brings American theatrical releases and the people behind them (directors, producers, etc.) to overseas audiences via embassy programming.



JOSE M. NORIEGA/U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL TIJUANA

At the 2018 State Department panel at San Diego Comic-Con International (from left to right), *Book of Life* director Jorge Gutierrez, American Film Showcase director Rachel Gandin Mark, Public Affairs Officer Preeti Shah, teacher and program implementer Alexandra Wesser, and State Department Arts Envoy alumnus and visual effects producer David Andrade discussed popular arts as a medium to engage young audiences around the world.

AFS has promoted science cooperation and STEM careers for girls via more than 120 free screenings of the blockbuster film “Hidden Figures” at U.S. posts overseas and helps filmmakers, writers and producers “create more nuanced entertainment, the kinds of content that can spark public debate around important social issues,” according to Rachel Gandin Mark, AFS program director.

Gandin Mark also confirms that AFS is only growing in popularity, with many posts requesting to screen box-office hits in tandem with related programs on space exploration, diversity and inclusivity and other hot-button topics.

Along similar lines, PD shops know what gets people in the door. In places like Georgia, Paraguay and Mexico, comics and popular arts programs have helped post meet policy goals around human trafficking, workforce development, STEM education, English learning, public health and more. They’ve accomplished this task through the multimodal, engaging and, dare I say, fun mediums of comics, superhero culture and film.

Diversity and Representation—Reflections of America

In terms of true inclusion and diversity, change is afoot, and the world has taken notice. Once again, popular arts can tell inspirational stories about gender, race, sexual orientation and other inequalities with authentic voices.

For instance, the groundbreaking graphic novel trilogy, *March*, by Representative John Lewis (D-Ga.) gives civil society and political leaders an opening to learn about civil rights and transformational leadership in their own countries through

embassy-led book clubs, speaker engagements or simply additions to the inventories of American Spaces facilities that provide opportunities for dialogue and hands-on activities overseas.

The comic arts industry, which is grappling with its own lack of diversity, has begun to make the changes needed with undeniable success. To understand the raw power of seeing ourselves in massive entertainment productions, take, for instance, the runaway popularity of the new Ms. Marvel, Kamala Khan, a Pakistani American teenager from New Jersey, and the new Spider-Man, Miles Morales, who’s half black and half Latino.

But what does that diversification of messengers mean for public diplomacy? It means new faces, new conversations, and a new lens through which we view ourselves and through which others view us—as people and as a country.

Standing Out

So there I was at Comic-Con International in 2018, flanked by producers, animators, visual effects specialists and artists. SDCC, and its superhero culture, crosses borders and draws throngs of attendees and local media from Baja California.

That year, it also presented a unique opportunity to leverage State’s power to benefit Mission Mexico’s goals, as well as inform attendees about how the department brings together their favorite popular arts with cultural diplomacy.

With this in mind, we snagged a coveted panel discussion slot to present Consulate General Tijuana’s comics-related programs and to highlight U.S. “citizen cultural envoys” who

bring various aspects of popular arts to our audiences around the world in a coordinated effort between Consulate General Tijuana and ECA's Collaboratory.

These envoys have taught animation to art students in Iraq while designing visual effects for Emmy-nominated programs as their "day job," and they have shared career advice with film students in Baja California while producing a mini-series for Netflix.

When we presented in 2017, at SDCC's first annual State Department-sponsored panel, someone in the audience asked me whether the panel description in the program was correct: Was I "seriously from the State Department"? Oh yes, and we're just getting started.

Consulate General Tijuana, in collaboration with ECA's Collaboratory, hosted a State Department panel at SDCC for the third year in a row in 2019, and is looking to expand cooperation with SDCC to engage more audiences globally. Representatives from ECA and the Bureau of Oceans and International Environment and Scientific Affairs have followed up on State's panels at SDCC by conducting the first-ever department panel at AwesomeCon,



JOSE M. NORIEGA/U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL TIJUANA

Superheroes battling human trafficking, created as part of a contest to engage young Mexicans on the topic, shared the spotlight at the State Department's first-ever panel at SDCC in 2017.

D.C.'s annual comic book convention in April last year.

Our panel about international space cooperation, youth engagement, fusion technology as a parable for multilateral diplomacy and more drew an audience of more than 100 people. We made our case for State's use of comic book culture and popular arts as a public diplomacy tool.

Despite the doubt and disbelief, we have staked our claim as modern diplomats using modern tools to meet modern demands. And we have invited the fans, the creators, the skeptics and the taxpayers to join us. ■

★ **FOREIGN SERVICE DAY** ★

The Annual Homecoming for Foreign Service and State Department Civil Service Retirees

★ **May 1, 2020** ★

To receive an invitation, RSVP, or ask a question, please email foreignaffairsday@state.gov with your full name, retirement date, and address.

Please save the date for the annual AFSA Open House on Thursday, April 30. All members are invited to stop by.

Honoring Early Diplomats and Consular Officers

At its December meeting, the AFSA Governing Board approved adding the names of 48 early American diplomats and consular officers who died overseas in the line of duty to the AFSA memorial plaques. The names are now on a virtual AFSA Memorial Plaque at afsa.org/memorial-plaques. They will be inscribed on plaques in the C Street Lobby of Main State when funding is available to do so.

These colleagues, with dates of death going back to 1794, were unknown to AFSA when the original memorial plaque was unveiled in 1933. The list grew out of research begun in 2007 by FSO Jason Vorderstrasse who, while serving in Hong Kong, heard that a local cemetery held the grave of an early U.S. diplomat whose name was not on the AFSA Memorial Plaques. Mr. Vorderstrasse visited the cemetery and found the gravestone.

He later discovered two 18th-century U.S. envoys buried in nearby Macau whose names were not on the memorial plaque. AFSA inscribed those three names on the plaque in 2009, and Mr. Vorderstrasse continued his research.



A painting of Oliver Hazard Perry, by Jane Stuart, circa 1857.

Over the next decade, utilizing the internet and the archives of the Department of State's Office of the Historian, he documented more early consular officers and diplomats who had died overseas in the line of duty.

Last summer, AFSA Retiree Vice President John Naland invited Mr. Vorderstrasse to forward his research to the AFSA Awards and Plaques Committee. It included 39 individuals whose names and histories were documented by Mr. Vorderstrasse, plus two documented in collaboration with retired FSO Peter Eicher, four documented by Mr. Eicher, and three added by Mr. Naland.

One of the 48 is well known to history: Commo-

dore Oliver Hazard Perry, a hero of the War of 1812. He was appointed in 1819 as a special diplomatic agent to negotiate an anti-piracy agreement with Venezuelan President Simón Bolívar. He died of yellow fever on a ship nearing Port of Spain, Trinidad.

The other 47 names are more obscure, primarily consular officers sent to tropical port cities in the 1800s to facilitate American shipping and com-

merce. Causes of death were tropical diseases (32), accidents during official travel (six), murder (five), lost at sea (four) and lost during an earthquake (one). Deaths occurred in 30 different countries across every continent except Australia and Antarctica. Two died of yellow fever while serving as U.S. chargé d'affaires to the Republic of Texas.

AFSA is coordinating with the Department of State's Bureau of Administration in hopes of adding additional plaque space on which to inscribe these names in time for the annual AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony in May 2021. ■

CALENDAR

March 5
12-1 p.m.
Webinar: "The View from Washington"

March 11
12-1:30 pm
Next Stage: "Executive Search Firms – What Are They Looking For?"

March 16
Deadline: AFSA Scholarship Applications

March 18
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

March 26
4:30-6:30 p.m.
AFSA Spring Happy Hour

March 27
12-1 p.m.
Job Search Program Graduation Reception at FSI

April 8
12-1:30 p.m.
Seminar: "Demystifying the Transportation Process"

April 15
12-2 p.m.
AFSA Governing Board Meeting

April 30
AFSA Foreign Service Day Open House

May 1
Foreign Service Day/ AFSA Memorial Ceremony

May 15
Deadline: Nomination for AFSA Dissent and Performance Awards



Being Treated More Like Our Military

When it comes to benefits, many of us at some point have been disappointed by how differently the Foreign Service is treated compared to our military.

This is not to take away anything from our colleagues in uniform or to argue that we do the same exact job so should get the same exact benefits.

But there are a lot of similarities. Aside from promoting our values and strengthening America's position in the world, both uniformed military and Foreign Service members move around a lot, serve in conflict areas and sometimes live far from loved ones.

About one-third of Foreign Service members have served in dangerous countries that may require unaccompanied tours, according to department estimates.

Advocating for the Benefits of SCRA

The Servicemembers Civil Relief Act of 2003 provides military personnel with many protections and benefits that Foreign Service members simply don't enjoy.

In fact, members of the military who have joined the Foreign Service often express surprise that certain common-sense benefits that accrue to the military under the SCRA do not apply to the Foreign Service.

These include the ability to maintain or change legal residence (which has implications for taxes and in-state tuition fees) and end, without penalty, housing leases and telephone, cable and internet contracts, among many other issues.

To be frank, it is unlikely that there is the political will in Congress to extend all SCRA protections and benefits to Foreign Service members, so AFSA has not focused on getting a wholesale change.

At the same time, several sections of the SCRA would offer FS members significant relief, given their frequent moves, temporary duty stints in the Washington, D.C., area, and choice of domicile or residence. And the overall impact on state or local tax revenues would not be great since FS numbers are miniscule compared to service members.

So, working with the Senate Foreign Service Caucus, the newly formed House Diplomacy Caucus and individual lawmakers, we continue to advocate a few key extensions of the SCRA to our members.

These include residential and motor vehicle leases that would permit our members who need to break their leases to be posted abroad, or who need to return to the United States on short notice for a variety of reasons

(including post evacuations and health grounds), to do so without penalty.

We are also pushing to allow FS members to terminate mobile phone and other contracts or unlock their phones prior to a posting abroad; and to ensure that FS members who find themselves temporarily in a jurisdiction in the Washington, D.C., area for detail or training can retain residence in their state of domicile for tax reasons.

In the Meantime

While we push for these changes at the federal level, we will continue to work with individual states, landlords and others to provide relief. AFSA cannot promise all issues will be resolved, but we do send letters to these parties and raise concerns with department management on behalf of our members who need assistance in breaking leases or other contracts because of official overseas travel orders.

We do the same with in-state tuition, and there have been some successes. In 2019 the Virginia State Assembly passed a law that now considers the dependents of FS members eligible for in-state tuition if the FS members reside in Virginia for at least 3 months (compared to the general residency requirement of 12

months) and immediately go overseas.

In December 2019, after AFSA sent a letter, the University of Texas-Austin granted in-state tuition to the children of one of our members.

We are currently communicating with University of California Board of Regents officials to see if the University of California system, one of the largest in the country, will provide this benefit to our members.

Overseas Comparability Pay

While we are on the subject, AFSA is still waiting for the last and final tranche of overseas comparability pay to complete a process and commitments made by Congress in 2008 and 2009. Again, our military colleagues, along with those in the intelligence community, get the full amount.

As former AFSA President Barbara Stephenson pointed out in a 2016 article in *Federal Soup*: "When our members deploy abroad to embassies alongside their military and intelligence community colleagues, the only member of that trio to take an 8-percent cut in basic pay is the one from the Foreign Service." The cut in basic pay for 2020 is now just over 10 percent. ■



The FSA: It's More Than Just an Act

If you're like me, you like to settle down at night with your favorite drink and cozy up with a copy of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (bit.ly/usaid-fsa).

In case you don't share my reading tastes, I want to highlight some parts of the act and encourage you to take some time to read it. You may find it useful and quite often inspiring.

Chapter topics include "Management of the Service," "Promotions and Retention," "Foreign Service Pension System" and "Labor Management Relations."

While not always directly pertinent to USAID, the act is a thoughtful, comprehensive piece of legislation that conveys the critical need for a well-functioning, well-resourced, accountable and professional Foreign Service and the responsibility of the foreign affairs agencies, including USAID, to achieve this goal.

Section 101: Findings & Objectives. I could use this and all future columns to extoll Section 101.

For example, "[A] career foreign service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential in the national interest to assist the President and the Secretary of State in conducting the foreign affairs of the United States."

And, the Foreign Service "must be preserved, strengthened, and improved

in order to carry out its mission effectively in response to the complex challenges of modern diplomacy and international relations." Clear and powerful.

Another objective, near and dear to AFSA and its members, is "establishing a statutory basis for participation by the members of the Foreign Service, through their elected representatives, in the formulation of personnel policies and procedures which affect their conditions of employment, and maintaining a fair and effective system for the resolution of individual grievances that will ensure the fullest measure of due process for the members of the Foreign Service."

Fullest measure of due process—good stuff!

Section 105: Merit Principles. Section 105 kicks off thus: "All personnel actions with respect to career members and career candidates in the Service (including applicants for career candidate appointments) shall be made in accordance with merit principles." Simple yet critical to keep in mind throughout our careers.

Drilling a bit deeper into how the law defines "merit principles," we find points such as this: "All employees should maintain high standards of integrity, conduct, and concern for the public interest."

And further: "Employees should be protected

against reprisal for the lawful disclosure of information which the employees reasonably believe evidences (A) a violation of any law, rule, or regulation, or, (B) mismanagement, a gross waste of funds, an abuse of authority, or a substantial and specific danger to public health or safety."

As FSOs, we have a public trust to keep; and we have rights and protections to help us maintain that trust.

Section 703: Career Development. The act recognizes that the FS is a career spanning many stages.

The section opens: "The Secretary shall establish a professional development program to assure that members of the Service obtain the skills and knowledge required at the various stages of their careers. With regard to Foreign Service officers, primary attention shall be given to training for career candidate officers and for midcareer officers, both after achieving tenure and as they approach eligibility for entry to the Senior Foreign Service, to enhance and broaden their qualifications for more senior levels of responsibility in the Service."

