

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

MAY 2020



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THE DIPLOMAT AND THE STATE

TEX HARRIS, LARGER THAN LIFE

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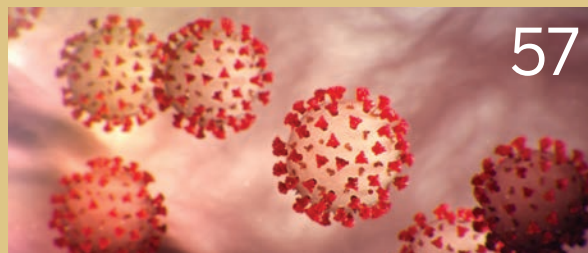
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On the Cover—Illustration by Brian Hubble.

Foreign Service Duty

BY ERIC RUBIN

While teleworking and social distancing for the past month along with so many of you, I have been pulling books off my shelves. One of the books I opened was Theodore H. White's *In Search of History*. This is the story of a great American journalist who witnessed some of the most important developments of the 20th century.

White writes passionately about what happened to the United States after World War II, as the Cold War became our focus and McCarthyism took hold in our political culture.

White's thesis is that the destruction of the team of Foreign Service Asia experts—who were assailed as apologists for Mao's China and “fellow travelers” in communism's relentless advance—left the State Department desperately unprepared for the coming conflict in Southeast Asia, and contributed directly to the debacle of our engagement in the Vietnam War.

AFSA is 96 years old this year. We started as the professional association of the U.S. Foreign Service, and we remain that, fervently. But since 1973 we have also been the labor union and official bargaining agent of the Foreign Service.

In 1973, some said that the Foreign Service, as an elite corps of professionals, did not need a labor union. Others advocated for the

Service to join one of the big federal unions alongside other federal employees.

The argument that won the day was that the Foreign Service is unique. Its members need representation and advocacy, but that has to happen in a nonpolitical and nonpartisan framework. Our members could not adequately be represented within a huge politicized federal union, but also could not rely on management goodwill without someone to advocate for them. And that's where AFSA came in.

Almost 50 years later, we have a strong and vibrant association that represents more than 80 percent of Foreign Service members in six agencies, voluntarily. We have held true to the goal of nonpartisan, nonpolitical representation of our members, and to our dual role as the professional association of American diplomats and as the legally recognized bargaining agent for everyone in the Foreign Service.

I hope the past year has demonstrated AFSA's value and importance as a bulwark defending our members. We have raised and spent tens of thousands of dollars covering legal bills for members who were subpoenaed as witnesses in the impeachment hearing. And now, in the midst of the COVID-19 crisis, we are doing everything we can to support our members in Washington and in the field who are dealing with excruciating challenges.

Our colleagues who have been laboring long and hard to bring Americans home in the midst of the pandemic make us proud. This is the Foreign Service.

This is who we are and what we do. It's called service. The oath we took when we joined is, I believe, sacred to us all.

Thinking again about Theodore White's book, the importance of courage in the face of adversity is clear. All of us must fight for our people, and for our profession and what it means. Diplomacy is the chief alternative to war.

Reflect on these sobering words from White:

“The ultimate impact of McCarthy on American diplomacy, and thus on the world, came many years later, in Vietnam. ... The purging ended with a State Department full of junior diplomats, who knew their future career was pawn to political passion at home, who knew that prediction of a Communist victory would be equated with hope for a Communist victory, and who learned to temper their dispatches of observation in the field with what their political superiors wished to hear.

“No field-grade American diplomat, in the long period between 1964 and 1975, had the courage flatly to predict the potential for disaster in Vietnam. Many recognized that potential, but none dared say it aloud or in print until it was too late. They reported what their political masters wanted to hear.”

May we consider those words a cautionary tale as we face the challenges that confront us now. And may we not shy away from our critical role, to stay true to our mission and to tell it like it is, in service to our country and to our fellow citizens. ■



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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

The Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly, with combined January-February and July-August issues, by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), a private, nonprofit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by email. The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. All advertising is subject to the publisher's approval. AFSA reserves the right to reject advertising that is not in keeping with its standards and objectives. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply 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



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Nuclear Diplomacy Matters

BY SHAWN DORMAN

The coronavirus pandemic has changed daily life around the world, bringing to a halt so many normal activities, such as going to the office and traveling. And yet the Foreign Service is still on the job in embassies and consulates in almost every country. Everyone is at risk for this virus, including our embassy colleagues.

During March, country after country announced border closings, sometimes suddenly. The State Department issued a “reconsider travel” advisory March 12, and on the 19th bumped that up to Level 4, “do not travel.”

My daughter was in Morocco for the semester as news of travel restrictions spread. She got the last seat on what was to be one of the last commercial flights out of Morocco. She was in the Casablanca airport getting ready to board when the government of Morocco announced a ban on international flights, effective immediately. Luckily, her flight did take off, and she’s home, finishing the semester online.

There are so many stories like this, so many people stuck in place as borders closed around them. Thousands of Americans scrambling to get back home turned to their embassies for assistance.

Facing an unprecedented global repatriation effort, each U.S. mission has had to figure out how to respond to the



Shawn Dorman is the editor of *The Foreign Service Journal*.

local circumstances and to assist as the demands snowballed. While the media reported on initial slow U.S. government response in some places, we are now hearing almost daily about how embassies have risen to this challenge. To date, the State Department has helped more than 50,000 Americans get home.

This month and next, we highlight some early stories of the Foreign Service’s response to the new coronavirus. For the July-August edition, we are collecting your firsthand accounts of how you and your team handled this crisis. Look for our request for input and share your stories, so Americans can know how their Foreign Service is continuing to work for them.

While the pandemic rages on, international relations cannot stop; diplomacy must continue.

For this, we need professional diplomats, which brings us to this month’s Speaking Out, “The Diplomat and the State.” Christopher Smith advocates a professional doctrine for diplomats. Related, a Q&A with the creators of the Twenty-Five Year Apprenticeship project describes the new interactive primer on becoming a successful diplomat.

Though understandably preoccupied with the coronavirus, we must not ignore another existential threat—nuclear war. This month’s focus explores the state of nuclear diplomacy today. There is cause for concern, to be sure, and we need experts on the job. We hear from three of them: Rose Gottemoeller, Tom Countryman and Joseph Cirincione.

Gottemoeller takes us through “A Short History” of nuclear arms control,

a high-level look at where we’ve been and where we need to go.

Countryman explains how arms control agreements work as a national security tool, and reminds us that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev were correct in their 1985 declaration that “a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought.”

Cirincione warns that the global nuclear security enterprise is close to collapse and argues for restarting arms control negotiations in the face of a new arms race.

All three experts assert that the New START agreement must be renewed before it expires in February 2021.

A selection of excerpts from *FSJ* articles on arms control diplomacy offers clues into the policy thinking from the 1970s on, and links to a large collection of related *FSJ* articles online.

John Naland lays out the history of the AFSA Memorial Plaques that honor Foreign Service personnel who have died in the line of duty overseas.

And in an Appreciation, including remembrances by friends and colleagues, we celebrate the “larger-than-life” AFSA and Foreign Service legend Tex Harris.

In *FS Heritage*, William Bent shares the little-known story of a U.S. consul serving in Martinique when the worst volcanic disaster of the 20th century occurred. And Lian von Wantoch reflects on the Y2K disaster that wasn’t.

This is not the lightest of *FSJ* editions, but these are not the lightest of times.

Wishing all our readers comfort and good health. ■

Professional Integrity

I fully endorse the tenets Ambassador Alan Larson set forth in his excellent article, “Integrity First” (March *FSJ*).

I would urge that Foreign Service officers continue to maintain the principle of “integrity first” *after* they depart government service, as well, especially if they enter private-sector roles as advisers or consultants on foreign policy matters.

We former FSOs should be wary of inducements or efforts to use our names, contacts and expertise in ways that could, wittingly or not, benefit corrupt people, practices and regimes.

Such behavior can damage the professional integrity of the Foreign Service as a whole and undermine the confidence the public and the Service should have in FSOs present and past.

Finally, as an old Russia/Ukraine hand, I’d like to give a big shout out to my dear colleague Ambassador John Tefft and, indeed, to all the authors of the pieces published in the March *Journal’s* “Dealing with Russia and Ukraine” focus.

As one who now teaches about this subject, I appreciate these efforts; they immensely help me and my students grapple with one of the thorniest challenges America faces today. Thanks, *FSJ!*

George A. Krol

U.S. ambassador, retired

Middletown, Rhode Island

Kudos

Congratulations! The March *FSJ* is a great issue. All kudos to John Tefft. And having the companion piece by Dmitri



Trenin was a stroke of editorial genius!

Nicholas A. Veliotes

U.S. ambassador, retired

McLean, Virginia

Speaking Frankly

Shortly after I retired, I was given a contract at the Foreign Service Institute to chair the three-week political tradecraft course.

One of my innovations in the years that followed, and there were several, was to bring in from other countries pairs of young diplomats, whom I encountered socially, introduce them and explain that I had instructed them to speak frankly about how they and their colleagues viewed U.S. diplomats, personally and professionally.

“Not very well,” was always the answer. And they would gently explain that they found Americans intelligent and pleasant, and very interested in discussing what they knew and thought, but not really interested in the opinions of other diplomats.

I was highly gratified by the reactions of my students, who found the presentations evocative and very useful. That part of the program ended with my contract.

I am both impressed by and highly supportive of the *Journal’s* broaching that approach [in the January-February focus on “How They See Us”] given its obvious but long-ignored utility.

Ed Peck

U.S. ambassador, retired

Washington, D.C.



Afghanistan: Correcting the Record

The latest effort to bring peace to Afghanistan is unraveling with a negotiated cease-fire failing and contention within the Afghanistan government. This has encouraged bleak analyses portraying Afghanistan as inherently unstable and ungovernable.