USAID has training—a lot of training. But the act recognizes the need for distinct training targeted to the needs of the Foreign Service cadre. I think there are real opportunities to develop new

trainings—and refocus existing ones—to better meet FSO needs.

Section 601: Promotions. (Do I have your attention now?). This section lays out broad principles and details, including: "Decisions by the Secretary on the numbers of individuals to be promoted into and retained in the Senior Foreign Service shall be based upon a systematic long-term projection of personnel flows and needs designed to provide (A) a regular, predictable flow of recruitment in the Service; (B) effective career development patterns to meet the needs of the Service; and (C) a regular, predictable flow of talent upward through the ranks and into the Senior Foreign Service."

This seems reasonable, logical and practical. However, it also presupposes a regular and predictable flow of FSOs and rigorous workforce planning.

With Congress' strong encouragement, we hopefully will see this merit-based flow of new FSO colleagues entering over the coming year and beyond, along with improved workforce planning for the agency.

I hope these highlights inspire you to read the Foreign Service Act. It's a relevant, sound—and legislatively mandated—reference for your career and for the USAID's benefit. ■



Powerful Tools to Defend the Foreign Service

This is the fifth time I have served on the AFSA Governing Board since joining in 1999 as State vice president. During each of those tours, controversies arose that preoccupied the board. But as important as those issues seemed at the time, they pale compared to what AFSA faces today.

The White House continues to propose draconian cuts to funding for diplomacy and development. Senior elected officials have verbally attacked the career, nonpolitical, nonpartisan Foreign Service.

The percentage of Foreign Service members in ambassadorships and positions at and above the assistant secretary level is at an historic low. Some of our colleagues have found themselves at the center of events that led to the impeachment of the president.

When my current board term began last summer,

I cannot begin to guess what will happen on Election Day 2020 or thereafter. But I do know that, whatever happens, AFSA has powerful tools to defend its members, our Service and our profession.

I had no idea that a few months later I would be sitting behind an A-100 classmate as she testified at a House impeachment hearing. As I write this column in January, I do not know if other surprises will have transpired by the time you read this in March.

I cannot begin to guess what will happen on Election Day 2020 or thereafter. But I do know that, whatever happens, AFSA has powerful tools to defend its members, our Service and our profession. They are:

Solidarity. Nearly 85 percent of active-duty Foreign Service members belong to AFSA. When AFSA speaks, it can legitimately claim to do

so as the voice of the Foreign Service. That voice would be even louder if more annuitants maintained their AFSA membership after retirement. Currently, less than 30 percent do so. Please encourage your retired colleagues to join.

Support. Over the past three years, bipartisan votes in the Senate and House have overwhelmingly rejected cuts to funding for diplomacy and development. Newspaper and other media editorials across the nation lauded our colleagues who honored their oath to the U.S. Constitution by testifying when subpoenaed by the House impeachment committee.

Staff. AFSA's 34-member professional staff has

decades of legal, congressional and communications experience. AFSA's 21-member Governing Board includes representatives of all six foreign affairs agencies.

Financial Strength. AFSA has a \$5.3-million operating budget. AFSA has reserves exceeding \$3 million to draw on if needed to wage legal or media battles to protect career diplomacy. When AFSA needed more funds, donors quickly contributed more than \$700,000 to ensure that members who testified in the impeachment hearings would not suffer personal financial ruin due to bills for legal representation.

Whatever the future holds, AFSA must use the tools at its disposal to defend our Service. When the opportunity presents itself, AFSA should go on the offense to restore the Foreign Service's role as the main instrument for conducting U.S. foreign policy. ■

Congress Approves Paid Parental Leave for Federal Employees

President Trump signed the Fiscal Year 2020 National Defense Authorization Act into law on Dec. 20. The law provides, among other things, all federal government employees with 12 weeks of paid leave for the birth, adoption or fostering of a child.

This provision is set to take effect on Oct. 1.

Last fall, AFSA joined with other federal employee groups in successfully urging the House to adopt the Federal Employee Paid Leave Act as an amendment to the FY2020 NDAA. During the

NDAA Conference Committee process, AFSA encouraged members to express support for this amendment to members of Congress.

One thing to note: Though the Federal Employee Paid Leave Act included paid leave to provide care for a family

member suffering from a serious health condition, this provision was not included in the final FY2020 NDAA.

With the passage of the NDAA into law, AFSA celebrates paid parental leave for more than two million federal workers! ■

Support AFSA's Legal Defense Fund



AFSA's Legal Defense Fund has continued to grow due to the outpouring of support from both the Foreign Service community and the American public.

By mid-January, the fund had raised \$712,000. About \$600,000 remained after disbursements to private attorneys representing Foreign Service members testifying before Congress.

Accompanying their donations, we have received many letters of support from concerned citizens and members, including the letter on this page from Teresa Amott.

Donations may be made online at www.afsa.org/ donate or by mailing a check made out to "AFSA Legal Defense Fund" to AFSA, c/o LDF, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037. ■

A Letter to AFSA

Dear Ambassador Rubin,

Enclosed, please find my contribution to the Legal Defense Fund of the American Foreign Service Association along with a picture of my father, shortly before he and my mother were presented to Emperor Hirohito at my father's posting to the reopened U.S. embassy after the Allied occupation ended. I make this donation in his honor, but with a deep sense of sadness and anger that it should be necessary to defend so many honorable public servants in this troubled and polarized time.

My father, John C. Amott, was a Foreign Service officer. That sentence defined him from the time he entered the Service in 1947 until he died at the age of 91 in 2014. He is buried in the DACOR section of Rock Creek Cemetery, alongside my mother, whom he met in the American embassy in Rio de Janeiro, where she was a local employee.

For my father, the Foreign Service was more than employment, more than an agency. A son of the Midwest who grew up in very modest circumstances, he was the national high school debate champion in 1938, and entered Georgetown University on a scholarship, where he discovered the Foreign Service. He served in the U.S. Army as a Japanese translator at Arlington Hall during World War II. Displayed on his wall in the assisted living facility in which he lived his final years were commissioning documents signed by Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy.

I lived with my parents in postings to Bolivia, Japan, Peru, the then-Littauer School, Honduras, Mexico, Germany and Portugal. After I left for college, they served in Argentina and Paraguay. During the 1970s and 1980s, my father and I were frequently at odds over the course of U.S. policy towards Latin America, but he defended that policy fiercely. I never knew what his own views were.

Although my father was never appointed as an ambassador, he served with pride, pride not for himself, but for the privilege of representing abroad the country he loved. To be the face of the United States to countless foreigners gave his life dignity and meaning. I offer this contribution in support of all that you and the association are doing to uphold the values by which he lived and that define the integrity, character and professionalism of today's Foreign Service officers.

In my career as a faculty member, administrator, and president at several small liberal arts colleges, I wrote many a letter of recommendation for students aspiring to join the Foreign Service, and I have been immensely proud of their service.

In gratitude for the Foreign Service and its dedicated officers,

*Teresa L. Amott
President, Knox College
Galesburg, Illinois*



Ruth and John Amott, Tokyo, Japan, shortly after the U.S. Embassy reopened there in 1952.

COURTESY OF TERESA AMOTT

Guidance on the Use of Diplomatic Passports

Diplomatic Security has been increasingly focusing on the use of diplomatic passports (DP). AFSA is seeing an increasing number of Foreign Service employees under investigation for possible misuse of their diplomatic passports. To ensure that our members understand the relevant rules for DPs, AFSA has issued the following guidance.

General

Diplomatic passports carry the same message from the Secretary of State as do any other passports, i.e., that their bearers be permitted “to pass without delay or hindrance” and be given “all lawful aid and protection.”

However, they also announce that their bearers are abroad on diplomatic assignment with the U.S. government. While traveling abroad with such passports, diplomatic passport holders not only have a special obligation to respect the laws of the country in which they are present, but they must abide by U.S. government and agency-specific standards of conduct.

In addition to reviewing the guidance here, we suggest all DP holders review the following material:

- 8 FAM 503.2, Travel with Special Issuance Passports (updated 6/27/2018)
- 18 STATE 6032, Proper Use of Special Issuance Passports (1/19/2018)
- 12 STATE 12866, Official

and Diplomatic Passports—Notice to Bearers (2/11/2012)

Diplomatic Passport Terms of Use

- DPs may be used only while their holders are in positions that require such documents, i.e., during official business travel.

- A DP attests that the bearer is traveling on diplomatic/official business for the U.S. government or is an accompanying family member of such a person.

- DPs are authorized for any travel on government orders. For example, DPs may be used for R&R or medevac travel.

- TDY travel should be conducted with DPs and any required visas. We advise DP holders to check with the post in question regarding requirements for entry.

- DP holders should practice carrying both regular and diplomatic passports while on travel.

- DPs must be used when entering and exiting the holder’s country of assignment abroad and returning to the U.S. from the country of assignment. Regular (tourist) passports must be used for all personal travel.

- For all travel, we strongly advise carrying both diplomatic and regular passports and complying with instruc-



tions of local immigration authorities, even if those instructions are not necessarily in compliance with this guidance. If this or any other unusual situation

occurs involving the use of diplomatic passports, please document the event for your records.

Some Examples

- U.S. diplomat assigned to Country A is taking a personal trip with family to Country B. The U.S. diplomat, and accompanying family members, must use the DPs for entering/exiting Country A. However, they must use their personal passports (“blue book”) for entering/exiting Country B. Whichever type of passport is used to enter a country must be used to exit that country.

- U.S. diplomat has completed a tour in Country A and is returning to the U.S. with his/her family. The U.S. diplomat and accompanying family members will use their DPs for leaving Country A and entering the United States.

- U.S. diplomat assigned to Country A has an official meeting in Country B and then will travel to Country C for tourism. The U.S. diplomat must use the DP to exit Country A and enter and exit Country B. However, the

diplomat must use a personal passport to enter and exit Country C. The DP will be used to re-enter Country A.

What DPs Do Not Do

They do not:

- Confer diplomatic immunity.
- Exempt the bearer from foreign laws.
- Allow the bearer to carry classified or sensitive material across borders.
- Allow the bearer to avoid questions from foreign immigration or bypass security.
- Protect their holders from arrest, hazards of war, criminal violence or terrorism.

Final Notes

- DPs may subject their bearers to increased scrutiny by foreign governments and other entities.

- Misuse of DPs may be investigated and prosecuted as a violation per 18 U.S.C. 1544.

- Employees who are found to have misused DPs may also be subject to disciplinary action.

- Many countries have visa requirements for DPs that exceed those for regular passports.

- Taiwan: All travel to Taiwan by executive branch personnel must be with a regular passport. In addition, executive branch personnel who plan to travel to Taiwan for official purposes must have prior concurrence from the Office of Taiwan Coordination: (202) 647-7711. ■

AFSA President Addresses Citizen Groups in Florida

AFSA President Eric Rubin engaged with various audiences in Central Florida during a three-day visit in mid-January as part of AFSA's outreach efforts.

Over the course of the trip, Ambassador Rubin spoke to students, retirees and other groups in the Tampa and Sarasota areas.

Amb. Rubin began with a speaking engagement on Jan. 16 at the University of South Florida in Tampa, hosted by the School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies. Speaking on the topic of *Diplomacy: Our First Line of Defense*, he highlighted the work diplomats do to keep threats at bay.

He shared AFSA's new explainer video, which outlines the work of the Foreign Service through specific examples that illustrate how diplomats keep America safe.

Later that day, Amb. Rubin spoke about the importance of global engagement at the USF Sarasota-Manatee campus. It was the first talk in the university's new Diversity Lecture Series, which aims at presenting students and members of the community with different ideas and perspectives, in this case the importance of global engagement.

There, he outlined what diplomats do overseas in general and, more specifically, the role they play to protect and promote the interests of the United



AFSA President Eric Rubin (center) at a Jan. 16 meeting at the University of South Florida Sarasota-Manatee, with (from left) Amela Malkic, USFSM's director for global engagement; Dr. Karen Holbrook, regional chancellor, USFSM; Rebecca Kimbrell, diplomat in residence for South Florida, and Corey Posey, diversity, equity and inclusion officer at USFSM.



AFSA President Eric Rubin speaks at the Academy of Senior Professionals at Eckerd College in St. Petersburg, Fla., on Jan. 17.

States. He was joined for the events at USF in both Tampa and Sarasota by Diplomat-in-Residence Rebecca Kimbrell, who provided information on the different career tracks in the Foreign Service.

The outreach trip also offered the AFSA president a chance to discuss the Foreign Service and U.S. diplomacy

with the wider community. This included a talk on Jan. 17 in St. Petersburg at the Academy of Senior Professionals at Eckerd College, a lifelong learning organization that includes retirees from a variety of professional backgrounds.

The Foreign Service Retiree Association of

Florida invited Amb. Rubin to speak at its Jan. 17 luncheon in University Park. FSRA is one of the oldest and largest of the Foreign Service retiree associations, bringing retirees together from across Florida for meetings five times a year.

Many FSRA members are engaged in outreach programs across Florida, sharing their expertise to broaden public understanding of the Foreign Service and diplomacy. Amb. Rubin outlined to a full house the current challenges facing the Foreign Service and the work AFSA is doing to defend our members and the Service.

He also addressed a large congregation at a local synagogue in Longboat Key, near Sarasota. Speaking with audiences to demystify the Foreign Service and answer questions is a key component of AFSA's outreach work. ■

2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board Term Report



Members of the 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board gather for the first board meeting at AFSA headquarters in July 2017. From left: FCS Alternate Rep. Matthew Hilgendorf, Retiree Rep. Amb. (ret.) Al La Porta, BBG Rep. Steven Herman, State Rep. Josh Glazeroff, State Rep. Tricia Wingerter, State Rep. Martin McDowell, President Amb. Barbara Stephenson, Secretary Amb. (ret.) Tom Boyatt, Retiree Rep. Phil Shull, Retiree VP John Naland, Treasurer Amb. (ret.) Tony Wayne, State VP Ken Kero-Mentz and FCS VP Daniel Crocker.

every week for information about the Foreign Service as an institution and as a career. Our data is also frequently used by our strategic partners such as the American Academy of Diplomacy and the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition.

AFSA has continued to host structured conversations between the AFSA president, with the appropriate constituency vice president, and groups of members from the various constituencies of each foreign affairs agency to keep up with their top concerns.

For example, in 2018 we heard from our upper mid-level State members about how the loss of State senior leadership deprived them of mentoring, references for bidding, and “top cover” when these members wanted to try new approaches to policy issues. They told us of their experiences bidding when fewer overseas jobs were available, which demonstrated the need to put more positions in the field.

During this board period, AFSA hosted several career development events organized by our Professional Policy Issues department, including a panel for hiring managers on how to choose candidates for jobs, a webinar on family member professional employment and a discussion on different career paths to Foreign Service success.

We are pleased to present the board term report for the 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board.

AFSA has decided to move away from the costly and environmentally wasteful production of a printed annual report mailed to members as a separate publication. Instead, we have moved to a board term report, covering the two years of the most recent board. Going forward, we plan to publish this report every other year in the September issue of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

This report covers the highlights of all departments of the association, providing a window into the work done on behalf of members and the Foreign Service over the term of an elected governing board.

—Ásgeir Sigfússon
Executive Director



Professional Policy Issues

During the 2017-2019 Governing Board term, AFSA strengthened its reputation as a creator of reliable content about the Foreign Service. Starting in 2018, our Professional Policy Issues department created a data library dedicated to the Foreign Service. Since then, AFSA has monitored various trends in Foreign Service life using data—overall numbers on promotion, attrition, the size of the corps and Foreign Service test takers, to name a few. AFSA now receives multiple media requests

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA



2019 Youth Awards winners pose with AFSA President Barbara Stephenson (second from left) in June 2019 at a ceremony in the State Department's George C. Marshall Center.

In the summer of 2019, we surveyed our members on their satisfaction with AFSA, and contributed to outreach presentations during Foreign Service Day in 2017 and 2018.

Finance and Administration

The American Foreign Service Association continued to be in excellent financial health as we entered 2019 with a strong reserve. AFSA went through major restructuring in the last three years as we worked rigorously to find efficiencies in operations from 2016 to 2019.

The board has approved a 2020 budget with prudent spending reductions. Recognizing that we will need sufficient resources to meet the challenges facing the Foreign Service, we will continue the effort to create more efficient operations in the years ahead.

With the strong support of our membership, we were able to sustain a professional

staff of 32 and a planned \$5.2 million operating budget for the calendar year 2019. We continue to maintain AFSA assets, the building and equipment with attention to repairs and prompt maintenance.

We ended 2018 with an operating reserve of \$3.1

million, scholarship fund of \$9.7 million, Sinclair Fund of \$477,094 and Fund for American Diplomacy of \$413,964.

Publications / The Foreign Service Journal

The 2017-2019 Governing Board term was a busy time

with an elevated public profile for *The Foreign Service Journal*, which celebrated its centennial year in 2019. To mark the occasion, the publications team created and produced The Foreign Service Journal Centennial Exhibit: Defining Diplomacy for 100 Years.

The 29-panel exhibit of images and excerpts drawn from the archives of the FSJ was on display at the National Museum of American Diplomacy (formerly the U.S. Diplomacy Center) for more than two months, from a launch event in March through the Foreign Affairs Day reception at the site in May.

Beginning in 2017 and completed in time for the launch of the FSJ exhibit, AFSA funded and implemented a major digitization project. The fully search-



Former FSJ editors Steve Honley and Steven Dujack examine a panel of *The Foreign Service Journal's* Centennial Exhibit, "Defining Diplomacy for 100 Years," at the U.S. Diplomacy Center in March 2019.

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

able FSJ Digital Archive was launched when the FSJ reached the century mark in March, after the work of scanning, tagging and uploading to the AFSA website and then optimizing the entire collection to be searchable and available to the public was completed.

The FSJ Archive is a treasure trove of unique primary source material—namely, the history of the Foreign Service and diplomacy seen through the lens of the practitioners.

The *Journal* began publishing a series of “Diplomacy Works” articles in 2017 to tell FS success stories that can be used to educate Congress and the public. As part of the AFSA Economic Diplomacy Works initiative, we devoted the January-February 2019 edition to that theme, includ-

ing a dozen stories and several analytical pieces on economic diplomacy.

AFSA’s collaboration with the National Museum of American Diplomacy expanded during this governing board’s term. We provided content to better tell the story of the Foreign Service, and we partnered with the museum on several events (including a panel discussion in connection with the July-August 2018 collection of stories from survivors of the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings).

The reach of the FSJ expanded. The *Journal* now appears in Google News searches, and members of Congress regularly contribute Message from the Hill columns speaking to the Foreign Service. The President’s

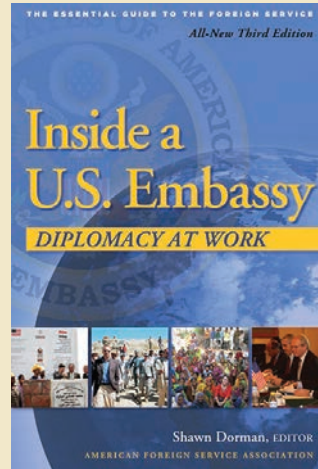
(more than \$500,000 to date) and serving as a top outreach tool for AFSA.

Advocacy

The director of advocacy and the AFSA president collaborate to determine the degree of engagement, the right arguments and timelines for our advocacy efforts on the Hill. At a time when AFSA is at the highest membership level in its history, congressional advocacy has been listed as a top AFSA membership benefit in surveys.

During the 2017-2019 AFSA Governing Board, AFSA emerged as the lead content creator for the U.S. Foreign Service on Capitol Hill. When Congress asked how to counter global power competition, AFSA provided a solution. By demonstrating how the Foreign Service is best suited for the job of promoting U.S. global leadership, AFSA has been able to further build support for the Foreign Service in the halls of Congress.

AFSA pushed for a “field-forward Foreign Service”—for having proper staffing overseas—and supported that push by sharing information about how the Foreign Service keeps American businesses prosperous and Americans safe at home. Focused on the appropriation that funds the cost of moving a Foreign Service member to an overseas post, AFSA helped make a successful argument leading to an increase in “Overseas Programs” funding by \$84 million from Fiscal Year 2018

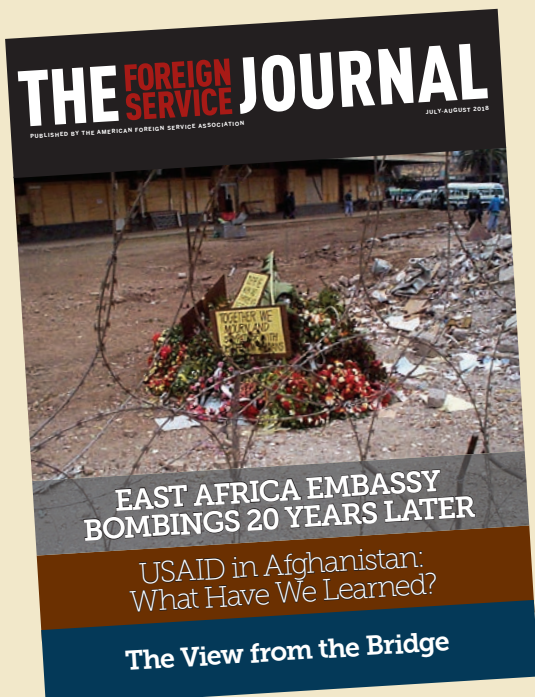


Inside a U.S. Embassy remains a top outreach tool for AFSA.

Views column was used effectively as an AFSA policy document. (The December 2017 column and message, “Time to Ask Why,” was picked up by dozens of media outlets and advanced public awareness of the importance of diplomats and diplomacy.)

The FSJ received several awards, including a 2017 Association Media and Publishing Excel Award for the December 2016 special focus on Russia; a 2019 All Media Contest award from Association TRENDS for the July-August 2018 special focus on the East Africa embassy bombings 20 years later; and a 2019 Association Media and Publishing Excel Award for the April 2018 opinion piece (“Keeping Diplomacy on Track in Troubled Times,” by Ted Osius).

The third edition of *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, published in 2011 and now in its seventh printing, continued to sell well, bringing in revenue



July-August 2018 FSJ.

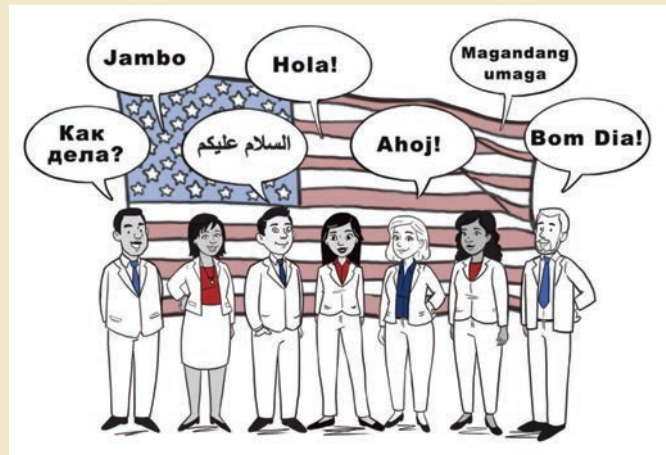
to FY2019 and is poised to increased that funding again by more than \$500 million in a final FY2020 funding bill.

AFSA also convinced Congress to encourage the State Department to establish more FSO positions overseas in the House and Senate FY2020 SFOPS appropriations reports. AFSA received the backing of the business community (96 organizations) in a letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo supporting a field-forward Foreign Service.

More broadly, AFSA has helped ward off proposed cuts to the international affairs budget—three years in a row—and many of the critical operational appropriations accounts for Foreign Service agencies have even increased. This included the reversal of the decade-long decline in funding for core diplomatic capability (decreased 2008 to 2018) in FY2019.

AFSA also successfully advocated for Congress to establish a floor for Foreign Service staff levels at State/USAID in the final FY19 appropriations package, a floor that State/USAID are encouraged to hire above.

AFSA's advocacy also focused on shaping the first House State Authorization bill in six years. The Department of State Authorization Act and other pieces of legislation with AFSA input, such as the Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act, have passed the House, and our efforts continue to focus on the Sen-



A still shot from AFSA's "Economic Diplomacy" video.

ate's passage of these bills with the hope that they will become law someday.

Finally, AFSA worked with Senators Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.) and Dan Sullivan (R-Alaska) to establish the Senate Foreign Service Caucus, which provides a direct channel to communicate with interested Hill staff on issues regarding the Foreign Service.

Media and Communications

AFSA's media posture changed significantly during this period. As official agencies cut back on media interaction, AFSA found itself being increasingly sought out by national media outlets. Media engagements—whether on the record, on background or connecting

Foreign Service experts to journalists—exceeded 250. AFSA's media profile may have reached an all-time high. This higher profile has given the association a great opportunity to get our messaging out to a national audience, beyond the Beltway, and to our own membership.

AFSA's website underwent a revamp in 2019, which resulted in a fresh, clean look and a firewall for certain content. As a result, the website has become a more important benefit of AFSA membership, as most of the association's original content, including guidance and information, is now available only to those who can log in as members.

On social media, we continue to increase our follower numbers and engagements. This rise has been particularly noteworthy on Twitter, where we more than doubled



Speakers at the Athenaeum Hotel in Chautauqua, N.Y., for AFSA's Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2019, Road Scholar program. From left to right: Ambassador (ret.) Robert Gribbin, Ambassador (ret.) Shari Villarosa, Ambassador (ret.) Deborah Jones, AFSA President Ambassador Barbara Stephenson, Ambassador (ret.) Robin Raphael and Ambassador (ret.) Shaun Donnelly.



AFSA State VP Ken Kero-Mentz addresses the 194th A-100 class in August 2018 at AFSA headquarters.

our followers and are regularly retweeted by notable journalists and individuals in the foreign affairs field.

Thanks to a partnership with the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, AFSA also premiered its first-ever original video. The clip, an “animated explainer” video on economic diplomacy, has already become the most-viewed video on AFSA’s YouTube channel. A new companion video is in the works.

Outreach

During a period of significantly expanded outreach, the AFSA president was invited to grassroots and high-profile events across the country to tell the story of the Foreign Service. These events included the keynote speech for the national Model UN conference in Washington, D.C., FarmFest in Minnesota, the Common-

wealth Club in San Francisco and at the Chautauqua Institution in New York. Other speaking invitations took the AFSA president to Michigan, Florida, Oregon and Texas, in addition to numerous engagements in and around the Washington, D.C., area.

The AFSA Speakers Bureau continues to be a critical element of our outreach efforts. In collaboration with Road Scholars and the Smithsonian Associates, AFSA planned and executed a series of programs throughout the year, reaching more than a thousand participants.

More generally, AFSA fulfilled the steady request for speakers about specific topics or the Foreign Service. To support the many (largely) retired members actively engaged in speaking about the work of the Foreign Service, AFSA updated its resources for speakers,

including talking points and new short explainer videos.

AFSA’s annual national high school essay contest continued to attract hundreds of submissions each year from students across the country, culminating in a visit to D.C. for the winner and their family.

Finally, during these two years we continued to support and honor excellence within the Foreign Service community through the awards program, which moved from June to October in 2018.

Membership

After the hiring freeze was lifted, AFSA was pleased to resume our membership luncheons for incoming classes of A-100 FSOs, specialists, limited non-career appointments, USAID FSOs and Foreign Commercial Service officers. These luncheons are a critical way for new Foreign

Service members to learn about AFSA, and we are proud that, on average, 85 to 90 percent sign up. AFSA membership numbers remained strong during this period and are currently at an all-time high (more than 16,800).