This assessment draws on four decades of chaos and war, which began with the 1979 Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and U.S. support for primarily fundamentalist Islamic resistance to the Soviets. Those fundamentalist factions are the forebears of the Taliban and other elements that have battled U.S. forces since 2001.

What many analysts, and U.S. policy-makers, ignore is that Afghanistan was a united nation for several centuries and defeated British colonial forces twice. More to the point, Afghanistan enjoyed a golden age of unity and prosperity through much of the 20th century.

The Afghan king, Mohammed Zahir Shah, set his country on a modernizing course after World War II and, with a new constitution in 1964, established Afghanistan as a democratic monarchy with elections and respect for human rights.

While women in conservative rural areas had very limited freedoms, in urban areas Afghan women enjoyed substantial freedoms, participating in the Afghan parliament and playing a prominent role in education.

Crucially, Zahir Shah balanced the Cold War competitors, winning significant aid programs from both, and remained a popular monarch from his inauguration in 1933 to his overthrow in a coup in 1973.

In the decade-long anti-Soviet “jihad,” the United States refused to

give significant assistance to Afghan resistance fighters loyal to the former king, instead acquiescing to Pakistan's opposition to any restoration and backing radical Islamist resistance elements subservient to the Pakistani military and, especially, Pakistani intelligence.

Afghanistan is not, and never was, a hopelessly failed state. Within living memory it was a successful, prosperous, democratizing state. Any hope of restoring Afghanistan to the ranks of independent, united democratic states depends on preventing neighbors from utilizing proxies to divide the country. ■

Edmund McWilliams

FSO, retired & former Special Envoy to Afghanistan (1988-1989)

White Oaks, New Mexico



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RESPONSE TO FSJ FOCUS ON CAREER MANAGEMENT

Twenty-Five Year Apprenticeship: A Digital Forum

We recently learned about a unique project developed to support career growth for professional diplomats, “Twenty-Five Year Apprenticeship” (25yearapprenticeship.com). Compiled and curated by a group of FSOs and future FSOs, the online forum offers advice and guidance from leaders and mentors on how to become a successful diplomat. Following on the April Journal’s focus on managing an FS career, this Q&A with several of the founders of the site (who wish to remain anonymous) offers an inside look at what this group is trying to do for the profession.

—Shawn Dorman, Editor

What is the “Twenty-Five Year Apprenticeship”?

The project is a collective effort to offer both a practical manual for dynamic diplomacy and a forum for folks to ask for advice and mentorship, as well as a space to offer ideas and best practices. It is founded on the premise that all of us in the State Department could and should strive to develop our professional expertise throughout our career.

Since it’s all public, it’s also meant to be useful for aspiring diplomats or anyone else who may be interested in diplomatic tradecraft. We find that the advice

from many of our diplomatic “legends” can be useful for any profession.

Why 25 years instead of, say, 10, 20 or 30?

It takes about 25 years for Foreign Service officers to “graduate” into the Senior Foreign Service, when they might serve for the first time as an ambassador, deputy chief of mission, office director or in any other top position of the profession.

How and why did you start this project?

A few of us reflected on the magnitude of the lessons we learned while supporting great leaders, especially those who aimed to accomplish extraordinary things and spur teams to achieve more than they believed possible to advance U.S. interests.

We want to share insights from these experiences with current and future colleagues who may not have had the opportunity to work directly for a “legend” of the Service.

We also noticed that many books written by and about diplomatic leaders fail to offer clues as to how these leaders arrived at the top of the profession. We were encouraged by Bill Burns’ recent book, *The Back Channel*, where he highlights the fact that there is no manual for diplomacy and notes that this is a shortfall (p. 83).



Your tag line is “A path to diplomatic success.” That’s ambitious. Can you tell us more about this path, and how 25YA can help?

Ambition is an asset, in our minds—every diplomat should wake up with the ambition to advance U.S. interests, to shape the views of our interlocutors and chart a better future. We hope this project encourages everyone to strive to succeed and make an impact. We hope they find nuggets of inspiration that help them take a more ambitious approach to their job and career.

Who runs 25YA?

Currently, about 40 State Department employees and a dozen former career ambassadors participate in a continuous conversation to develop ideas and content for the site. We have also had more than 10 students from various universities and grad schools help with interviews, content and ideas. Thanks to their input, we have tried to offer advice and mentorship on what it takes to become an FSO.

We think it's better that those of us who manage the site (conduct the interviews, curate and post the articles) remain anonymous. This is not about us. We aim to be "wiki-esque," open to all to contribute and participate.

Fair enough. Can you share the names of some of the ambassadors who have contributed to the site so far?

Ambassador James Jeffrey gets credit for the site's title, because he exhorts his charges to learn from him and treat each experience as part of a process of learning, or an "apprenticeship."

Ambassadors Victoria Nuland and Richard Boucher have advised us throughout the process and provided suggestions, content and support.

Ambassadors Ronald Neumann, Alexander Vershbow and Deborah McCarthy have been extremely generous with their time and ideas.

And Ambassadors Nicholas Burns and Kristie Kenney recently contributed timely articles on leadership and crisis management.

How do the "legends" contribute?

The two most common ways they contribute are, first, through filling out the "Apprentice's Questionnaire" that we modeled on *Vanity Fair's* quick-response interview style, and that offers personal and professional insights; and, second, via interviews. We have interviewed more than 20 ambassadors, and each conversation has been fascinating—really, the best part of the project has been these exchanges.

What have you learned from speaking to these ambassadors?

In addition to incredible lessons and interesting stories, the two most important things we have learned are these:

We have a dedicated community of impressive and inspiring former U.S. diplomats who are more than willing to support the next generation of State Department leaders, share their wisdom and offer mentorship.

First, we have a dedicated community of impressive and inspiring former U.S. diplomats who are more than willing to support the next generation of State Department leaders, share their wisdom and offer mentorship. And, second, all of the contributing ambassadors encouraged us to keep learning.

Tell us about the letter of support from diplomatic leaders. How did you garner all that support?

We have been pleasantly surprised that everyone we have reached out to and spoken with has applauded our effort and encouraged us to develop the site further. More than 50 ambassadors have signed on to the letter of support, and most of them have offered content to the site, as well as advice and guidance. It seems that everyone agrees we need a diplomacy guide.

The letter suggests you also solicit input from military leaders, Capitol Hill and elsewhere. How do you decide who gets to be a "leader" contributor?

We would very much like to include input from across the federal government, including the Defense Department and Capitol Hill, and from think-tanks, about what it takes to advance U.S. interests and craft dynamic foreign policy. The State Department plays a leadership role in policy formulation, but we are not alone; so we hope we can offer insights

into what it takes to succeed diplomatically from various perspectives.

We are committed to developing a site to pass on wisdom from the "legends" of diplomacy. We hope that many more current and former State employees and diplomatic practitioners will reach out to us to offer their ideas, expertise and advice, as well as help manage the site.

All the content on the site that does not have a byline was written by a current State Department employee, but we hope to offer more content from a diverse set of contributors. There are no fixed rules for who can contribute or what content makes sense; any content that offers practical tips, wisdom or insights into how to advance American diplomacy is welcome.

Do you have support from the State Department for this initiative?

The Director General's office, the counselor's office, the Foreign Service Institute, AFSA and others have all expressed support for our project. Anyone who checks out the site can see we are 100 percent nonpartisan and committed to supporting the State Department and our government.

What is your goal for the 25YA site?

Our goal is that the site becomes self-sustaining as more contributors pitch in to the project; eventually, we would love for someone(s) to build on the site content and publish a manual based on the lessons

learned and tips we have started to elucidate. We hope that the project can help connect current employees with former ones for advice and mentorship.

Can you share some of the best advice that you've received working on this project?

There have been so many excellent insights that it's hard to choose. A few that stand out: take time to enjoy the career, the experiences; keep learning; be humble; listen; excellence is worth striving for and can be achieved only by getting everyone on board; invest time in relationships, both with foreign counterparts and throughout the U.S. government; work outside the State Department, whether

at another agency, the National Security Council or otherwise.

From what you have learned doing this project, what are the top five essential skills for successful diplomats?

I'd point you to the checklist published on the site that answers this question: www.25yearapprenticeship.com/become/what-it-takes-to-succeed-at-state.

What areas of growth do you see for this initiative in the near future?

We hope to continue to generate and develop content; find ways to encourage a more interactive site; and expand the mentoring component of the project, from 25YA participants to peers, from "legends"

to current State folks, and from all of us to potential future State employees.

We hope the site can help educate the general population and inspire future State employees.

How can FSJ readers get involved and support the initiative?

Send the apprentices your ideas, your questions and your input. Let's work together to lay out a path toward becoming the best experts, professionals, "journey-people" diplomats we can be. The project will be most successful when more people are contributing, so please write to us at 25yearapprentice@gmail.com, follow us on Twitter at [@25yrapprentice](https://twitter.com/@25yrapprentice), and join the conversation. ■



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The Foreign Service Responds to the Coronavirus Pandemic

U.S. embassies and Foreign Service personnel and their families across the globe have been struggling to manage and adjust to the massive disruptions caused by the novel coronavirus pandemic, while continuing the vital work of diplomacy and serving American citizens overseas.

In March, many countries began to close their borders and airlines canceled countless international flights as the coronavirus spread, and country after country began seeing a spike in COVID-19 cases. Hardest hit initially were Italy, Spain and the United States. Lawmakers postponed congressional visits overseas.

In mid-March, the State Department authorized voluntary, no-fault curtailment for employees in any country considered to present a high risk of exposure to COVID-19. It also authorized voluntary no-fault curtailment from any country or region for those at higher risk of a poor outcome if exposed to the coronavirus.