AFSA has successfully increased programming for members, including the launch of the highly popular Next Stage program, offering panels of expert retired Foreign Service colleagues who have embarked on “next stage” careers. To date, Next Stage topics have included how to work in teaching, writing and the private sector and a program focused specifically on post-FS careers for DS agents.

The Federal Benefit series continued with expert presentations on Medicare, Thrift Savings Plan, Long-Term Care insurance, Social Security and Federal Employee Health Benefits. With an eye toward providing access to our many members outside the Beltway, these programs are recorded and offered exclusively to members on our website.

AFSA continues to commemorate Foreign Service Day, the first Friday in May, as a day of honor and remembrance. We remember colleagues who have died in the line of duty with a rolling moment of silence, observed by numerous embassies, during a moving memorial service in the C Street lobby at the State Department.

Each year, members join AFSA’s letter-to-the-

editor campaign aimed at reminding Americans about the important work of U.S. diplomats on behalf of the United States. Year after year, the number of letters has increased, with more than 50 published in local newspapers across the country in May 2019.

During the day preceding Foreign Service Day, AFSA headquarters is open to our members for a full day of programming, including the ever-popular free professional headshots.

The Retirement Services section of the website was updated in March 2019 and continues to serve as perhaps the most complete option for one-stop information on Foreign Service retirement resources.

Finally, the AFSA Scholarship program awarded more than \$500,000 to the children of AFSA members for art and academic merit as well as financial aid scholarships.

Labor Management

Between July 2017 and July 2019, AFSA's Labor Management office opened 803 individual cases and closed 613 cases. Overall, during the two-year period, LM handled approximately 1,304 cases, many of which were opened prior to July 2017.

The office also received 3,389 requests for assistance. Approximately 30 percent of these requests for assistance turn into individual cases.

On the State Department side, AFSA signed a new

framework agreement more than 30 years after the previous one had been signed. In spite of President Trump's executive orders directing agencies to curtail official time and paid office space to Civil Service unions, the new agreement preserves 100 percent official time for the AFSA president and State vice president as well as free office space and use of department telephones and the email system.

While there is still much to be done, we made great progress on Special Needs Education Allowance implementation. Working with HR Deputy Assistant Secretary Steven Walker and the new Office of Medical Services director, Dr. Mark Cohen, LM helped create a new Foreign Affairs Manual provision (in 3 FAM 3280) that offers a supportive regulatory framework for SNEA and protects Foreign Service families against the subjective interpretations previously employed, often to their detriment.

The State Department and AFSA negotiated a three-year Meritorious Service Increase pilot program that is nomination-based, allowing MSIs to be awarded to a greater population of employees, rather than restricting them to only those reviewed for promotions in any given year. The pilot ended in 2019, and the parties are reviewing the results and have begun negotiations on the future of the MSI program.

Thanks to LM's advocacy,

the department incorporated unconscious bias principles—i.e., stripping nominations of gender identifiers—in the 2019 MSI nomination process.

LM also has successfully advocated on behalf of employees adversely affected by incidents in both Cuba and China on several fronts: 1) We gained parity between the two groups, specifically the inclusion of the China group in recurring meetings between the Cuba cohort and MED; 2) We secured administrative leave for the China group following the provision of such leave to the Cuba cohort; and 3) We secured the department's agreement to offer a classified briefing to both groups.

AFSA successfully filed an implementation dispute against the State Department after MED refused to invite AFSA to an official meeting, as it was required to do. As a result, the department agreed to notify those offices involved, three times a year for two years, of their obligation to include AFSA in any formal meetings.

AFSA also successfully filed a cohort grievance on behalf of locally hired Foreign Service employees who attended long-term training of six months or more at FSI but were not assigned to FSI, and thus did not receive locality pay. Relying on a prior AFSA win, AFSA was successful in obtaining back locality pay plus interest for 105 employees. AFSA also secured more than \$50,000

for 49 new DS agents who were promised overtime pay during a two-week period in which they had to bus 90 miles to and from the DS training center in Blackstone, Va., every day.

AFSA filed a series of implementation disputes against the department when it failed to award Meritorious Service Increases to all employees ranked but not reached for promotion (up to a 10-percent cap the parties had agreed to) in 2014, 2015 and 2016.

While we prevailed before the Foreign Service Grievance Board in the 2014 MSI dispute (as we did in an early dispute regarding the 2013 MSIs), the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board unfortunately granted the department's appeal and vacated the FSGB's decision in the 2014 dispute.

The department then argued that this decision bound the FSGB's decision in the 2015 and 2016 MSI disputes. The FSGB reluctantly agreed and dismissed the two remaining cases. AFSA filed an appeal with the FSLRB in late September 2019 and is awaiting a decision from that board.

Finally, AFSA filed a cohort grievance regarding the Secretary's failure to recommend any Presidential Rank Awards between 2014 and 2017. This is an issue that potentially impacts all of the foreign affairs agencies. The department filed a motion to dismiss the grievance, arguing the Secretary had

the sole discretion not to recommend any PRAs to the president. Even if the Grievance Board grants the department's motion, AFSA believes that our advocacy contributed to the department's resumption of the PRA process in 2018.

At USAID, the agency continues to make Foreign Service Limited appointments to Foreign Service positions, including supervisory positions. AFSA previously negotiated a memorandum of understanding with the agency regarding FSL appointments. Despite this agreement, the agency continued its practice of FSL

appointment. As a result of the agency's breach of this negotiated agreement, AFSA filed an implementation dispute.

At the Foreign Commercial Service, we raised concerns about the agency's failure to pay MSIs and its delay in awarding Senior Foreign Service performance pay. We also negotiated changes to the assignments and tour of duty policy.

We continued to actively engage Foreign Agricultural Service management through our collective bargaining agreements. One significant change has been that FAS has started to implement

a low-ranking policy for its selection boards that it has not actively done in the past. We will see how this affects our members.

In 2019, Voice of America and AFSA enjoyed a reopening of constructive dialogue. AFSA brought to the U.S. Agency for Global Media's attention concerns it had with the posting of FS positions on the USA Jobs website and the lack of transparency and consistency in the selection board and promotion process, as well as concerns of individual members.

We engaged with Animal and Plant Health Inspection

Service management and asked that they begin planning for broader negotiations toward a full collective bargaining agreement. In the meantime, however, we remain engaged in discussions over changes to conditions for our members.

In 2019, we filed an information request with management regarding changes to the TIC/TIS policy that affected a number of SFS members hired prior to 2006. APHIS' response provided us with further information, but we continue to look at the issue as it affects our members. ■

2019 AFSA Treasurer's Report

BY VIRGINIA BENNETT, AFSA TREASURER

The American Foreign Service Association is in excellent financial health as of the end of 2019.

AFSA's financial reserves are strong, benefitting significantly from robust market gains during the year. The operating reserve level of \$3.6 million at the end of 2019 represents roughly 65 percent of AFSA's operating budget for 2020. That is an important metric at a time of uncertainty in many quarters and represents meaningful progress toward the association's sustainability.

AFSA's new president and governing board (as of mid-2019) aimed to ensure

the 2020 budget is both prudent and supports the robust implementation of AFSA's strategic priorities: sustaining and building on the best possible service for AFSA's members and effective, agile advocacy for the U.S. Foreign Service.

AFSA is operating at a time of serious challenge to the Foreign Service, its members and its role in promoting U.S. global leadership and prosperity and security at home and abroad.

Your ongoing financial support sustains and drives AFSA's advocacy, outreach and service to members. We

look forward to your continuing commitment to this vital mission in 2020.

Budget Operations

More than 82 percent of AFSA's \$5.3-million planned operating budget for calendar year 2020 comes from membership dues.

AFSA's membership base stood at 16,680 at the end of 2019, representing more than 80 percent of active-duty employees across the foreign affairs agencies, as well as approximately 28 percent of Foreign Service retirees.

Member dues increased by a modest 1.7 percent for

2020, in line with the Consumer Price Index.

In addition to serving members on the traditional range of retirement, labor and other issues, AFSA has greatly strengthened its public advocacy and outreach over the past three years to highlight the contributions the career Foreign Service makes to U.S. national security.

AFSA has worked strategically to leverage our retiree members in this effort, and we thank this cohort for their energetic and effective mobilization.

AFSA and its political action committee also



AFSA/ASGEIR SIGFUSSON

The 2019-2021 Governing Board is sworn in at AFSA headquarters July 15. Front row (from left): Steve Herman, Kristin Michelle Roberts, Virginia Bennett, Eric Rubin, Jay Carreiro, Mary Daly and Tom Yazdgerdi. Back row (from left): Jason Singer, Joshua Archibald, John Naland, Ken Kero-Mentz and Tamir Waser.

continued to work closely with Congress to ensure active bipartisan support for a professional Foreign Service and on issues of importance to its members.

Significant, unanticipated legal needs for some members in the latter half of 2019 were more than offset by the exceptional generosity of donors. Contributors to the Legal Defense Fund included AFSA members and the broader FS community, as well as other Americans who support the Foreign Service.

By the end of 2019, AFSA's LDF had received about \$600,000 in donations and spent roughly \$135,000 (a figure net of any December invoices) on legal assistance for members. The level of continuing requirements in this regard is unclear as of this writ-

ing, but the LDF experience underscores how important it is to maintain robust operating reserves to draw on should urgent unanticipated needs arise.

Fund Operations

Overall, AFSA's funds posted a 19.2 percent gain in 2019, closing at a year-end level of approximately \$15.25 million. Fund balances are invested with professional fund managers and are balanced for asset growth and prudent preservation. Fund management fees totaled approximately \$100,000 in 2019.

Operating Reserve.

AFSA's reserve fund was valued at approximately \$3.6 million at year end. The reserve fund's current level permits a measure of confidence that AFSA will

be able to meet unexpected needs, and AFSA will seek to build up its operating reserves further through prudent stewardship of all its resources.

Scholarship Fund. This 501(c)(3) entity was founded in 1924 to help children of Foreign Service members pay for college. The fund has grown substantially over the decades and stood at \$10.7 million at the end of 2019.

In 2019, the Scholarship Fund awarded \$212,540 in needs-based financial aid and \$139,500 in merit scholarships.

The fund annually withdraws 4.5 percent of its 5-year average value to fund scholarships to Foreign Service children and partially underwrite the operating expenses of the scholarship program. Demand in

the form of applications for scholarship monies has remained relatively flat over the years.

Fund for American Diplomacy. The FAD's mission is to help educate the American public about the role of the Foreign Service and diplomacy as a tool of America's influence on the global stage. At the end of 2019, the FAD stood at \$462,164.

Through the fund, we are working to provide sustained support for continuing and expanding the strong public outreach that AFSA has led over the past several years, which has been underwritten by internal funding shifts.

The approved 2020 AFSA operating budget dedicates approximately \$420,000 to FAD activities, the costs of which will largely be underwritten by transfers from the operating reserve.

AFSA strongly encourages donations to the Fund for American Diplomacy, which is organized as a 501(3)(c). Your donations will assist AFSA's continued work to improve public knowledge about the vital contributions made by U.S. diplomats to preserving U.S. security and prosperity.

Sinclair Fund. AFSA also maintains the Matilda W. Sinclair Fund, which is intended to support excellence in foreign language achievement. AFSA draws on that fund annually to pay for language achievement awards. The Sinclair Fund ended 2019 with \$494,055. ■

Congress Passes 2020 Appropriations Package, Including 2.6 Percent Pay Increase

In late December, Congress passed—and the president signed—the final Fiscal Year 2020 appropriations package, which fended off a government shutdown and provides federal funding until Oct. 1. The package consists of two separate bills that together contain all 12 appropriations bills.

In the final FY2020 package, the international affairs budget totals \$56.6 billion, a slight increase above the FY2019 level.

Department of State/USAID funding totals \$54.7

billion, of which \$47.6 billion is base discretionary funding and \$8 billion is Overseas Contingency Operations funding.

Overseas Programs, the funding stream for sending members of the Foreign Service to posts abroad, increased by more than \$500 million from the FY2019 level.

The package also includes congressional language for State and USAID funds to restore the number of Foreign Service officers to pre-hiring freeze levels, con-

sistent with staffing levels funded in FY2016.

Additionally, the package contains the Championing American Business Through Diplomacy Act, a key AFSA priority highlighting the importance of economic diplomacy in an increasingly competitive world.

This bill increases economic and commercial diplomacy training, seeks to improve awareness of government services that support U.S. businesses overseas and provides for whole-of-government coor-

dination and consultation to support American business interests.

Finally, the appropriations package includes a 2.6-percent across-the-board increase in base pay, with an additional 0.5 percent in locality adjustments, for a total average pay raise of 3.1 percent for federal civilian employees.

AFSA is grateful for Congress' commitment to robust funding for the international affairs budget, our diplomatic corps and development programs. ■

Hatch Act: What Every Employee Needs to Know

With less than a year to go before the 2020 general election, Ana Galindo-Marrone—chief of the Hatch Act Unit at the Office of Special Counsel—shared guidance at AFSA headquarters on Dec. 3 about how the Hatch Act applies to members of the U.S. Foreign Service. Some key points from Ms. Galindo-Marrone's presentation follow.

Whether on or off duty, Foreign Service employees are prohibited at all times from tweeting, retweeting, sharing or liking a post or content that solicits financial contributions for a partisan political candidate/party/

group. Employees are also prohibited from becoming a candidate for public office in a partisan election.

While on duty or in the workplace, Foreign Service employees are prohibited from engaging in partisan political activity via social media. This means employees cannot share, like or retweet posts from a partisan political candidate or group. Employees also cannot post or retweet a comment directed at the success or failure of a partisan political candidate or group.

While in the United States and outside of the workplace, FS employees may:

- have campaign bumper stickers on their personal vehicles;
- display campaign signs at their home;
- follow, like or comment on the social media pages of a candidate for partisan office, political party or partisan group;
- attend political rallies, meetings and/or fundraisers,



Ana Galindo-Marrone discusses the Hatch Act at AFSA headquarters on Dec. 3.