Numerous FSOs and their families have been, and continue to be, faced with the decision of whether to scramble to return to the United States—which surpassed China for the most reported cases of COVID-19 by late March—or stay at post in countries that might offer inadequate medical care.

Complicating their decision-making was the fact that lodging in the Washington, D.C., area is hard to find, as many places closed their doors due to health concerns and the shuttering economy.

The State Department on April 1 said it had evacuated 6,000 U.S. diplomats and family members since the start of the outbreak, about half its overseas



U.S. EMBASSY QUITO

A March 29 photo shows U.S. Mission Ecuador staff, including Ambassador Michael Fitzpatrick (front left), at Mariscal Sucre International Airport, where they are assisting U.S. citizens trying to return to the United States.

presence, according to an April 1 *Wall Street Journal* report.

Embassies dealt with the departures of many of their personnel amid what a March 20 CNN broadcast called unclear operational guidance from Washington.

Meanwhile, embassy staff were managing evacuations of thousands of Americans who found themselves stranded in countries that abruptly closed borders and cut off international travel options.

On April 6, the State Department said it had coordinated the repatriation of 44,569 Americans from 78 countries since Jan. 29. For another indication of

the volume of work State is handling, the March 30 *Politico* reported that in the nine days since March 21, State had received 15,000 calls regarding the pandemic.

Diplomats were reminded, too, that they are not immune to the dangers of COVID-19. On March 24, Steven Dick, 37, the deputy head of the British embassy in Budapest, died after contracting the coronavirus. *The New York Times* reported on April 4 that three State Department employees—all locally engaged staff—had died from the coronavirus. By April 4, 154 State Department employees had tested positive for the virus, and more than 3,500 were symptomatic and in self-isolation, the *Times* reported.

In South Africa, according to a March 20 *Washington Post* report, U.S. diplomats were concerned about their own possible exposure to the coronavirus when Ambassador Lana Marks—who had attended a dinner at President Trump's Mar-a-Lago Club in Florida with Brazilian officials who later tested positive for COVID-19—returned to work at the embassy.

After a town hall meeting in which diplomats raised their concerns, and

Contemporary Quote

ee I think it's fair to say that the corona crisis hasn't had the same sort of rapid coordinated international response that, say, we saw in the 2008 financial crisis. But that said, the American government for G7 and the Saudi Arabian government for G20 have managed to bring leaders and health ministers, finance ministers, foreign ministers together to work on a coordinated set of actions, all to keep the global economy going; to step up work on vaccines; to help the U.N., and particularly the World Health Organization, get detailed help where it needs to go; and then also to work on repatriation. ”

—U.K. Ambassador to the United States Dame Karen Pierce, responding to a question, about global leadership on NPR's "All Things Considered," March 31.

a press report about those concerns, Marks undertook a period of self-quarantine.

In many countries, diplomats were asked to follow social distancing practices imposed by host governments and work from home. In Washington, many diplomats did the same.

The American Foreign Service Association moved to telework status on March 12, and canceled public events until at least April 30 (as of press time). On March 18, for the first time in its history, the AFSA Governing Board held its monthly meeting via teleconference.

The State Department indefinitely postponed the intake of new Foreign Service officers, *Foreign Policy* magazine reported March 26. Two incoming classes totaling 175 people—one for officers, one for specialists—were put on hold.

In another unprecedented move, for the first time in its nearly 60-year history, the Peace Corps temporarily suspended its operations on March 15. The agency ordered all of its more than 7,000 Volunteers to evacuate their host countries and return to the United States, where they joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Hundreds of USAID employees and family members took part in USAID Staff Care webinars on “Resilience in the Time of COVID-19.” Many reported feeling substantial stress levels because of the pandemic.

Social media became a refuge for many diplomats and their families. D.C.-area members of the popular Trailing Houses Facebook group for active U.S. diplomats and family members offered to help people returning to Washington find places to stay.

Members also debated whether people should return to the United States (and recommended that they pack toilet paper and other essentials due to short-

ages here) or if it would be smarter to shelter in place at post.

On social media, family members were offering to buy groceries for anyone who was required to self-quarantine after returning from overseas. Another offered to pick people up at Dulles International Airport and get them settled. Others chimed in with similar offers.

Coronavirus Relief and the International Affairs Budget

The nearly \$2 trillion Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act, signed into law on March 27, provides \$1.12 billion for the international affairs budget.

The following funding additions relate to the foreign affairs agencies:

- \$324 million for State Department diplomatic programs to maintain consular operations around the world, cover the costs of evacuating personnel and dependents, and provide for emergency preparedness needs.
- \$95 million for USAID operating expenses to support the evacuation of U.S. citizens and surge support, and to increase technical support.
- \$258 million for international disaster assistance so USAID can continue to support disaster response capabilities in developing countries affected by the pandemic.
- \$55 million for APHIS employee salaries and expenses to prevent, prepare for and respond to COVID-19, including necessary expenses for salary costs associated with the Agriculture Quarantine and Inspection Program.
- \$4 million for Foreign Agricultural Service employee salaries and expenses to respond to COVID-19 and relocate personnel and their dependents back from overseas posts.



We know there are still many Americans currently trapped overseas, but I can assure you the State Department and Secretary Pompeo are working around the clock to bring them home as quickly as possible.

—House Foreign Affairs Committee ranking member Michael McCaul (R-Texas), in a statement reported March 25 by Politico.

I do want to salute not only our troops, but our men and women in the State Department, our Foreign Service officers at USAID and State, for representing our country and the hard work that they do every day.

—Rep. Ami Bera (D-Calif.), at the House Foreign Affairs Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation Subcommittee hearing, “Prospects for Peace: The Way Forward for Afghanistan,” March 10.

COPING WITH SOCIAL DISTANCING

HOW TO BUILD RESILIENCE

In the face of the coronavirus pandemic, Foreign Service families around the world are facing difficult situations and choices, and high stress levels. We turned to resilience expert Beth Payne for advice. She is a retired FSO and a former chair of the FSJ Editorial Board. She was the director of FSI's Center of Excellence in Foreign Affairs Resilience from 2016 to 2019, and now runs Payne Resilience Training & Consulting (payneresilience.com).

The following is from a recent blog posting, in which she shares suggestions for ways to build and maintain resilience during this challenging time.

Since resilience affects our immune system, building and maintaining high resilience can help your body defend against viruses and bacteria. Resilience will also help you better manage if you or a loved one is infected. It will help you adapt if there are closures or significant changes in your daily life. And you'll be more likely to bounce back quickly and fully (and possibly bounce forward) from any negative impact this crisis may have on you.

Here are ways you can build and maintain your resilience:

Focus on What You Can Control. The coronavirus is unsettling because so much is out of our control. Ruminating about things you cannot control will erode your resilience. Instead, focus on what you can do. Review the latest CDC information and guidelines and prepare your emergency plan. Seek news and updates only from reliable sources.

Take Care of Yourself. Prioritize getting enough sleep, eating well, exercising and making time to recover. Use a potential coronavirus outbreak as an opportunity to review your regular routines and make changes if needed for better self-care.

Help Others. Research shows that helping other people will build your resilience. Reach out to your community to see if there are ways you can help with preparations. Donate funds to organizations that support communities hit by the virus. Donate blood to prevent shortages during an outbreak.

Seek Out Social Support. While it may be tempting to isolate yourself to prevent infection, it is essential that you maintain your social support. Make sure you can communicate with friends and family virtually if necessary.

Laugh. Maintaining a positive outlook is a key resilience factor. If you're bingeing on Netflix, watch comedies. Seek out friends and family who make you laugh. Watch funny videos on social media.

HELPING KIDS PASS THE TIME

The following educational websites are excerpted from a list by an anonymous educator that is making the rounds on social media during the coronavirus pandemic. This abbreviated list offers plenty of great ideas to keep your kids and other family members busy during social distancing.

■ **GeoGuesser**—GeoGuesser tests kids' geography skills. Using images from Google's Street View, it plops players down in the middle of the street and asks them to figure out where they are.

■ **whatwasthere.com**—WhatWasThere allows students to type in any city, state or country to view an archive of historical photographs and other documents. It's a unique way to help them learn about history.

■ **artsology.com**—Artsology helps kids learn to appreciate the arts by providing them with the opportunity to play games, conduct investigations and explore different forms of art.

■ **highlightskids.com**—Find on Highlights Kids fun games, recipes, crafts and activities.

■ **seussville.com**—Read, play games and hang out with Dr. Seuss on Seussville.

■ **virtualmusicalinstruments.com**—On Virtual Music Instruments kids can play instruments, including guitar, piano, pan flute, drum and bongos, online.

■ **si.edu/kids**—No need to travel to one of the Smithsonian's zoos or museums. Smithsonian: Fun Stuff for Kids brings your child everything from live video of the National Zoo to the Smithsonian Learning Lab right to their screen.

■ **coolkidfacts.com**—Cool Kid Facts gives your child access to educational videos, pictures, quizzes, downloadable worksheets and infographics to learn about geography, history, science, animals and the human body.

■ **bensguide.gpo.gov**—Ben's Guide, an interactive website hosted by the U.S. Government Publishing Office, allows your child to see the ins and outs of the U.S. government by taking a series of learning adventures with none other than Benjamin Franklin.

■ **climatekids.nasa.gov**—A NASA initiative, Climate Kids covers a wide range of topics including weather, climate, atmosphere, water, energy, plants and animals.

WELLNESS IN A CRISIS

From the National Wellness Institute, here is a list of questions to ask yourself daily:

1. What am I grateful for today?
2. Who am I checking in on or connecting with today?
3. What expectations of “normal” am I letting go of today?
4. How am I getting outside today?
5. How am I moving my body today?
6. What beauty am I either creating, cultivating or inviting in today?

ACCESS MUSIC & CULTURE

Here are a few ideas for getting to museums, going to the opera and symphony, and even learning to play guitar, all virtually.