Updates to the 2019 AFSA Tax Guide

On Dec. 20, shortly after the 2019 AFSA Tax Guide (January-February FSJ) went to press, President Trump signed H.R. 1865, the Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, into law. While most of its provisions become effective in tax year 2020, a few of them may impact some taxpayers for the 2019 tax season.

The section of the AFSA Tax Guide titled “Medical and Dental: Deduct for Expenses Over 10 Percent of AGI” (p. 70) has changed. In 2019 and 2020, taxpayers may deduct medical and dental expenses to the extent they exceed 7.5 percent of adjusted gross

income. The new provision is set to expire in 2021, at which point that floor will revert back to 10 percent in the absence of additional legislation.

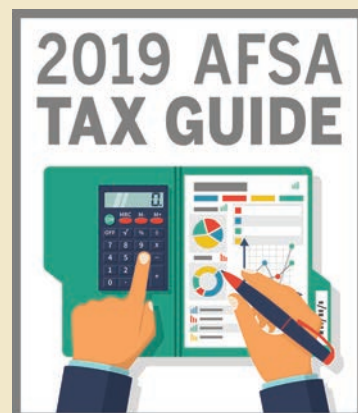
The legislation also extends several expired tax provisions. For example, it allows taxpayers to exclude the discharge of indebtedness from a qualified principal residence, which had been discontinued as of Jan. 1, 2018. The new law allows a taxpayer to exclude any such gain until Jan. 1, 2021, retroactively reviving this provision from 2018 through 2020.

The bill also provides tax

relief for individuals whose principal place of abode was in a presidentially declared disaster area during the incident period of a qualified disaster from Jan. 1, 2018, through Feb. 18, 2020.

In relevant part, it permits those who qualify to take IRC Sec. 72(t) withdrawals of up to \$100,000 per qualifying disaster that affects them from certain retirement plans, among other disaster-related benefits.

AFSA recommends IRS Publication 547 “Casualties,



Disasters, and Thefts” and associated IRS product pages to members who believe they may qualify for some disaster-related tax relief. ■

as long as they are not wearing a uniform or anything identifying their position as a federal employee;

- work as campaign volunteers, distribute campaign literature/organize campaign events/speak on behalf of a candidate;
- campaign for or against referendum questions, constitutional amendments or municipal ordinances; or
- be a candidate in a non-partisan election.

While overseas, Foreign Service employees are subject to prohibitions under the Foreign Affairs Manual that would not necessarily apply to them if they were in the United States. Specifically, 3 FAM 4123.3 prohibits U.S.

citizen employees and their family members from engaging in partisan political activities (related to U.S. elections) while serving abroad.

This prohibition includes putting up yard signs or bumper stickers supporting a particular political candidate/party/group or attending campaign rallies or fundraisers. As a general rule, any activity that would appear to a foreign observer to be obviously partisan should be avoided.

You can find a copy of the PowerPoint presentation Ms. Galindo-Marrone shared during the presentation, as well as other Hatch Act guidance, at afsa.org/hatchact. ■



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, Jan. 15, 2020

Legal Defense Fund: The Governing Board ratified decisions by the Legal Defense Fund Committee to pay \$26,000 for legal expenses incurred by one member, and to accept donations to the fund of \$5,500 and \$10,000. ■



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, Dec. 18, 2019

Legal Defense Fund: The Governing Board ratified decisions by the Legal Defense Fund Committee to accept a \$100,000 donation and a \$10,000 donation, and to expend funds for two members who testified during the impeachment hearings. ■

Helping do what's best for you...

Financial Analysis

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

Services Include:

- › Tax Preparation
- › Financial Analysis
- › Retirement Analysis
- › Lump Sum Retirement Options

MARY CORNELIA GINN

10303 Greenwood Place
Oakton, Virginia 22124
Phone: (703) 938-0074
Email: mcgfin@verizon.net

Windecker Financial Planning LLC

Financial Planning & Investment Advisory Services



CASHFLOW & BUDGETS	INVESTMENT ADVICE
RETIREMENT PLANNING	HOME FINANCING
COLLEGE SAVING	ESTATE PLANNING
INSURANCE PLANNING	TAX PLANNING

Independent, Fiduciary, Fee-only Financial Planner
30+ Years Living and Working Overseas
Focused on Foreign Service Professionals

GEORGE WINDECKER, PRINCIPAL
(571) 310-3520
GWINDECKER@WINDECKERFP.PRO



VISIT US AT WWW.WINDECKERFP.PRO

AFSA NEWS

Remembering Anthony Bishop, AFGE State Vice President

AFSA mourns the loss of Anthony Bishop, the State vice president for the American Federation of Government Employees Local 1534. Mr. Bishop died on Jan. 20. He was 59.

Mr. Bishop joined the State Department as a fiscal technician in the Foreign Service Institute's budget office in 1998, after a lengthy military career that began in 1979.

He became the interim State first vice president for AFGE Local 1534 and was elected into that position in 2006. He was reelected six times, becoming the longest-serving AFGE State vice president.

"Toney believed in the power of collective bargaining, and working with other federal government employee unions—including AFSA—on matters of mutual interest," said AFSA President Eric Rubin. "His advocacy will be deeply missed."

AFGE is the Civil Service equivalent of AFSA, representing Civil Servants in many of the foreign affairs agencies.

"This is a legacy that we suspect will not be surpassed," the State Department shared in a department notice. "Anthony was very much respected and loved by his constituency, and the management

officials that dealt with him appreciated his ability to collaborate with the intent to reach resolution."

"Toney stood tall as a labor leader interested in finding common ground amongst all employees—whether Foreign Service or Civil Service," said former AFSA State Vice President Matthew Asada. "As leaders of our respective AFGE and AFSA bargaining units, he and I partnered together on initiatives such as the new employee leave bank, co-hosting a USIA film screening to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, and building stronger ties amongst the department's labor unions."

"I got to know him during my term (2013-2015) and remained in touch after I left," Mr. Asada added. "The AFGE and AFSA offices were then located next to each other in the 2nd corridor, and our individual offices within the suites were back-to-back, so I would stop by and chat with him often. What I most appreciated about Toney is that he was willing to take stands and positions that were not politically required, but he did so out of solidarity and a true belief that collective bargaining and employee representation made the department a better place to serve." ■

■ **Timothy Graham Alexander**, 65, a retired Foreign Service officer with USAID, died at his home in Potomac, Md., on Aug. 6, 2019, of cancer.

Mr. Alexander received a bachelor's degree in urban planning from the University of Cincinnati and launched his international career as a U.N. volunteer in Bahrain before earning a master's degree in regional planning and international development from Syracuse University.

As a development consultant for Management Systems International, Mr. Alexander traveled throughout Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific Islands, learning the ropes on projects from rural development in Mauritania to fisheries in Fiji.

After joining USAID in 1989 as an urban planning officer, he was proud to represent the United States and work with local governments to develop infrastructure and clean water and foster democracy and governance, including in conflict zones. He built close bonds with local colleagues who noted his sincerity, good humor and respect for their career development.

Mr. Alexander met his wife, Vickie, in Jakarta in 1991, and they traveled the world together, experiencing different cultures through food and photography while maintaining a home base in Potomac.

Mr. Alexander loved film, martial arts, Southeast Asian culture, Buddhist and Islamic architecture, and classical and world music, particularly Indonesian gamelan and Indian santoor.

Having learned to play golf near the pyramids of Egypt, it was his passion in retirement. He preferred public courses throughout Montgomery County, Md., because he enjoyed engaging in conversation with golfers from all walks of life.

With USAID, Mr. Alexander lived and worked in Bahrain, Malawi, Thailand, Indonesia, Egypt, Armenia, Lebanon and Afghanistan. He retired in 2016.

After his cancer diagnosis in the fall of 2018, Mr. Alexander participated in a Johns Hopkins-Sibley Memorial Hospital immunotherapy clinical trial, knowing that lessons gained from his experience could help others.

Mr. Alexander was preceded in death by his parents, Melville and Roselle Alexander, and is survived by his wife, Vickie Alexander; his twin, Pamela Alexander (and her spouse, Robert Kurz); sisters Deborah Alexander (and her husband, Ralph Mercer) and Robin Alexander Staggs (and her husband, Rod Staggs); parents-in-law Michael and Marjorie Alaimo; sister-in-law Julie Alaimo; seven nieces and nephews; and five grandnieces and nephews.

■ **Claire Mornane Bogosian**, 81, wife of Ambassador (ret.) Richard W. Bogosian, died on Nov. 23, 2019, in Montgomery Village, Md., after a long struggle with Alzheimer's disease.

Ms. Mornane was born in Medford, Mass., on Dec. 20, 1937, to Gertrude and Arthur Mornane. A 1959 graduate of Boston State Teachers College, she taught in public schools in Medford (1959-1961) and Harvey, Ill. (1961-1962); at the American School of Baghdad (1963-1965); and at the Christ Episcopal Day School (1970-1972) in Rockville, Md. Employed by the Montgomery County Recreation Department (1982-1985), she managed programs at county senior centers.

Mrs. Bogosian accompanied her husband to assignments in Baghdad, Paris, Kuwait, Khartoum, Niamey and N'Djamena. Active in community and social affairs, she was vice president of the American Women's Association in Kuwait.

In Niamey and N'Djamena, she organized private financing and devised new programs for both countries' ministries of health. For example, she oversaw the

design and provision of children's beds for hospitals in Niamey, something that had not existed in Niger until then.

During difficult times at hardship posts, especially in Khartoum, Niamey and N'Djamena, Mrs. Bogosian provided support to the American community by opening the ambassador's residence to the community, even feeding dozens of frightened and vulnerable Americans in post-coup N'Djamena in December 1990.

In Niamey she taught sewing to young teens. She was especially attentive to Peace Corps Volunteers in Niger and Chad, and to Americans coping with very stressful environments in Khartoum and N'Djamena.

In the 1990s, Mrs. Bogosian was active in the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. For several years, she managed the Secretary of State's Volunteer of the Year Award. She was a recipient of the award in 2002.

During this period, she was often called on to address the ambassadors' course at the Foreign Service Institute about the role of the ambassador's spouse. She also spoke about Africa at elementary schools in Montgomery County.

Friends remember her as a dedicated teacher, a loving wife and mother, and a mentor and model for younger Foreign Service families.

Mrs. Bogosian leaves behind her husband of 58 years, Richard; her son, David of Brooklyn, N.Y.; her daughters, Jill of Somerville, Mass., and Catherine of Grosse Pointe Woods, Mich.; their spouses; five grandchildren; and her sister, Kathleen Bench, of Winchester, Mass., and her family.

■ **Walter Sheldon Clarke**, 84, a retired Foreign Service officer, died in his sleep at his home in Lutz, Fla., on Nov. 24, 2019.

Born on Dec. 28, 1934, in Washington,

D.C., he graduated from Mercersburg Academy in Mercersburg, Pa., in 1952 and earned a bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1957.

The next year, he began his Foreign Service career at the Department of State with an assignment in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, during which time he obtained a certificate in international studies from Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. Clarke earned a certificate in African studies in 1968 from Northwestern University following tours in San José, Bogotá and Bujumbura. He was subsequently assigned as consul general in Douala, chargé d'affaires in Djibouti and political counselor in Lagos.

Before his retirement in 1994, Mr. Clarke served as political counselor in Madrid and was the State Department adviser at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I., and at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pa.

After retiring, he stayed active in international affairs. He was an independent consultant for political/military exercises around the world and also taught at the University of South Florida and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute.

Mr. Clarke is survived by his wife of 46 years, Chantal; four children; 10 grandchildren; and one sister.

■ **William Neal Goodson**, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer with USAID, passed away peacefully on Dec. 22, 2019, in Virginia.

Mr. Goodson's education included mechanical engineering at Virginia Tech, business administration at The George Washington University and studies at the Foreign Service Institute.

Mr. Goodson spent more than 20 years as a career Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International

Development. He specialized in urban development, in particular ensuring that U.S. assistance for low-income housing adhered to government standards. He served in Jamaica, Argentina and Kenya.

Colleagues remember Mr. Goodson for his gracious approach and ability to bring varying cultures and opinions to common ground.

While his career made him many friends, it was his family that was most important to him. Mr. Goodson enjoyed working in the garden, scuba diving and being near the ocean.

He is survived by his wife, Jean LeDonne Goodson; his children, Lisa Dady (and her husband, John), William Goodson Jr. (and his wife, Wendy) and Robert Goodson (and his wife, Catherine); his sister, Nancy Parrott (and her husband, Maynard); and seven grandchildren.

In lieu of flowers, donations in Mr. Goodson's name may be made to the Alzheimer's Association, Grace Episcopal Church in Alexandria or to the Goodwin House Foundation.

■ **Linda Jewell**, 66, a retired U.S. Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Ecuador, died of cancer on Nov. 18, 2019, in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Jewell was born in Little Rock, Ark. She attended Hall High School and was a member of the third four-year class of women at Yale College, graduating in 1975. She received a master's degree in international public policy from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in 1988.

Beginning her Foreign Service career with the U.S. Information Agency in 1976, she served in cultural and information roles in Jakarta, Mexico City, New Delhi and Warsaw.

In Washington, D.C., she was desk

officer for Mexico and Central America, and deputy director, then director, for the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs.

After USIA was subsumed by the State Department in 1999, Ms. Jewell was assigned as deputy chief of mission in San José. On returning to Washington, D.C., she served as chief of policy planning in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs and, later, as deputy assistant secretary of State for Canada and Mexico.

In 2005 she was appointed U.S. ambassador to Ecuador and served there until 2008. In the course of her career, Ms. Jewell was commended for her efforts to combat human trafficking. She received the Department of State Superior Honor Award and was awarded the Honorato Vasquez Order by the Ecuadorian government.

On retiring from the State Department, Ms. Jewell served as vice president for the International Student Exchange Program. She retired from that position in 2013.