Virtual Museum Collections:

The Museum Computer Network, which supports professionals who seek to transform the way their museums reach, engage, and educate their audiences using digital technologies, offers an extensive directory of virtual museum resources, e-learning and online collections at mcn.edu/a-guide-to-virtual-museum-resources.

Metropolitan Opera: The Metropolitan Opera of New York City has been streaming a different performance, from its Met’s Live in HD series, every night at metopera.org.

Seattle Symphony: The Seattle Symphony has been offering free performances several times a week at seattlesymphony.org/live.

Fender Play: Fender Musical Instruments Corp. is offering three months of free online guitar, bass and ukulele lessons to the first 500,000 new subscribers to its Fender Play Service at try.fender.com/play/playthrough.

Site of the Month

Radio Garden (www.radio.garden)

During this time of social distancing, listening to radio from around the world is one fun way to stay connected.

From its beginning, radio signals have crossed borders. Radio makers and listeners have imagined connecting with distant cultures, as well as reconnecting with people from “home” from thousands of miles away.

Visit Radio Garden, and you can spin the globe and listen to any of thousands of live radio stations from around the world. Each green dot represents a city or town. Tap



the dot, and a pop-up shows radio stations from that city and starts to play a local station.

You can add radio stations to your favorites list or choose from Radio Garden’s recommendations.

Founded in 2015 in Amsterdam, Radio Garden launched mobile apps for iOS and Android platforms in 2018.

The CARES Act also permits additional paid leave for State and USAID employees experiencing hardship due to COVID-19. It includes provisions allowing State to provide medical services to private U.S. citizens, and permits State and USAID oaths of office required by law to be administered remotely.

U.S. Suspends Afghan Aid to Force Peace Deal

The United States is suspending \$1 billion in aid until Afghan political factions form a government that can implement a U.S.-brokered peace deal with the Taliban, according to a March 23 *Politico* report.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced the decision on March 23 after meeting in Kabul with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and former Afghan Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah.

The two Afghan leaders were continuing to contest the results of Afghanistan’s September 2019 election, and progress on talks with the Taliban was stalled.

“The United States is disappointed in them and what their conduct means for Afghanistan and our shared interests,” Secretary Pompeo said. “We have made clear to the leadership that we will not back security operations that are politically motivated, nor support political leaders who order such operations or those who advocate for or support parallel government.”

Afghans “fear the decision could push the country, almost entirely dependent on foreign aid, past the tipping point,” according to a March 24 *New York Times* report.

The United States has been providing about \$4 billion in security aid and nearly \$500 million in civilian aid to Afghanistan per year, according to *The New York Times*. The newspaper adds that roughly 75 percent of Afghanistan’s annual public expenditures are dependent on international donations.

On Feb. 29, the United States reached a peace deal with the Taliban, marking the potential end of America’s longest war. The agreement, which did not include the government of Afghanistan,

Forgery in International Affairs

"Misinformation"—or "dezinformatsiya" to use the Russian term—has long been known in military doctrine. It now applies in international politics. The Moscow *Politicheskii Slovar (Political Dictionary)* (Gospolitizdat, 1958), edited by B. N. Ponomarev, defines the word: "dezinformatsiya is the intentional presentation of inaccurate information with the aim of leading someone astray." Experts on our side of the Iron Curtain see "dezinformatsiya" as false, incomplete or misleading information passed, fed or confirmed to a targeted individual, group or country.

Misinformation should not be confused with propaganda, which is biased information circulated by an identified source. A slanted TASS communique is labeled TASS. All know that it mirrors the Soviet

viewpoint. But misinformation appears under the guise of objective truth and masks the origin of the message by a false source.

The channels circulating misinformation vary, depending on the target and objective of the initiator. Misinformation appears even in scholarly studies.

Forged political documents occupy a place of honor among channels of misinformation, but serious analysts have given them little attention. ... The Memorial allegedly submitted to the Japanese Throne in 1927 by General Giichi Tanaka, Premier of Japan, awakened interest in political literature since it contained what was purported to be Japan's plan to crush the United States, conquer India, Asia Minor and



even Europe. Much ink was also spilled over the so-called "Zinoviev letter" that still remains

in the public eye. Neither of these forged documents has ever been thoroughly researched or analyzed.

Political forgeries take the form of official acts, circulars, instructions, minutes of meetings, memoranda or letters exchanged between officials. Among them are resolutions of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as classified State Department directives, secret cables to Washington sent by ambassadors and Moscow communications to agents abroad.

—Natalie Grant, a former FSO, excerpted from her article of the same title in the May 1970 FSJ.

set out a 14-month timetable for an intra-Afghan cease-fire, negotiations between the Taliban and Afghan government, and the final withdrawal of U.S. troops from the country.

National Security Veterans Break with Tradition

More than 150 national security, intelligence and homeland security veterans, most of whom have served in both Democratic and Republican administrations, have broken with the strong tradition of not endorsing particular political candidates and signed an open letter under the heading "The Steady State," endorsing Democratic

presidential candidate Joe Biden for president.

"To be clear, those of us signing this letter do not agree on everything, or even most things, concerning foreign policy, defense or homeland security," the authors of the letter, published on March 18, write. "Our policy views cover most of the spectrum, and many of us have often been in opposition, sometimes bitterly, with each other. But we have always been bound by profound patriotism, and a deep belief in our American democracy."

"Our nation's foreign affairs are in disarray; our alliances frayed and our national prestige declining," the letter states.

"Our approach to both friends and

enemies abroad has been chaotic and unprincipled," it continues. "Our credibility as a nation has been lessened. And, perhaps most importantly, our place in the world as a source of moral leadership has nearly been lost. As a country, we are increasingly less secure and less safe.

"We are not, of course, giving up our views and approaches to national security. Should Vice President Biden be elected president, many of us will take up the honorable position of 'loyal opposition,' and will fight as we have before for the policies we think best." ■

This edition of Talking Points was compiled by Cameron Woodworth, Kim Greenplate and Shawn Dorman.



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The Diplomat and the State

BY CHRISTOPHER W. SMITH

Diplomacy is as old as the profession of arms, but not as well understood in the United States. The sheer size of the U.S. military, when compared to the Department of State's Foreign Service officer corps, numbering just 8,000 officers, helps explain why Americans are more familiar with the armed forces than the U.S. Foreign Service.

It is also true that military officers have been more active and effective in defining to the public who they are and what they represent than their diplomatic counterparts. In particular, publications by and about military personnel have helped articulate and communicate their profession's values, meaning and code of ethics to their fellow Americans.

A classic example of this type of writing is Samuel Huntington's seminal work, *The Soldier and the State*. Published in 1957, the book is a foundational text in the U.S. professional military education system for the study of civil-military relations. Huntington's central point is that the "modern military officer corps is a professional body, and the modern military officer is a professional." To prove this, Huntington examines military officership as a *profession*: "a peculiar type of functional group with highly specialized characteristics."

Diplomacy is also a profession, of

course, and the modern Foreign Service officer corps is a professional body. Applying Huntington's characterization of what defines a profession to the Department of State's Foreign Service officer corps, I will make recommendations on how the U.S. diplomatic profession can better define itself, bolster its institutional strength at a transformative period in international affairs, and improve key audiences' understanding of the vital, unique role diplomats play in achieving U.S. national security objectives.

What Is the Profession of Diplomacy?

In his book, Huntington asserts that "the distinguishing characteristics of a profession as a special type of vocation are its expertise, responsibility and corporateness." To apply these characteristics to the profession of diplomacy, we must first define its essential function. If we accept Huntington's contention that the "central skill of the military officer is best summed up in Harold Laswell's phrase 'the management of violence,'" then what is the central skill of the U.S. diplomat?

The essential skill of U.S. diplomats is *the management of power* to achieve foreign policy and national security objectives.

Toward this end, diplomats manage the

full spectrum of U.S. national power—"soft" power, by representing and defending our democratic and humanitarian values abroad, or managing exchange programs for future foreign leaders; "sharp" power, by making the case for sanctions against states and individuals that violate U.S. and international laws; "smart" power, by supporting counterparts in foreign countries seeking to reform their political and economic institutions and fight corruption in line with Western best practices; and "hard" power, in working with the military and the interagency community to deter and, if necessary, defeat threats to the United States, its allies and partners.

The unifying thread across these and many other potential examples, is the management of U.S. national power in the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs, which is the primary function of Foreign Service officers.

Acquiring Expertise

The professional is an expert with specialized knowledge and skill in a significant field of human endeavor. (Their) expertise is acquired only by prolonged education and experience.

—Samuel Huntington

Diplomacy requires expertise, subtlety in application, and the refined ability to assess the interests and influence the decisions of foreign states and the individuals through whom diplomats work to accomplish U.S. objectives.

Unfortunately, there is a persistent



Christopher W. Smith joined the Foreign Service in 2005 and is currently deputy chief of mission in Yerevan. Prior to that, he served in Tbilisi, Istanbul, Kabul (with the International Security Assistance Force), Nicosia and Kyiv. He received the Warren Christopher Award for Outstanding Achievement in Civilian Security for his work in Ukraine. Domestically, Mr. Smith has been a special assistant to the assistant secretary for arms control, and in 2019 earned a master's degree (with highest distinction) in national security and strategic studies at the U.S. Naval War College. His research there contributed to this article. The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of State.

impression that *anyone* can do foreign policy, while according to Huntington, military officership is seen as “an extraordinarily complex intellectual skill requiring comprehensive study and training.” Novices need not apply. Simultaneously recognizing and contributing to this perception, the military requests from Congress a tremendous amount of resources to educate and train its officers.

Military officers also apply significant time, energy and rigor in defining the tenets and application of their craft to themselves and key external audiences. This is an area where the Foreign Service could replicate the military’s approach to great effect, first and foremost by dedicating greater research and scholarship by FSOs to the study of diplomacy as a profession.

Some steps have been taken, including the 2017 establishment of the State Department’s Center for the Study of the Conduct of Diplomacy. This new office’s mission to analyze recent diplomatic initiatives and events to create case studies for tradecraft training is a good start. To reach its full potential, however, we must move beyond case studies into the realm of professional education and *professional doctrine* to guide and instruct our officers in the conduct of their missions.

Expanding Training and Research

The liberal education of the professional is normally handled by the general educational institutions of society devoted to this purpose. The technical or second phase of professional education is given in special institutions operated by or affiliated with the profession itself.

—Samuel Huntington

Expanding professional education and research opportunities at the Foreign Service Institute goes hand-in-hand with the need to develop official doctrine regarding the conduct of diplomacy.

The U.S. military model boasts a formalized system of professional military education (PME) encompassing multiple service academies and officer candidate programs to train incoming officers, as well as the Command and Staff Colleges and War Colleges that train intermediate and senior officers, conduct research on military campaigns and study the profession of military officership.

In sharp contrast, the State Department has only the Foreign Service Institute. While FSI devotes considerable resources to language training, offering courses lasting up to two years for certain hard languages, and has been working on expanding leadership training, tradecraft training is limited; and, overall, professional education is limited by comparison to the PME system.

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell mandated leadership training for FSOs at all ranks, an important first step that has improved leadership competency in the ranks.

Still, newly promoted FSOs at the FS-3 level receive just a week’s training at FSI to prepare them for this new level of leadership, typically in classes taught by contractors with no experience in the Foreign Service. Their military equivalents can expect to spend a year in training for their new position in an equivalent rank (major), where they are instructed by active-duty, subject matter experts from their service.

Functional skill training also needs to be expanded. Political officers, for example, receive just three weeks of required training (split between political and economic tradecraft) before deploying

abroad. By comparison, the U.S. Army’s basic infantry officer training course at Fort Benning lasts 17 weeks. FSI offers a range of other optional courses on political and other issues, but given demands on their schedules, most officers can manage only the three weeks of required training before heading off to their assignments.

FSI should be transformed into a College of Diplomacy with the in-house expertise to study (and teach) the profession of diplomacy, while examining current and future foreign policy challenges through a “war game” center. This unit could be directed by the Secretary, the policy planning staff (S/P) and other senior department figures to game out strategies and events, with a particular focus on great-power competition with Russia and China.

This approach will not only greatly improve the opportunities for FSOs and visiting academics to study the history and modern conduct of diplomacy; it will also uncover options for the resolution of existing and future diplomatic challenges, in order to develop long-term strategies to meet them.

Creating Standardized Doctrine

To move from training to professional education, we need a system for creating standardized doctrine in the essential areas of focus for FSOs. What functional training FSOs do receive at FSI, which more senior officers impart, lacks this key component. Political officers, for example, have no official handbook on conducting multilateral diplomacy, or operating effectively in conflict and transition countries, or even carrying out the basics of contact work and drafting reports.

In complement to the departmentwide “Professional Ethos,” the Foreign Service officer corps should begin developing

more detailed (and officially endorsed) doctrine for FSOs on our core values, code of professional ethics and tradecraft. This is an essential element highlighted by Huntington of most, if not all, professions—from the military officer corps to medical doctors.

Some may contend that the Department of State's Foreign Affairs Manual fills that role as the "single, comprehensive and authoritative source for the department's organization structures, policies and procedures." But while the FAM provides administrative and regulatory guidance, it does not cover what is needed: the principles, concepts and informed professional guidance that make up true doctrine.

By comparison, officially endorsed doctrine not only guides military officers in the conduct of their missions, it ensures that the professional military education they receive is derived from the experiences and wisdom of the officer corps itself. In the words of a military scholar at West Point: "Army doctrine is defined as the fundamental principles by which the military forces or elements thereof guide their actions in support of national objectives. ... It is a body of thought ... and a statement of how the Army intends to fight."

The Foreign Service officer corps has no *codified*, official doctrine. Instead, FSOs rely on oral traditions to pass values, lessons learned and tradecraft from senior officers to those they supervise and mentor. This practice, which benefits those who are lucky enough to serve good leaders (and disadvantages those who aren't), is not sufficient for a modern, professional Foreign Service.

This lack of professional doctrine, which should be developed by the professional diplomatic corps itself, leaves our officers poorly prepared for their missions

What is needed: the principles, concepts and informed professional guidance that make up true doctrine.

and prevents us from further developing a professional education system.

Professionals Are Experts, Not Generalists

To help advance training and research, and to develop professional doctrine, FSOs should work with State to define ourselves as *experts* instead of *generalists*.

A "generalist" in the Foreign Service prioritizes knowledge of multiple countries and regions of the world along with a proficient understanding of bilateral, regional, multilateral and global issues, rather than developing true expertise on a particular region, country or functional issue.

A look back at the contributions of some of America's greatest diplomats, however, emphasizes the value of expertise. George Kennan, for example, wrote the "Sources of Soviet Conduct" (better known as the "X" article) in 1947. This transformative analysis of Russian motivations, which built the intellectual foundations of the containment strategy that saw the United States through the Cold War, was based on Kennan's deep understanding of Russia, its language, culture and people—expertise derived through repeated tours in the region and career-long study.

In its generalist approach, the U.S. Foreign Service is an outlier in the world of diplomacy, particularly when compared to our great power competitors. Chinese and Russian diplomats can expect to spend their entire careers working on a single country, or a small group of related countries united by language or shared regional history, with the specific objec-

tive of gaining unique knowledge and expertise.

Focusing on developing the level of expertise achieved by Kennan and many other predecessors would increase our relevance and influence in the bureaucratic politics of the interagency community. Without professional, regional and linguistic mastery and a network of long-term foreign contacts, a "generalist" misses out on what should be an FSO's singular comparative advantage in the policy debate.

Join the Public Foreign Policy Discourse

To play a role in shaping policy, FSOs need to join the academic and public discourse on U.S. foreign policy priorities, particularly in this new era of great-power competition with China and Russia. Published research and writing by military officers exploded during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and helped reorient Washington toward more effective counterinsurgency strategies.

Diplomats played, and still play, important roles in those counterinsurgencies on the ground, yet our voices went comparatively unheard in the public analysis that examined what worked and what didn't in the midst of those campaigns. Contributions to our *Foreign Service Journal* are vital to this dialogue, but many other periodicals and blogs would welcome greater input from FSOs.

Besides participating in public policy discussions, FSOs need to better communicate their under-recognized commitment and patriotism, and the responsibility they take for their work that helps define diplomats as professionals.

We need to better inform Americans of the risks diplomats *voluntarily* undertake to serve our country. Like their military counterparts, U.S. diplomats must be deployable worldwide, including in conflict zones.

All of the positions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya and other conflict zones have been filled by FSOs who *chose* to serve there, despite the fact that these embassies are some of the largest and most dangerous in the world. The American Foreign Service Association's memorial plaques at State Department headquarters list the honored names of those killed in the line of duty in war zones and regular service across the globe.

Congress and other audiences would likely appreciate the opportunity to better understand the challenges our diplomats and their families face and the kind of work we do on a daily basis. The State Department could do much more to highlight the impact FSOs are making in war zones and across the globe in achieving U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives.

A formal department program to encourage FSOs to write about their successes and challenges for publication is one suggestion. Another would be to invite congressional leaders and policymakers and opinionmakers to the Department of State's annual award ceremony, and AFSA's, to see FSOs recognized for their extraordinary achievements, often obtained in harrowing circumstances.

The State Department should encourage diplomats to write and publish as widely as possible (with the obvious disclaimer that their views are their own). Admittedly, the Foreign Service values discretion by nature, so this will take some cultural change. But such initiatives are essential to defining and communicating who we are as diplomats, and

articulating the unique principles and tradecraft that underpin our profession.

Professionalizing for Great Power Competition

As we gear up for what will likely be a decades-long competition with Russia and China, FSOs must be at the top of their professional game. Convincing Congress and the American people to provide funds to strengthen the U.S. Foreign Service will require us to define what we bring to the field of battle.

We can begin this process by investing more in defining our profession, enhancing our professional education and inserting ourselves into the national foreign policy debate. U.S. military officers' approach to their own profession

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 them to journal@afsa.org.

offers FSOs an excellent model.

What Samuel Huntington said in 1957 of the military officer corps is equally true of today's U.S. Foreign Service: "[It] is strongest and most effective when it closely approaches the professional ideal; it is weakest and most defective when it falls short of that ideal." The proposals in this article are offered in the spirit of getting us there. ■



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U.S.-Russian Nuclear Arms Control Negotiations

A Short History

An accomplished negotiator puts nuclear arms control in perspective—what it has achieved, where it has failed and what it can do for our future security.

■ BY ROSE GOTTEMOELLER

In my line of work, you have to have a long memory. Periods of success in negotiations are followed by droughts, because of politics, military upheaval, arms buildups—yes, sometimes the weapons have to be built before they can be reduced—or a sense of complacency: “We have arms control treaties in place; let’s just focus on implementing them.” In those cases, new thinking and new negotiations may slow or even stop. Yet, the national security interest of the United States continues to drive the necessity for nuclear arms control.

The calculation of our own national security interest must always be front and center when we consider a nuclear negotiation. Sometimes arms control is touted as an absolute good, one that should be pursued for its own sake. We do have international obligations in this realm, most prominently the commitment under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons until we reach zero. This commitment is shared by the other NPT nuclear weapon states—France, the U.K., Russia and China; and sometimes it gets a boost, as it did when President Barack Obama strongly reiterated U.S. intent to proceed on the path to zero nuclear weapons

during his speech in Prague in April 2009, the first major foreign policy speech of his presidency.