In retirement, she actively promoted U.S. public diplomacy through various organizations, including the Public Diplomacy Council. She also served as board chair of PYXERA Global, a non-profit organization dedicated to mobilizing citizen diplomats to address global challenges.

She was a senior fellow of Yale University's Jackson Center for Global Affairs, and also volunteered her time to assist ICE detainees.

Throughout her career, Ms. Jewell was known for her incisive policy sense, a high degree of integrity, and a fair but forceful management style.

Her love of travel took her around the world several times. She toured extensively in Latin America, Asia and Europe.

She is survived by her husband of 43 years, John Walsh; her children, Susanna

Jewell Walsh of Oakland, Calif., and Patrick Jewell Walsh of Washington, D.C.; a large extended family; and a worldwide circle of friends. She was predeceased by her parents, Robert and Analee Jewell, and her brother, Byron Frank Jewell.

■ **Richard Kinsella**, 97, a retired Foreign Service officer from West Hartford, Conn., passed away on Nov. 13, 2019.

Mr. Kinsella was born in Hartford on Feb. 15, 1922, the eldest of three sons, in addition to two daughters, of the late George F. and Dorothea (Mooney) Kinsella.

After hitchhiking cross-country to California at the age of 18, and following the United States' entrance into World War II in December 1941, Mr. Kinsella

signed on with the U.S. Coast Guard for merchant marine training, reaching the level of deck officer when ordered to active naval duty in late 1950.

When the Korean War began, he was assigned as a lieutenant junior grade to one of the Navy's underwater demolition teams (also known as "frogmen," precursors of today's Navy SEALs) until December 1952.

He then attended Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, graduating with honors in 1955. During a summer session in Mexico City, Mr. Kinsella met and married Conchita Harper Camacho, his wife of more than 60 years.

On graduation from Georgetown, he worked for the Maritime Administration/Federal Maritime Board until 1972,

when he was selected by the Maritime Administration as foreign maritime representative/maritime attaché at the U.S. embassy in Caracas.

In 1976 he was transferred to Consulate General Rio de Janeiro, where he remained until retiring in 1987. He then returned to Connecticut, residing first in Wethersfield until 2005 and then in West Hartford.

In addition to his wife, Conchita, Mr. Kinsella is survived by three sons: Marco, Robert and John; a daughter, Dianne; two grandsons, Matthias and Maximilian; and four granddaughters, Liana (and her husband, William Eller IV), Alaina, Lili and Celine; and great-grandson William Eller.

Charitable contributions may be made to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, 262 Danny Thomas Place, Memphis TN



How would your family pay the bills without you?

AFSPA offers several life insurance policies:

- Term Life Insurance
- AD&D Insurance
- Immediate Benefit Plan (for select agencies only)

Apply Anytime

Learn more at afspa.org/life
or call 202.833.4910.



38105. Visit www.dillonbaxter.com to share a memory with the family.

■ **Nathan Philip Lane**, 48, a Foreign Service officer from Arlington, Va., passed away on Nov. 2, 2019, in Washington, D.C., after an auto accident.

Born in Madison, Wis., Mr. Lane grew up in Lincoln, Neb., and earned a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Nebraska and a master's degree in political science from the University of Illinois.

In 2000, he became a Foreign Service officer with the State Department.

He served in Mexico, Russia, Belarus, Vietnam and, most recently, Kenya. Colleagues remember Mr. Lane for his kindness, generosity and infectious laughter.

Mr. Lane was a lifelong baseball enthusiast, and steadfastly gave his allegiance to the Washington Nationals. A fluent reader of Russian, he loved the novels of Boris Akunin. He enjoyed running and chess, and he especially relished time playing pickup sports with his son.

Mr. Lane is survived by his wife of 23 years, Sara Michael; their son, Peter; his mother, Janie Lane; father, Leslie Lane; stepmother, Judith Lane; and his brother, Zachary Lane.

In lieu of flowers, consider supporting a cause Mr. Lane was passionate about: the scholarship program for Lincoln Northeast High School students to experience life abroad. Donations may be made to the Council on International Educational Exchange, with a note indicating it is in memory of Nathan Lane, online at www.ciee.org/donate-high-school or by mail to CIEE, 300 Fore St., Portland ME 04101.

■ **William "Buzz" Menold**, 75, a retired Foreign Service officer from Burke, Va., died peacefully on Jan. 23,

after a six-year battle with leukemia.

Mr. Menold served for 47 years in the Air Force and State Department. He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1967 until 1975, when he joined the U.S. Foreign Service.

He worked for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which later merged into the State Department. He worked as a Foreign Service officer and, later, in the Civil Service as an expert on multilateral nonproliferation and disarmament issues until his retirement in 2014.

From then until 2017, he returned to State on a part-time basis to help his colleagues on special projects.

Mr. Menold is survived by his wife of 52 years, Mary Jo; and their children, Christopher, Daniel and Jessica.

■ **Lewis P. Reade**, 87, a retired Foreign Service officer of Placitas, N.M., died on Dec. 17, 2019, following a long illness.

Mr. Reade was born on Nov. 1, 1932, in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Dorothy and Herman Reade. He spent his high school and college years in Miami, Fla., graduating from the University of Miami in 1953 with a degree in mechanical engineering. After graduation, he served in the U.S. Army. He was stationed at Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland, where he worked on the development of atomic cannons.

Following military service, Mr. Reade held a number of field engineering positions, and in 1966 he became vice president of Westinghouse Learning Corporation. In the early 1970s, he was a senior executive at Tyco Laboratories and Kellett Corporation.

Starting in 1973, Mr. Reade devoted his career to public service. That year, he became CEO of Big Brothers Association

and, in 1977, presided over its merger with Big Sisters International, a woman-run organization, to form Big Brothers Big Sisters of America.

In 1981 he entered the Foreign Service as a senior officer in the U.S. Agency for International Development, where he remained until his retirement in 1997.

Mr. Reade served as mission director in Kingston (1982-1985), senior deputy assistant administrator for the Private Enterprise Bureau (1985-1986), mission director in Amman (1986-1990), mission director in Jakarta (1990-1992) and director general for the U.S.-Asia Environmental Partnership (1992-1997).

After retiring, Mr. Reade was president and CEO of the Jordan-United States Business Partnership from 1998 to 2000. He also consulted for the United Nations Development Program (2003) and the William Davidson Institute at the University of Michigan (2007-2009).

He participated actively in the greater Albuquerque community and volunteered on the boards of the local Big Brothers Big Sisters and Civitan International organizations, among others.

Mr. Reade was an avid lover of the arts and local history, and he was especially fond of classical music. Among his last words were, "I love Mozart."

Friends and colleagues describe him as "a great gentleman and compassionate leader." They recall his championing of Big Brothers Big Sisters and the fact that he was insightful and always interested in others. They remember, too, his kindness, ability, wit and strong character.

He is survived by his wife of 51 years, Margaret Ann (Peggy); three sons; four grandchildren; two great-grandchildren; and many other loving family and friends.

In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made in Lewis Reade's name to Big Brothers Big Sisters of Central New Mexico.

■ **Thomas J. Wajda**, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Oct. 15, 2019, at his home in Frederick, Md., of complications from Parkinson's disease.

Born one of 10 children on his family's dairy farm in northeastern Ohio, Mr. Wajda joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1963 after receiving a bachelor's degree in political science from Youngstown State University.

He worked in consular affairs in Iran and Afghanistan before volunteering to serve as a refugee adviser in Tay Ninh province during the Vietnam War.

After returning from Vietnam in 1970, Mr. Wajda completed the Harvard Trade Union Program and then served as labor attaché in Senegal and New Zealand. His professional travels during this period also included Papua New Guinea and Antarctica.

In 1979 he earned a master's degree in science and technology policy from The George Washington University. His later career included postings to France and Canada, and key contributions to negotiations concerning the International Space Station and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Wajda retired from the Foreign Service in 1995. In retirement, he returned to his farming roots. He and his wife, Madeline, founded Willow Pond Farm, a certified organic herb farm in Fairfield, Pa., that would be their labor of love.

Inspired by visits to farms in traditional lavender-growing areas in Provence, France, and the northwestern United States, the Wajdas focused on the challenge of cultivating lavender in the rocky soil of Pennsylvania.

They later founded the annual PA Lavender Festival, the first event of its kind in the mid-Atlantic, and hosted this popular regional event until 2015.

At Willow Pond, Mr. Wajda grew more than 100 varieties of lavender, including three cultivars he developed: Madeline Marie, Rebecca Kay and Two Amys. He delighted in sharing his knowledge through a self-published lavender gardener's guide and in lectures and garden tours.

Friends remember his dry sense of humor and wit and his amicable nature.

Mr. Wajda is survived by his wife of 58 years, Madeline Lyle Wajda; three children, Rebecca Kay Gwynn, Thomas J. Wajda Jr. (and his wife, Linda) and Amy Zoe Wajda (and her spouse, Amy Gotwals); five grandchildren, Peter, Michael and Samuel Wajda and Charles and Ruth Wajda-Gotwals; as well as one brother, Edward Wajda (and his wife, Phyllis), and two sisters, Sally Ashelman (and her husband, Keith) and June Byo (and her husband, Bill).

He was preceded in death by son-in-law Thomas M. Gwynn III, three sisters and three brothers.

In lieu of flowers, the family has established the Thomas J. Wajda Foreign Affairs Scholarship at the Youngstown State University Foundation, 655 Wick Avenue, Youngstown OH 44502. Online condolences may be shared at www.keeneybasford.com.

■ **James Allen Wedberg**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development, died on March 8, 2019, in Maryland of cancer.

Born in California to Swedish American parents, Mr. Wedberg won a four-year sports scholarship to George Pepperdine College (now Pepperdine University), where he majored in sociology with a minor in mathematics. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1956 to 1958, studying

city and regional planning. His studies were interrupted by service as a cartographer in the U.S. Army.

Mr. Wedberg also spent the summer of 1957 in Towson, Md., on housing development. Later, while en route to Nevada, he stopped in at the city planning office in Kansas City, Mo., where he was offered—and accepted—the job of designing the master regional plan for Clay County.

The one-year task included a plan for the region's new international airport and the surrounding farmland acreage. He subsequently returned to MIT to pursue doctoral studies.

Mr. Wedberg studied regional development in Norway as a 1958-1959 Fulbright scholar. That was followed by a year's grant to Sweden to study land use and ownership.

Idealism and a lifelong love of travel (which took him to nearly every country on all six continents, including hitchhiking through 35 African countries in 1960 and 1961) reinforced his commitment to supporting developing nations.

In 1966 Mr. Wedberg joined USAID. He served in Washington, D.C., as country program/desk officer for Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cameroon and the Central African Republic.

He served overseas in Vietnam, Tanzania, Afghanistan (where he met his wife, Malla) and Mauritania. In 1985 he retired.

Mr. Wedberg was laid to rest, with military honors, in Quantico National Cemetery in Triangle, Va. He is survived by his wife, Malla Wedberg; stepdaughter and son-in-law, Mashal and David Hartman; a sister and brother-in-law, Nancy and (ret.) Lt. Col. Lawrence Zitrain; and nieces, nephews and their families. ■

What Happened to the “Inevitable” March of Liberal Democracy?

The Light that Failed: A Reckoning

Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes,
Allen Lane (UK Edition), 2019,
£20/hardcover, 256 pages.

REVIEWED BY ERIC GREEN

This wasn't the plan. The collapse of communism in 1989 was supposed to spur the inexorable march of liberal democracy in Central Europe and beyond. That euphoria is now being supplanted with soul-searching and despair as the liberal order that seemed unstoppable 30 years ago is receding in the face of authoritarian populism.

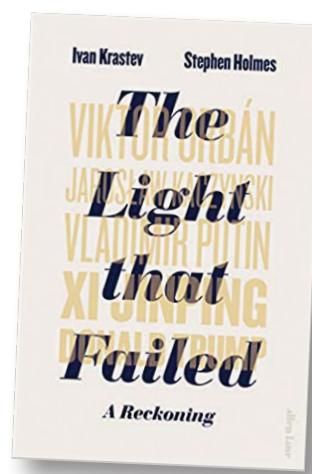
Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, the authors of *The Light that Failed*, approach the question of “What happened?” with uncommon humility and erudition. Krastev, a Bulgaria-born scholar who runs the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, and Holmes, a law professor at New York University, use the notion of “imitation” as a device to examine three phenomena: democratic backsliding in Central Europe; Russia's aggression against the West; and the revolt in the United States against globalization.

The authors believe the assumption that liberalism had gained an ideological monopoly in Central Europe that mandated newly free countries to adopt it—the “Imitation Imperative”—engendered feelings of inferiority and resentment among large segments of the population. In particular, people outside urban centers felt many of the values espoused by the European Union, such as equal rights for gay people, offended their traditions.

Focusing on Poland and Hungary, the

authors zero in on their fraught relations with Germany, which earned its privileged status within Europe by embracing a postnationalist ethos as atonement for the crimes of World War II. Not surprisingly, political entrepreneurs in Poland and elsewhere found opposing European Union (particularly German) meddling and embracing nationalism to be a platform to defeat technocrats they portrayed as lackeys of Brussels.

The authors probably overplay the East-West divisions in the E.U. While some Western Europeans undoubtedly condescend toward their formerly communist neighbors, it's important to remember that income and cultural differences within the bloc predated its



A more profound question raised by the authors is whether liberal democracy's strength is atrophying in the absence of its former sparring partner, Soviet communism.

eastern expansion, and earlier E.U. entrants and their citizens undoubtedly felt bulldozed by the established members of the club. Moreover, the revolt against the perception of liberalism's hegemony is not confined to the former communist countries.

Regarding Russia, Krastev and Holmes believe its authoritarian traditions and superpower pretensions meant that genuine integration with the West was never in the cards. But, they argue, in the 1990s the Russian elite temporarily imitated democracy to appease the West while Moscow

struggled to overcome its weakness, and its elite appropriated valuable state-owned property.