That international obligation is important, but still we must consider first and foremost our own national security interest. I think about that interest as follows: Nuclear arms control is the only way that we can attain stable and predictable deployments of these most fearsome weapons, and it is the only way that we can assure that we won’t be bankrupted by nuclear arms racing. These points are especially important now, as we contemplate a world where China has more nuclear weapons and more missiles with which to deliver them.

China now has many fewer nuclear weapons than the United States and Russia, and it has not yet shown an interest in coming to the table to negotiate constraints on them. It is constrained by its doctrine, which has held that China will not strike first with nuclear weapons and will only maintain enough secure nuclear weapons to ensure a second strike can take place if another country strikes China first. In the Chinese view, this doctrinal approach forges a kind of insurance policy for the international community. However, since China has now started to build more kinds of nuclear delivery systems, including long-range submarine-





BRIAN HUBBLE

launched ballistic missiles, there is real concern that its doctrine may be changing.

So all of us need to think about the long arc of nuclear arms control—what it has accomplished, where it has failed and what it can do for our future security. In looking at the history, this article pulls the different strands from one period into the next, but does not delve into the details of any particular agreement. Nuclear arms control experts may take exception to this surface skimming, but I think it makes sense as food for thought: to remind us all how we determined the value of nuclear arms control in the first place, and how we have sustained it over time. Now we have to consider what makes sense for the future.

From Hiroshima to the Cuban Missile Crisis

The early history of nuclear arms control was wedded to the closing days of World War II: Hiroshima and Nagasaki had taken place; the United States had won the race to acquire nuclear weapons. To its credit, U.S. leadership immediately grasped that efforts should be made to control this new weapon of mass destruction and, if possible, share the benefits of the atom—nuclear energy—internationally. Secretary of State Dean Acheson

joined with David Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority (responsible for fissile material production), and four other prominent figures to prepare what became the Acheson-Lilienthal Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy. Its goal was to ensure that the United Nations would control nuclear resources and ensure that they were only used for peaceful purposes. Those countries acquiring nuclear weapons technology would give it up; and once U.N. controls over their programs were in place, the United States would relinquish its arsenal.

Bernard Baruch was the U.S. negotiator who presented this proposal to the U.N. Security Council in January 1946. It was already evident that the Soviet Union was unlikely to cooperate, so Baruch modified the plan in several ways, importantly seeking to prevent the UNSC veto from being used in this setting. The Soviets presented their own competing Gromyko Plan, which called for the immediate prohibition of nuclear weapons and would have caused the United States to give up its arsenal immediately. These competing plans were debated until December 1946, when the Baruch Plan was put to a vote before the Security Council. Ten of the 12 members voted in favor, but the USSR and Poland abstained. The measure was not passed, so the first

major international effort at nuclear arms control failed.

As the 1950s unfolded, both the United States and Soviet Union continued to test more and more powerful weapons, racing to acquire the hydrogen bomb. The first Soviet test was at Semipalatinsk in 1955, and the first U.S. test was at Bikini Atoll in 1956. Both continued to build nuclear warheads, so that by the mid-1960s, the United States had an arsenal of approximately 32,000 warheads, and the Soviets, according to the account of former Minister of Atomic Energy Viktor Mikhailov in the Sept. 26, 1993 *New York Times*, had more than 40,000.

Thus, the stage was set for a major nuclear crisis in the Cold War years, when the United States and Soviet Union were constantly confronting each other: whether on the diplomatic front in the United Nations, on the borders between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in Berlin, or in regional wars and insurgencies across Eurasia and into Africa and Latin America. The fulcrum for communist revolution in Latin America, of course, was Cuba. I am not going to recount the details of the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis here; Graham Allison's *Essence of Decision* is still the classic analysis (see 2nd ed., Longman, 1999). New analyses were also undertaken once the old Soviet archives opened up and Russian participants started interacting with their U.S. counterparts at the time of the 40th anniversary. A very good wrap-up of this work appears on the National Security Archive website (see nsarchive2.gwu.edu). Suffice it to say, we came close to nuclear war.

The Cuban Missile Crisis deeply shook the leaders on both sides, and so it provided the first impetus to pursue true nuclear arms control. President John F. Kennedy's American University commencement speech in June 1963 was a U.S. watershed: He declared an immediate moratorium on U.S. nuclear tests in the atmosphere, to be maintained as long as others did not test, and announced an agreement with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to begin negotiation of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. By August 1963, a mere two months later, an atmospheric test ban had been negotiated

and signed: the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. As an aside, it is interesting that there was an environmental impetus to these negotiations that made them popular both among the U.S. public and internationally. People were realizing that strontium-90 from atmospheric testing was getting into the food supply—most crucially, into children's milk.

NATO and the NPT

Now fast-forward to the mid-1960s, when a lot was going on. First, beginning in 1965, the Non-Proliferation Treaty was under negotiation. This involved tough bargaining about the behavior of those states that had already tested nuclear weapons; they turned out, eventually, to be the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council: the United States, USSR, China, U.K. and France. The rest of the states also drove a hard bargain, eventually ending up with a three-pillared construction for the treaty: all would work to prevent nuclear proliferation; all would cooperate to share the benefits of the peaceful atom; and all would pursue nuclear disarmament. The disarmament pillar was particularly directed at the nuclear weapons states: they would work steadily to eliminate nuclear weapons while the other countries would eschew them. It was the grand bargain of the NPT inscribed in its Article VI.

Among those who had tested nuclear weapons, the bargaining was particularly sharp between the United States and the Soviet Union, because they had tested the most and had deployed by far the biggest arsenals, which is still the case today. It also brought in the NATO Alliance, which had been suffering its own version of an existential threat. In 1967 France withdrew from the military command structure of NATO and threw its headquarters—civilian and military—out of Paris. This, in my view, is the most difficult crisis that the Alliance has weathered, and it led to some deep soul-searching on the part of the allies, led by Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel. He produced a short and succinct report that called for détente with the Soviets while continuing to pursue firm deterrence measures. This basic conclusion of the Harmel



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Before joining Stanford, Gottmoeller was the Deputy Secretary General of NATO from 2016 to 2019. Prior to NATO, she served for nearly five years as the under secretary for arms control and international security at the U.S. Department of State. While assistant secretary of State for arms control, verification and compliance in 2009 and 2010, she was the chief U.S. negotiator of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) with the Russian Federation.

Prior to government service, she was a senior associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with joint appointments to the nonproliferation and Russia programs. She served as the director of the Carnegie Moscow Center from 2006 to 2008, and is currently a nonresident fellow in Carnegie's Nuclear Policy Program. She is also a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Report set the stage for NATO to participate fully in arms control policymaking and negotiations with the USSR.

Where the NPT was concerned, the Soviets were trying to destroy a *bête noire* that had preoccupied them since World War II—the specter of a German nuclear weapons program. It is easy to forget, but when the NPT was being negotiated, a number of European states were pursuing their own nuclear weapons—not only Germany, but countries as diverse as Sweden and Switzerland. The Soviets were intent on ensuring that the Germans never got their own nuclear arsenal. They therefore agreed to the notion that certain NATO countries in Europe would have nuclear weapons on their territories, but those weapons would remain in full control of the United States. For the Soviets, the NPT, which was opened for signature in 1968, was the instrument by which Germany would remain a non-nuclear weapon state, and for that reason Moscow accepted U.S. nuclear weapons on the territory of some NATO countries.

I note this because for the past few years the Russians have been complaining that the United States is “violating” the NPT by deploying nuclear weapons under its control on NATO allied territory. However, the NPT negotiating record clearly shows that their Soviet predecessors agreed to these arrangements. It was worth it to them to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of the Germans.

Glassboro: Toward the First Détente

The Glassboro Summit is an important but little-remembered moment in arms control history that took place June 23-25, 1967, at Glassboro State College in New Jersey. Now called Rowan University, the site was chosen because of its proximity to New York City, where Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin was addressing the United Nations over the Middle East crisis—the Six-Day War had occurred just a few weeks earlier. Tensions were also high over the Vietnam War. Kosygin wrote to President Lyndon Johnson, and the two agreed to meet.

It was the first time that the United States presented to Soviet leaders the proposition that it is important to limit strategic ballistic missile defenses as well as strategic nuclear offensive weapon systems. It is a simple argument: If strategic strike offensive missiles are limited and ballistic missile defense systems continue to improve technologically and expand operationally, then over time, the defense systems will begin to undermine the strategic offensive deterrent of one party or the other. The Soviet leaders were baffled: How could limiting defenses ever be a good thing? Kosygin and his colleagues were no doubt confounded because Soviet military doctrine and strategy, including nuclear doctrine, were strictly the purview of the Soviet military leadership. It was doubtless the first

As the 1950s unfolded, both the United States and Soviet Union continued to test more and more powerful weapons, racing to acquire the hydrogen bomb.

time that the Communist Party leadership had ever heard anything in detail about the nuclear offense-defense relationship.

But by the time President Richard Nixon met in Moscow with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in May 1972, the Soviets were convinced of the need to limit defensive as well as offensive systems. Nixon and Brezhnev signed the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which limited each side to 100 defensive launchers in two sites each; they also signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which was called an interim treaty because it simply froze the number of launchers then deployed. This is significant because the same theme comes up again and again in the history of U.S.-Russian arms control policy: namely, the delicacy of the offense-defense balance and the importance of its maintenance to strategic stability.

Fast-forward now to 1979 and the completion of SALT II, the first treaty to seek to limit strategic offensive arms. It never entered into force because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December of that year—but President Jimmy Carter was already facing an uphill battle in getting the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification. The reason? U.S. hawks and skeptics were sharply criticizing what they called the Soviet breakout potential—the advent of MIRV technology. MIRV stands for multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, which allow a country to deploy multiple warheads on top of individual missiles. Because the Soviets were deploying heavy missiles—the SS-18 and SS-19 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)—they had more capability to carry warheads and deliver them. This was the famous “throw-weight” debate of the 1970s and 1980s. It was feared that they had enormous potential to deploy and deliver many more warheads than the United States could, thus upsetting the strategic balance.

Of course, two can play at this game; and within a short time the United States was also deploying very capable MIRVs on its ground-based systems, the ICBMs, but more so on its submarine-based systems, the sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The United States maintained much quieter submarines in that era, and was able to deliver more accurate strikes from sea-

A treaty that is being hollowed out from the inside is no longer in the U.S. national security interest, which must be the litmus test for any nuclear arms control treaty.

based platforms than the Soviets. The Soviets thus had cause to consider what would happen should the United States choose to deploy an unlimited number of highly accurate warheads at sea, where they could not be easily tracked and targeted.

MIRV technology, in my view, became the real impetus for the two sides to agree in the 1980s to Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. It had proved futile to try to *limit* strategic systems; they had to be *reduced*, and reduced in such a way that each side could be certain that the other side was not able to out-deploy it in warhead numbers.

Destabilizing Developments and the INF Treaty

The other potentially destabilizing development in the late 1970s and early 1980s was the advent of ground-launched intermediate-range missiles, both ballistic and cruise missiles. (Intermediate range is considered to be between 500 and 5,500 kilometers.) These missiles were destabilizing because they either had a fast flight time to target (the ballistic systems), or were stealthy flyers (the cruise systems, which were able to fly below radar coverage). In both cases, they did not give leaders time to make nuclear launch decisions. Thus, in theory they could be used for a “decapitating” first strike, destroying the command and control potential of the other country and leaving it helpless to launch a response strike.

When the Soviets began to deploy their SS-20 missiles in 1976, it got everybody’s attention not only in Washington, but among the NATO allies in Europe: Could the Soviet Union now attack and destroy Berlin or Paris or London without warning? Would this threat alone “decouple” NATO Europe from the United States—i.e., would the United States ever be willing to respond to such an attack on a NATO country by launching its intercontinental systems and bringing down a response strike on U.S. territory? Would it not be more likely to let NATO go?

These are the debates that raged at NATO and among NATO capitals during the late 1970s and early 1980s. They led to one of the most significant decisions ever taken at NATO—the dual-track decision to deploy intermediate-range ground-launched missiles

such as the Pershing-2 in Europe, and to push the USSR to begin to negotiate. This is the most significant period during which we built up weapons in order to bring the other side to the negotiating table. The decision was very controversial, although it was in line with the Harmel approach—to be firm on deterrence and defense but also ready to negotiate. In the end, it brought many Europeans out into the streets to protest; but it also worked.

The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) signed by President Ronald Reagan and USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987 was a global ban on such missiles in the hands of either the Americans or the Soviets. The treaty worked because the Soviets came to realize that, once the Pershing-2 and ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) were deployed in NATO Europe, they faced the threat of a no-warning strike on critical command and control targets in Moscow. The decapitation threat had come home to them. It also worked because the United States insisted, and the Soviet Union finally agreed, that on-site inspections and other detailed verification measures were needed to ensure compliance with the treaty. This was a long-sought breakthrough in nuclear arms control.

The treaty enshrining this great arms control victory remained in place for more than three decades, until the Donald Trump administration withdrew from it in August 2019. It is worth noting, however, that per the treaty’s provisions the on-site inspection regime had ended in May 2001, 10 years after all of the INF missiles had been eliminated. As verification expert John Russell noted at the time, “The treaty has now come of age and must survive the rest of its indefinite duration without the security of regular on-site inspections” (VERTIC Briefing Paper 01/02, August 2001). That proved to be a tall order: With no on-site inspections, the treaty was vulnerable to violation.

We became aware after 2010 that the Russians were developing a ground-launched intermediate-range missile in violation of the INF Treaty, the 9M-729 (SSC-8 in NATO parlance). I raised it more than 20 times with my Russian counterparts during the period between 2013 and 2016, when I left the State Department; but the Russians always failed to acknowledge the existence of the missile. When the Trump administration engaged with them, they acknowledged the missile, but said it was not a ground-launched intermediate-range system. However, we were able to prove not only to ourselves, but also to our allies, that the missile is indeed in violation of the INF Treaty, and so all NATO allies and the U.S. allies in Asia joined the United States in calling the Russians out. The United States determined Russia to be in material breach of the treaty, which means that Russia is violating the treaty in a way that defeats its object and purpose.

My bottom line regarding this difficult decision is that the United States had good reason to withdraw from the INF Treaty, and it had the support of U.S. allies. A treaty that is being hollowed out from the inside is no longer in the U.S. national security interest, which must be the litmus test for any nuclear arms control treaty.

On Strategic Arms Reduction

Finally, it is important to get some perspective on strategic arms reduction—the first Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), the Moscow Treaty (the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty, or SORT) and the New START Treaty. I worked on both START and New START, in 1990 and 1991 as a lowly State Department representative and in 2009 and 2010 as chief negotiator. The basic recipe for the success of both treaties has been that both sides have used them to reduce and eliminate strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and launchers, and to take warheads out of deployment. We have been certain of that because of the monitoring and verification provisions of both treaties—the on-site inspections, yes, but also

the use of unhampered national technical means of verification (e.g., national satellites, radar), exchanges of data and telemetry information, notifications, and demonstrations and exhibitions, which help when compliance problems arise. This is Ronald Reagan’s “trust but verify” adage in action.

START, which entered into force in 1994, brought the number of deployed warheads down from 12,000 to 6,000 on each side. SORT, which entered into force in 2003 and was implemented while START continued in force, brought the numbers of deployed warheads down to approximately 2,200. New START, which entered into force in 2015, brought the numbers down to 1,550 on each side. So there has been real strategic nuclear arms reduction through this series of treaties.

Note, however, that these treaties focus on the elimination of delivery vehicles (e.g., missiles) and launchers (e.g., submarine tubes) because they can easily be seen by national technical means and counted as they are destroyed. Once the warheads are off the delivery vehicles they go into storage and so become “non-deployed,” no longer counted under treaty limits. The holy

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The need of the hour is to reflect on what the long arc of our experience has taught us in the nuclear arms control arena, and think about better treaties for the future.

grail for future nuclear arms treaties is to figure out how to eliminate warheads and verify that process, since neither the United States nor Russia so far has been willing to have foreign inspectors poke around in sensitive nuclear warhead facilities.

I do think we are now on the cusp of grasping that holy grail, and I want to make a plea for continued innovation in the arms control arena. We decided to innovate in the New START Treaty by *not* pursuing the counting rule approach that had been used in START. We had determined those counting rules on the basis of the maximum number of warheads with which a given missile had been tested. The heavy Russian SS-18 ICBMs, for example, were designated under the counting rule to carry 10 warheads each. In New START we went beyond the counting rule approach to actually confirm the number of objects declared to be on the front end of a missile—both nuclear warheads and non-nuclear objects (e.g., missile defense decoys). We do this through on-site inspections that are focused on the missile reentry vehicles—their front ends—where we actually determine which are objects that are non-nuclear. Therefore, we have a better picture of how many nuclear warheads the Russians are actually deploying.

This is the kind of innovation that will help us to begin to reduce and eliminate nuclear warheads, and we need to continue to develop these kinds of tools so that we can grasp this holy grail in the not-too-distant future. It is precisely where the Trump administration wants to go in its efforts to seek limits on nonstrategic nuclear warheads, which are usually held in storage and not operationally deployed on a day-to-day basis. I am convinced we can do it.

The Way Ahead

The need of the hour is to reflect on what the long arc of our experience has taught us in the nuclear arms control arena, and think about better treaties for the future.

First, we have learned how to do verification better over time. The on-site inspection regimes of today could not have been imagined when Nixon and Brezhnev signed the SALT I Treaty in

1972. We are now, as I described above, getting to the point when we can begin to control and limit warheads, because we can imagine how to inspect the process. We need to think through how we would develop new warhead verification regimes.

Second, national technical means (NTM), the satellites and radars that are controlled by governments, have gained in sophistication and coverage over time. That they should not be interfered with during treaty implementation is a well-accepted principle of arms control practice. How NTM should be developed and used in future treaties is now ripe for consideration. We should consider how the new tools on offer, such as the commercial satellite networks, can be fitted into the processes and procedures that we have honed over 50 years of experience with nuclear arms limitation and reduction.

Third, we understand now how to structure treaties to ensure that they actually achieve limitations on and elimination of nuclear weapons systems—missiles, bombers, submarines. Our procedures for conversion or elimination of these systems are well understood; we know what worked and what did not work in the past. Can some of that experience be adjusted to the elimination of nuclear warheads, or do we have to think completely outside the box? Luckily, there has been a wealth of good work at our national laboratories and in the nongovernmental community on this topic.

I am not at all pessimistic about this future, despite the challenges it holds. Certain tensions, such as over the offense-defense relationship, are not going to go away and will have to be dealt with. Likewise, when more countries, first of all China, become invited to the arms control table, the negotiations become more complicated. To begin with, Beijing will have to be convinced that its interests are served by joining in the negotiations. Finally, the debate within the U.S. political system as to whether or not arms control negotiations serve our national security interest will always be a factor.

That calculation, in my view, must be made in every treaty setting and throughout a treaty's lifetime. When the Russians violated the INF Treaty to the point that it was being hollowed out, it was time for the United States to leave. While New START provides us with predictability about the Russian strategic force structure and prevents Moscow from building up its nuclear weapons, it is clearly in our interest to stay. We must be clear-eyed when nuclear arms control is serving us well, but not shy away from admitting when it fails us.