Because the 1990s were so traumatic, both bandit capitalism *and* democracy were widely discredited. Cue to a shirtless former KGB agent on horseback.

By 2011-2012, Putin had lost all interest in even democratic charades and transitioned from insincere imitating to “mirroring,” wherein Russia overtly mimics allegedly perfidious American behavior such as election interference or military intervention. As any viewer of RT television can attest, the goal of this mimicry is to stoke disharmony and doubt in the West, rather than to advance any discernible Russian national interest.

The authors portray the seemingly chronic tensions as all but inevitable given the West's naivete and Russia's entrenched pathologies. But, as an optimistic Russia hand, I can attest that we and our European partners made numerous good-faith efforts to create win-win outcomes for both sides. This became progressively harder, however, as Moscow came to view the relationship as a zero-sum contest.

Turning to the United States, Krastev and Holmes seek to explain why so many Americans now reject globalization—i.e., their own country's decades-

long commitment to reproduce the American model of free-market democracy around the world. They recite familiar indictments to explain this phenomenon, such as growing fears about immigration and competition from China. They also include a fascinating reading of Spike Lee's film "BlacKkKlansman" to discuss the status anxiety of some white Americans.

The book's most disquieting thesis is that Americans are renouncing their role of, in Woodrow Wilson's words, carrying "liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go." The authors back up their argument with presidential statements declaiming America's status as a "normal" country—i.e., a country that behaves ruthlessly and amorally in pursuit of its interests—rather than upholding its status as a shining exemplar to the world.

Some form of anti-exceptionalism (call it isolationism or realpolitik) has always existed in the United States, and it's only natural that such sentiments would wax now, in the era of open-ended wars in the Middle East, political sclerosis and economic insecurity. But let's also remember that some 90 percent of Americans support our country playing a global leadership role. On this question, American history flows in cycles.

A more profound question raised by the authors is whether liberal democracy's strength is atrophying in the absence of its former sparring partner, Soviet communism, which previously prompted us to live up to our ideals, conscious that we were in an existential competition with a force bent on undermining them.

Though the Cold War is over, George Kennan's warning stands: "The greatest

danger that can befall us in coping with ... Soviet communism is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping." Exhibit A is the assault on truth, the twisting of reality to serve partisan or personal agendas, turbocharged by social media.

Suffused with original thought and sources from literary theory, psychology and other disciplines, *The Light that Failed* enriches our understanding of Europe and the history of ideas. But one clear message is hardly new: nationalism in all its varieties (e.g., ethnic, populist, linguistic) seems destined to remain one of the motive forces of history for the foreseeable future.

The authors remind us that nationalism provided much of the energy that defeated communism. More recently, it has been harnessed to promote Brexit and fuel resurgent tension between Korea and Japan, to give just two examples.

Rather than declaring nationalism outdated or bigoted, perhaps liberal internationalists should heed Jill Lepore's advice (*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2019) and develop a "liberal nationalism" to contend with the illiberal strain that has ascended—not for the first time—in the United States and elsewhere.

Eric Green is an FSO now serving as an associate dean in the Foreign Service Institute's Leadership and Management School. His previous assignments include serving as deputy chief of mission in Warsaw and director of the Office of Russian Affairs. He is a former member and chair of the FSJ Editorial Board. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government.

A Special Class of Diplomat

The Ambassadors: America's Diplomats on the Front Lines

Paul Richter, Simon & Schuster, 2019, \$28/hardcover, \$14.99/Kindle, 352 pages.

REVIEWED BY GORDON GRAY

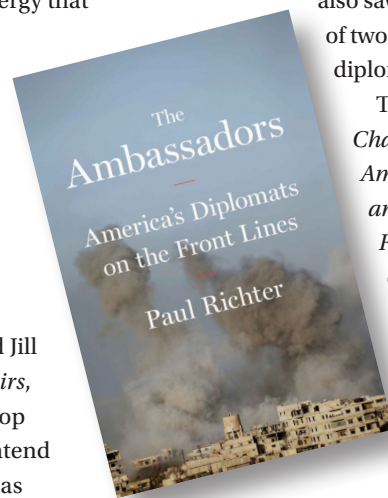
2019 was the year of the diplomat. Specifically, it was the year that the professionalism, patriotism and fact-based approach of public servants was thrust into the limelight by circumstances far beyond the diplomats' control. And fortunately for Foreign Service officers and members of the public alike, 2019

also saw the publication of two superb accounts of diplomatic work.

The first was *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal* by career diplomat (and former Deputy Secretary of State) William Burns. Several months later, former *Los Angeles Times*

national security correspondent Paul Richter released *The Ambassadors*, a wonderful complement to *The Back Channel* and no less important.

Richter does not delve into Washington policymaking to the degree Ambassador Burns does (see the review of *The Back Channel* in the October 2019 FSJ). Instead, he vividly illuminates diplomatic work overseas by profiling four Foreign Service officers who sought the toughest assignments available, from Libya to Pakistan: Ryan Crocker, Robert Ford, Anne Patter-



son and Chris Stevens. (Full disclosure: I worked with each of the four, and the author interviewed me for the book.)

As of this writing, U.S. combat troops are still on the ground in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, three of the countries Richter highlights.

Ryan Crocker served as ambassador to Iraq and Afghanistan and four other countries in the region, appointed by both Republican and Democratic presidents. Having served in Iraq when Saddam Hussein ruled the country, Crocker forecasted with prescience the dangerous forces the United States would unleash were it to invade that country.

Notwithstanding the haughty dismissal of his advice by political appoin-

I hope that everyone who is unfamiliar with the ways of Washington reads *The Ambassadors*, because it conveys the professional ethos of the Foreign Service: courage, honesty and patriotism.

tees senior to him, Crocker served in Baghdad two more times. Richter quotes him sharing his misgivings about the imminent invasion with his staff, then telling them: "We're each going to have to make a decision whether we can support this, whether we can continue. I'm a Foreign Service Officer; I'm going to serve my president" (p. 37).

Robert Ford also had "grave doubts" about the invasion but volunteered anyway, Richter says, knowing that

Arabic speakers were needed (p. 47).

After five tours in Iraq, Ford served as the last U.S. ambassador to Syria, where he distinguished himself by supporting anti-regime demonstrators at great personal risk. The Assad regime retaliated by orchestrating an attack on the U.S. embassy. As the situation deteriorated, Ford and his staff had to leave Syria to ensure their safety.

In Washington, Ford continued his work as de facto U.S. ambassador to the



Explore



afspa.org/aip



Dental AFSPA offers four dental plans to meet the needs of our worldwide membership - Cigna International, Cigna HMO, Cigna PPO, and Dominion National.



Tax Consulting AFSPA offers members a complimentary 20-minute consultation for all your tax questions and a 10% discount on standard hourly rates.



Members of Household Health coverage designed for family members - this includes domestic partners, parents, and dependent children who accompany the employee overseas, but who do not qualify for coverage under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHB).



Group Term Life Insurance AFSPA's policy offers a term life insurance that provides you and your family protection up to \$600,000. It allows early access to a portion of your benefits to use towards chronic and terminal illness.



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



Discount Care Programs AFSPA offers a three-in-one package discount plan for purchase. It includes savings on dental, vision, and LASIK. (For U.S. members only)

Some restrictions apply.

Syrian opposition, but grew increasingly frustrated: “He sensed he was making no headway and found it agonizing to hear the complaints of the Syrians and watch the war’s destruction at close range” (p. 270). Soon after, he retired.

Like Crocker and Ford, Anne Patterson sought only the most challenging assignments; she served as ambassador to (among other places) Colombia, Pakistan and Egypt.

Patterson was just as comfortable sharing her unvarnished views with Washington as she was delivering tough messages to Pakistan’s chief of army staff (Ashfaq Kayani) or Egypt’s newly elected president from the Muslim Brotherhood (Mohamed Morsi). In a speech before the 2013 military coup in Egypt, Patterson warned that “a military intervention is not the answer, as some would claim” (p. 252). Her words continue to resonate years later.

The fourth ambassador portrayed in this book, the late Chris Stevens, served in Libya three times: as deputy chief of mission, as the U.S. envoy to the Libyan opposition during the waning days of the Gaddafi regime and, finally, as ambassador in 2012.

Stevens shared the same apprehensions about the U.S. invasion of Iraq as Crocker, Ford and other Arabists, but he chose not to serve there. Like them, however, he displayed the same sense of personal courage and mission focus.

On returning to Libya in 2012, Richter notes, Stevens told a former aide: “I had a role in getting rid of Gaddafi, and now my mission is to rebuild the country” (p. 191). He gave his life in service to that mission on Sept. 11, 2012, in Benghazi, when the U.S. compound there was attacked. He and three other Americans were killed.

While these four outstanding ambassadors have quite different personalities,

they share several critical traits. First, they all pursued assignments in posts that were not only challenging but also dangerous. FSOs may be reluctant to talk about bravery, but one should never take their courage for granted.

Second, they never shrank from calling it as they saw it, even when (as was so often the case) their informed views went against Washington orthodoxy. Third, and finally, they all believed that the United States can make a positive difference by playing a leading role in international affairs. This view was the foundation of their public service.

Recent events have reminded us that the values held by the four figures profiled by Richter are also shared by many others who serve our country. The honesty and integrity of the public servants who testified before Congress in November 2019 came as no surprise to those who know them personally.

I hope that everyone who is unfamiliar with the ways of Washington reads *The Ambassadors* because it conveys the professional ethos of the Foreign Service: courage, honesty and patriotism.

The book’s cover photograph shows an attack on the outskirts of Damascus. Asked in an interview why he chose it, Richter responded: “It illustrates the idea that these are a special class of diplomat who are attracted to work on the front lines.”

In *The Ambassadors*, Richter does a masterful job explaining and describing what motivates this “special class of diplomat,” which makes this book so relevant today. ■

Gordon Gray is the chief operating officer at the Center for American Progress. He was a career Foreign Service officer who served as U.S. ambassador to Tunisia at the start of the Arab Spring and as deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern affairs.

100 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

INCLUDING SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
OF CURATED ARTICLES



THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
DIGITAL ARCHIVE

A treasure trove of primary source material and wisdom, this digital archive is a rich legacy of the U.S. Foreign Service, diplomacy and the American Foreign Service Association.

afsa.org/fsj-archive
afsa.org/fsj-special-collections

Partner with
an experienced
team you can trust
while you are overseas.

Comprehensive Leasing & Management
Plans with No Hidden Fees
First month management fee is FREE



Trusted since 2006



RICHEY
PROPERTY MANAGEMENT, LLC

See what Career Ambassadors are saying about
us at www.richey.com/foreignservice



Contact us for a **FREE** in-home consultation
703.721.7233 or PMinfo@RicheyPM.com



See our unique State Department offers
at JackRealtyGroup.com/State.php



Or email us at State@JackRealtyGroup.com
or contact us by phone 202-364-3066

SALES • RENTALS • MANAGEMENT

- Residential Property Management
(Washington DC, Maryland and Virginia)
- Specialists in Long Term Diplomatic Leasing
- Experienced Leasing Agents
- Boutique Service
- Automated Clearing House (ACH) Rent Payments
- Online Account Access
- Secure Leases



You're in luck...



with WJD!

Our reputation speaks for itself as we celebrate more than 35 years of service.

WJD Management

Residential property management and leasing specialists serving all of Northern Virginia and clients around the globe.

Property Management is our only business!

Get to know us at wjdpm.com or email our Director of Operations Gina Talotta at gina@wjdpm.com.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES

WMSTM

ASSET AND PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Since 1983, Washington Management Services has been connecting residential property owners with qualified, responsible tenants in the DC metropolitan area. Let us show you why we are the partner of choice for Foreign Service residential property owners and tenants.



4405 EAST WEST HIGHWAY
NUMBER 306
BETHESDA MD 20814

PHONE 301 654 1400
FAX 301 654 1426
WWW.WMSDC.COM

MOVING?



TAKE AFSA WITH YOU!

Send your address updates to member@afsa.org

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LEGAL SERVICES

ATTORNEY WITH OVER 25 YEARS' successful experience SPECIALIZING FULL-TIME IN FS GRIEVANCES will more than double your chance of winning: 30% of grievants win before the Grievance Board; 85% of my clients win. Only a private attorney can adequately develop and present your case, including necessary regs, arcane legal doctrines, precedents and rules.



Call Bridget R. Mugane at:
Tel: (301) 596-0175 or (202) 387-4383.
Email: fsatty@comcast.net
Website: foreignservicelawyer.com

EXPERIENCED ATTORNEYS REPRESENTING FS officers in grievances, performance, promotion and tenure, financial claims, discrimination, security clearance and disciplinary actions. We represent FS officers at all stages of the proceedings from an investigation, issuance of proposed discipline or initiation of a grievance, through hearing before the FSGB. We provide experienced, timely and knowledgeable advice to employees from junior untenured officers through the Senior FS, and often work closely with AFSA.

Kalijarvi, Chuzy, Newman & Fitch
Tel: (202) 331-9260.
Email: attorneys@kcnlaw.com

General civil and criminal. Wills, trusts, and probate for DC and VA residents. FS-related issues, including clearances and whistle-blower. Free phone consultation.

Contact: **Law Office of Russell Bikoff**. Former FSO.
Tel: (202) 466-8270, ext. 4.
Email: BikoffLaw@verizon.net
Website: www.BikoffLaw.com

PET TRANSPORTATION

PET SHIPPING WORLDWIDE: ACTION PET EXPRESS. Veteran owned since 1969.

Tel: (888) 318-9696.
Email: info@actionpetexpress.com
Website: www.actionpetexpress.com



PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Former FSJ Editor and author available to help with your memoir, novel or article. Whether you need editorial guidance, copy-editing or just an objective eye, I'm here for you. Rates negotiable.

Steven Alan Honley
Tel: (202) 479-9114.
Email: SAHonley@his.com

REAL ESTATE

Tom was my "go to" Realtor in Northern Virginia for 25+ years. Posted overseas, having access to an ethical Realtor who understood our needs and profession, could offer advice on residential and investor real estate and trends, paid attention to detail, and could be unconditionally trusted was invaluable to my family. As a retired SFSO and full-service VA-licensed Realtor, I provide this same service but at your pace. Please contact me to learn more about how my personalized service differentiates.

ALAN DAVIS, REALTOR*
Long & Foster
Burke/Fairfax Station/Clifton
6045 Burke Centre Parkway, Burke VA 22015
Cell/Text: (571) 229-6821.
Email: alandavisrealtor@gmail.com
Website: www.alandavisrealtor.com

FLORIDA'S PARADISE COAST—Naples, Bonita Springs, Estero
Excellent amenities, activities, cultural events in beautiful Southwest Florida. Outstanding home values.

Thomas M. Farley, LLC. Retired SFS.
Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices Florida Realty.
Email: tomfarley@BHHSFloridaRealty.net

SUNNYSIDE PROPERTY. Over 30 furnished Arlington VA Walk-to-Metro rentals. We own and manage all our properties. Studio to 5 BR houses. Unique renovated, maintained homes in vintage buildings. Completely furnished, all inclusive (parking, utilities, maid). Starting at \$2,500/mo. We work with per diem. Welcoming Foreign Service for 10+ years!

For all listings/reservations:
Website: <http://www.SunnysideProperty.net>

Want to buy or sell **property in Virginia**? This FSO (ret.) with 20 years of real estate experience is available and happy to help.

David Olinger GRI, Long & Foster, Realtors
Tel: (703) 864-3196.
Email: David.olinger@LNF.com
Website: <https://www.longandfoster.com/DaveOlinger>

MARBELLA, SPAIN RENTAL
FSO-owned 4BR TH 300 meters from Mediterranean.
From \$118 per day.

Website: <http://bit.ly/marbellaspainrental>

HEADING OUT? HEADING "HOME" TO DC? As an immigrant and Foreign Service spouse, I know what a hassle international moves can be—especially without a GSO or CLO! Whether you're looking to buy, sell or rent, in DC or VA, I can help smooth your transition. For a realtor who understands the unique needs and strains of Foreign Service life, just call Marian!

McEneaney Associates
Tel: (703) 967-1796.
Email: MThompson@McEneaney.com
Website: www.justcallMarian.com

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

IRVING CPA, PLLC. Scott Irving, CPA, has more than 20 years of experience and specializes in Foreign Service family tax preparation and tax planning.

Tel: (202) 257-2318.
Email: info@irvingcom.com
Website: www.irvingcpa.pro

Joel Cassman CPA LLC. Retired Foreign Service Officer with 30+ years tax experience. Specializes in international and real estate tax issues.

Tel: (571) 221-0784.
Email: joelcassmancpa@yahoo.com
Website: www.JoelCassmanCPA.com

PROFESSIONAL TAX RETURN PREPARATION Arthur A. Granberg, EA, ATA, ATP, has more than 40 years of experience in public tax practice. Our Associates include EAs & CPAs. Our rate is \$150 per hour; most FS returns take just 3-4 hours. Located near Ballston Mall and Metro station.

Tax Matters Associates PC
4600 N. Fairfax Drive, Suite 414
Arlington VA 22203
Tel: (703) 522-3828.
Fax: (703) 522-5726.
Email: aag8686tma@gmail.com

TEMPORARY HOUSING

CORPORATE APARTMENT SPECIALISTS. Abundant experience with Foreign Service professionals. We work with sliding scales. TDY per diems accepted. We have the locations to best serve you: Foggy Bottom (walking to Main State), Woodley Park, Chevy Chase and several Arlington locations convenient to NFATC. Wi-Fi and all furnishings, houseware, utilities, telephone and cable included.

Tel: (703) 979-2830 or (800) 914-2802.
Fax: (703) 979-2813.
Email: sales@corporateapartments.com
Website: www.corporateapartments.com

DC GUEST APARTMENTS. Not your typical “corporate” apartments—we’re different! Located in Dupont Circle, we designed our apartments as places where we’d like to live and work—beautifully furnished and fully equipped (including Internet & satellite TV). Most importantly, we understand that occasionally needs change, so we never penalize you if you leave early. You only pay for the nights you stay, even if your plans change at the last minute. We also don’t believe in minimum stays or extra charges like application or cleaning fees.

Tel: (202) 536-2500.
Email: DCDIGS@gmail.com
Website: www.dcguestapartments.com

DCLuxe Properties. Washington, D.C., corporate housing, offering large fully furnished and generously equipped one- and two-bedroom units in the heart of the popular Dupont Circle neighborhood. In-unit washer/dryer, cable TV, high-speed internet and weekly housekeeping are standard amenities. Your privacy is important to us—no shared spaces or large apartment buildings. The subway, grocery stores, drug stores, dry cleaners and restaurants are all within 3 blocks of your unit. We have more than 20 years of experience with USG sliding-scale per diem.

See dcluxe.com for more information and photos; contact us at host@dcluxe.com.
Live like a local!

MCLEAN 2-BED APARTMENT. Quiet, secluded alternative to corporate housing. Long/short-term rental, rates negotiable. Experience hosting Foreign Service members—close to DC, Arlington.

For pictures and details, go to our Airbnb link: www.bit.ly/mcleanairbnb

Contact: Melanie Houghton
Tel: (202) 903-3544.
Email: melanieahoughton@gmail.com

Reach Your Target Audience with
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PICK YOUR CATEGORY:
BOOKS
LEGAL SERVICES
REAL ESTATE
TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES
TEMPORARY HOUSING
TRANSPORTATION
... AND MORE!

Maximize Your Message with
DISPLAY ADVERTISING

To advertise, contact Molly Long, ads@afsa.org
or call (202) 719-9706 today!

HONORING EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE

Nominations for AFSA's 2020 Exemplary Performance Awards Are Now Being Accepted.

These six awards are meant to highlight the professionalism and spirit of service and volunteerism found within the Foreign Service community.

These awards honor community liaison officers, office management specialists, family members, and AFSA post representatives for their important contributions at work, at home and in the community at large.

In addition, we also honor (non-monetary) contributions to AFSA and those who have excelled in the advancement of democracy.

PERFORMANCE AWARDS

The Mark Palmer Award

The Nelson B. Delavan Award

The M. Juanita Guess Award

The Avis Bohlen Award

The AFSA Achievement and Contributions to the Association Award

The Post Representative of the Year Award

MORE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE
AT WWW.AFSA.ORG/AWARDS.
THE DEADLINE FOR NOMINATIONS
IS MAY 15, 2020.

Questions? Contact Theo Horn, Awards & Scholarships Manager, at horn@afsa.org or (202) 719-9705.

AD INDEX

When contacting one of our advertisers, kindly mention you saw their advertisement in *The Foreign Service Journal*.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Apply for an AFSA Scholarship / 47
Exemplary Performance Award Nominations / 84
Foreign Service Day 2020 / 52

CLASSIFIED ADS

Classifieds / 82, 83

FINANCIAL

MCG Financial Planning / 70
State Department Federal Credit Union / 31
Windecker Financial Planning / 70

HOUSING

Arlington Court Suites / 29
Corporate Apartment Specialists / 37

INSURANCE

AFSPA–Dental / 33
AFSPA–Ancillary Programs / 78
AFSPA–Life / 73
Clements Worldwide / 3
Federal Employment Defense Service (FEDS) / 21,
Back Cover

MISCELLANEOUS

Address Change / 81
AFSA Legal Defense Fund / 13
Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST) / 34
English for the Job / 34
FSJ Archives / 79
FSJ Marketplace / 17
FSJ Subscription / Inside Front Cover
Fund for American Diplomacy / Inside Back Cover

REAL ESTATE & PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Chambers Theory / 4
Jack Realty Group / 80
PEAKE Management / 37
Property Specialists, Inc. / 13
Richey Property Management / 80
Washington Management Services / 81
WJD Management / 81

Sprint Training for Distance Runners

BY KATIE MASTIN

I walked into the U.S. embassy housing compound in Tirana, Albania, at 12:16 p.m. on July 4, 2009. The details stick in my mind because I had to present my passport for the first time since beginning my Peace Corps service nearly two years earlier, and I had to inscribe my name in the visitors' book. It felt like an arcane, yet comforting, ritual from a past life.

We Peace Corps Volunteers had been invited to the embassy's annual Fourth of July picnic. Pushing through the revolving doors onto the embassy compound, I felt like Dorothy stumbling upon the Technicolor Land of Oz.

It was heaven compared to the Albanian village where my husband and I were living and working. There were proper curbs. And sidewalks. And petunias planted beside the front doors of houses. The air smelled like hot dogs, and the grass had been cut by a lawn mower instead of a goat.



That night, as my husband and I ate dinner with our young FSO host, he told us about the challenges he had experienced assimilating in Rome, his previous post.



Katie Mastin was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Albania with her husband, who later joined the Foreign Service. Their tours include Liberia,

Russia, Washington, D.C., and Mexico. She currently works as a freelance writer in between taco breaks.

He told us that he had finally managed to accustom himself to a half-size fridge. As we had been living for the last two years without any refrigeration at all because of twice-daily power outages, his comment fell somewhat flat.

A few months later, we returned to the United States, our Peace Corps service over. My husband, who had taken and passed the Foreign Service Officer Test, finally received the invitation to his A-100 class.

We were assigned to Monrovia, where we thought that after our experience as Volunteers in Albania (and that one Fourth of July), the Foreign Service lifestyle would be a breeze.



Now, after four assignments and a handful of languages, I have a rather different picture of the Foreign Service. I've come to realize that Foreign Service officers do not simply change their lifestyle for a few years—they change their *lives* and the lives of their families every couple years.

Living in an Albanian village as a Peace Corps Volunteer was challenging, but there were few consequences when neighbors' weddings (complete with electric clarinets) would keep us awake until the wee hours of the morning.

In Liberia, however, my husband still had to go to work after nights spent picking fire ants off our daughters' mosquito nets. He had to adjudicate visas, figure out tricky citizenship issues and learn thousands of new acronyms—all while keeping a cool, professional demeanor and a pressed suit.



What I've learned is that Peace Corps Volunteers are the sprinters of the diplomatic world; they work in the field at the most basic level for at least two years. They know local customs, slang, superstitions and conditions that affect a specific local population.

Foreign Service officers are the distance runners. They see the big picture over the course of years in the field. They understand the historical and political influences on a country, and the policies that make daily life what it is. They work with governments to analyze and bring about the sweeping changes that slowly determine the course of a nation.

Yet, as any track and field coach knows, you need both sprinters and distance runners to win a meet. Volunteers and members of the Foreign Service do not have to exist apart. They have experience to offer each other, and their differing viewpoints are valuable—but all too often lost in the chaos of daily life lived abroad. Dialogue can and should be fostered between them.



Based on my vantage point having been on both the sprinter and the runner teams, I encourage FS colleagues to be in touch with the Peace Corps country director in their host country, invite Volunteers to your home for a weekend, visit Volunteers at their site or host a group for Thanksgiving or the Fourth of July.

We can all learn from each other. ■



Venezuelan refugees crowd into a U.S.-supported feeding center in Cúcuta, Colombia, where they receive two hot meals a day. Many come across the border just for the day—to work, go to school or receive the nourishment that eludes them in their home country. Some are simply overwhelmed and exhausted by the journey, and for some that journey is just starting—they will continue on to Ecuador, Peru or as far as Chile. Worldwide, the number of refugees is at an all-time high—65 million by one count—and this picture is a good reminder that few of them are ever truly comfortable. ■

Keith Mines recently retired from the Foreign Service after a full career that took him to three continents and 10 countries. His final assignment was as director of the Venezuela Working Group. His forthcoming book, Why Nation-Building Matters, will be published by the University of Nebraska Press this summer. He took this photo with a Galaxy S7.

Please submit your favorite, recent photograph to be considered for Local Lens. Images must be high resolution (at least 300 dpi at 8" x 10", or 1 MB or larger) and must not be in print elsewhere. Include a short description of the scene/event, as well as your name, brief biodata and the type of camera used. Send to locallens@afsa.org.

**FUND FOR
AMERICAN
DIPLOMACY**

TELLING THE STORY OF FOREIGN SERVICE EXCELLENCE



Pictured: the recipients of AFSA's 2019 awards for constructive dissent, exemplary performance and lifetime contributions to American diplomacy.



Donate online at
[afsa.org/donate](https://www.afsa.org/donate)

Make a tax-deductible gift to the Fund for American Diplomacy and help AFSA tell the story of the Foreign Service.

AFSA's Fund for American Diplomacy (FAD) is a 501(c)(3) that supports outreach to tell the proud story of the Foreign Service to the American people. The FAD's aim is to educate and build a domestic constituency for the Foreign Service so that we have champions, ideally in all 50 states, prepared to stand up for the Foreign Service and defend our vitally important mission.

You can make a contribution at www.afsa.org/donate



**PROFESSIONAL LIABILITY INSURANCE
FOR STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES**

WE RECOGNIZE

the seriousness of Congressional inquiries and hearings, i.e. Benghazi and the impeachment hearings, particularly since 9/11.

WE UNDERSTAND

the adversarial, often confrontational, and sometimes high-profile nature of congressional investigations & agency initiated investigations

WE KNOW

your vulnerabilities and urge you to understand your exposures and the protections available to you so you can properly prepare and defend yourself if you become the next subject or target of an allegation or investigation in the performance of your everyday duties.

www.fedsprotection.com
866-955-FEDS

**GO AHEAD,
ASK
AROUND**

FEDS' President was a federal employee prior to founding FEDS Protection. We were established to go above and beyond – every time – and couldn't be prouder of enjoying a reputation that does right by federal employees.