I will end where I began: Nuclear arms control is the only way that we can attain stable and predictable deployments of these most fearsome weapons, and it is the only way that we can ensure we won't be bankrupted by nuclear arms racing. ■

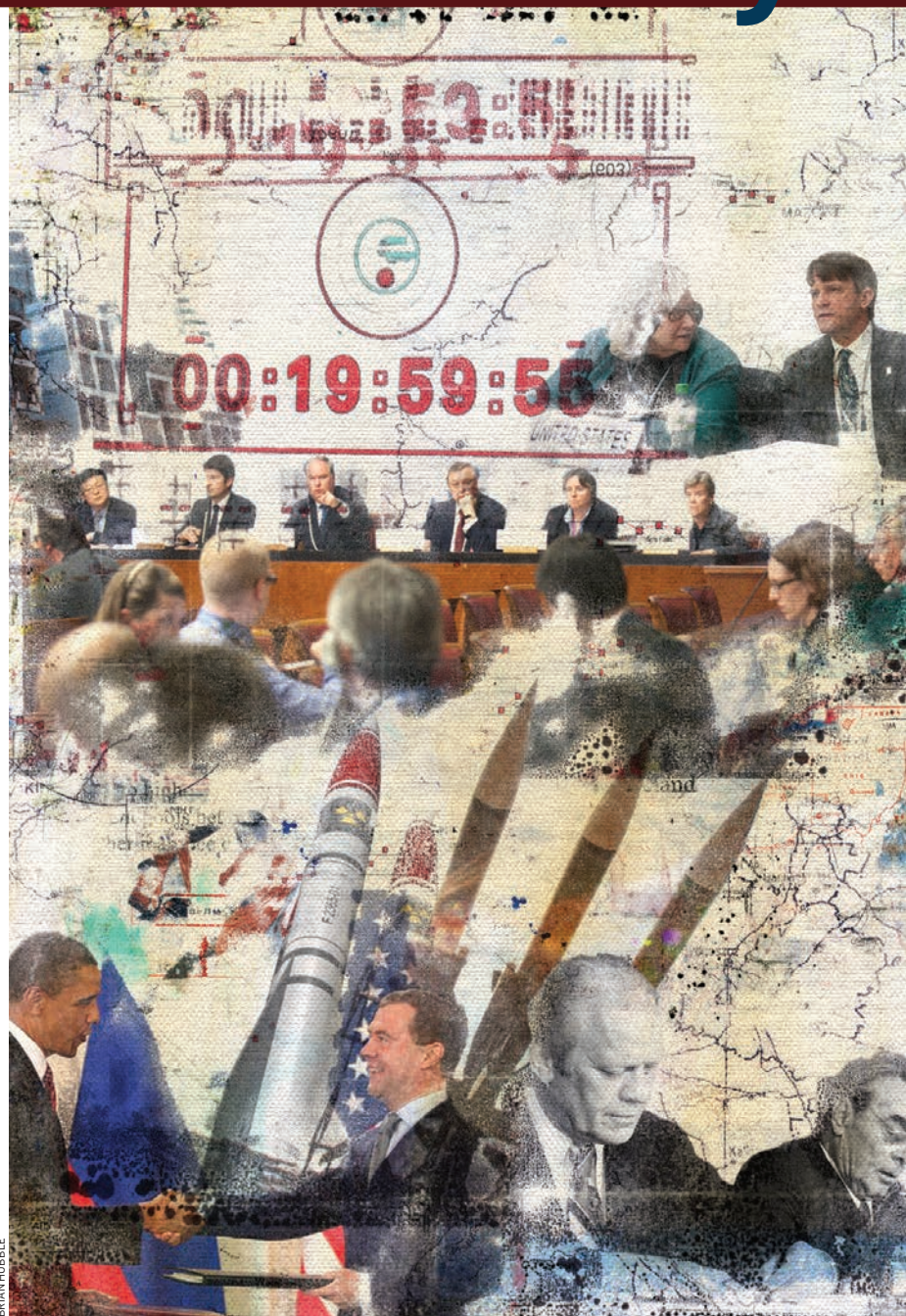
Why Nuclear Arms Control Matters Today

In this time of new strains in great-power relations, nuclear arms control agreements are an essential component of national security.

■ BY THOMAS COUNTRYMAN

Before 2017, every U.S. president dating back to John F. Kennedy proposed and pursued negotiations with Moscow as a means to regulate destabilizing nuclear arms competition and reduce the risk of the United States and its allies being destroyed in a nuclear war. With their diplomatic and military advisers, they sought and concluded a series of treaties, most with strong bipartisan support, that have made the United States and the world much safer, and reduced U.S. and Russian arsenals by 85 percent from Cold War peaks.

The current administration, however, is veering off course from the approach to nuclear risk reduction and arms control pursued by previous Republican and Democratic administrations. Worse, President Donald Trump's team has not presented a coherent alternative road map to reduce the threats posed by nuclear weapons.



BRIAN HUBBLE

The United States today has no proposals on the table for new agreements that would reduce the risk of nuclear war, other than a vague and passive call for trilateral negotiations with Beijing and Moscow.

This departure from proven and effective nuclear risk reduction and arms control strategies is a matter of urgent concern, because, among other things, we face a higher risk of a U.S.-Russian nuclear war than at any time since the end of the Cold War.

Proven Rules of the Road

Previous U.S. presidents understood that talking to an adversary is not a sign of weakness, but a hardheaded and realistic means to reduce an existential threat posed to the United States. They came to realize that well-crafted arms control and nonproliferation treaties provide rules of the road that enable the United States to more effectively pursue its economic and security interests.

As Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin argued in their seminal 1961 study, *Strategy and Arms Control*, nuclear weapons limitation agreements with adversaries can help achieve three critical foreign policy objectives: “the avoidance of war that neither side wants, minimizing the costs and risks of the arms competition, and curtailing the scope and violence of war in the event it occurs.”

Throughout the nuclear age, U.S. policymakers—from William Foster, Henry Kissinger, George Shultz and Brent Scowcroft to John Kerry and Rose Gottemoeller—have pursued arms control agreements because they are a vital tool that can constrain other nations’ ability to act against our interests,



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and nonproliferation from 2011 to 2017. He retired from the U.S. Foreign Service with the rank of Minister Counselor in January 2017 after serving for 35 years.

while still allowing the freedom of action that is necessary to defend U.S. interests and those of our close allies. In other words, arms control agreements are not a concession made by the United States, nor a favor done for another nation; they are an essential component of, and contributor to, our national security.

The history of the nuclear age also shows that the United States, as the world’s first and most sophisticated nuclear weapons power, must play an active role as a global leader on nuclear security matters, both bilaterally and multilaterally. Negotiating to end the arms race, achieve reductions of nuclear stockpiles and, eventually, eliminate all nuclear weapons is not only a moral obligation, but a legal obligation under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons since its approval by the U.S. Senate in 1969. These goals can and must be pursued, regardless of the ups and downs of great-power relations.

Most U.S. presidents have come to recognize that the pursuit of these goals is not an option, but a priority. Mutual assured destruction is not a theory or a philosophy; it is a reality. Once the Soviet Union achieved reliable intercontinental ballistic missiles in the 1960s, neither the United States nor Russia could launch a nuclear attack on the other’s homeland without the near-certain destruction of its own homeland.

New Road, No Rules

In a departure from this history, the Trump administration has abandoned U.S. leadership in the arms control field and seems guided by a contrary set of assertions that have gained salience on the hawkish side of the Republican party, namely:

- The United States should not discuss vital national security issues, or consider compromise, with adversaries such as Iran until they have fully met U.S. demands in all fields.
- Arms control agreements grant unwarranted concessions to opponents, and they constrain the United States’ freedom of action. (This has been the guiding principle for John Bolton, former national security adviser and a serial assassin of arms control agreements.)
- Arms control agreements serve little value if they do not solve every problem between the parties. This all-or-nothing approach is exemplified by the U.S. decision to withdraw from the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.
- We must be prepared and willing to wage, and prevail in, a “limited” nuclear war, which can remain “limited.” This mirrors an increased Russian interest in the same topic and is exemplified in the renewed U.S. program for construction

of nonstrategic (so-called “low-yield”) warheads and delivery systems.

- The United States can achieve a numerical or technical advantage over our nuclear-armed adversaries by constantly pursuing improvements and new nuclear weapons capabilities. (The administration’s 2018 Nuclear Posture Review makes several references to the U.S. “technical edge,” which is of little relevance in an all-out nuclear conflict.)

Sadly, no U.S. official today is allowed to repeat the obvious fact that motivated President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to jointly declare in November 1985: “A nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought.” (The White House is reportedly concerned that repeating this declaration would send the wrong message to Pyongyang.)

Ignoring Core Arguments

In a Feb. 11 speech in London originally titled “The Psychopolitics of Arms Control,” Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation Chris Ford laid out the administration’s critique of arms control advocates. In seeking to take down several straw-man arguments, which he termed the “pathologies” of those who advocate for “outdated” approaches to arms control, Ford attributed to unnamed advocates words they never said, while ignoring their core arguments. He falsely accused arms control practitioners, presumably going back through the decades, of being unconcerned about national and international security and of using support for arms reduction as “absolutist performative moralism,” “ideological identity politics” and a means of “virtue signaling.”

Such accusations do great disservice to the many dedicated national security professionals who work in this field, both inside and outside government. There is a genuine disagreement whether, as Ford argued in the same speech, a favorable international security environment is a precondition for disarmament or, instead (as I believe history demonstrates), disarmament helps to foster international security. But Ford is wrong to say that those who may be critical of this administration’s approach on nuclear weapons policy matters are blind to the actual security conditions that shape our foreign policy and arms control goals.

Ford also erroneously charged that the arms control community ignored Russia’s violation of the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and suggested there should be no response other than the United States remaining in the INF Treaty. There were alternatives to the United States leaving the

In both Moscow and Washington, military and strategic thinkers are again talking about the plausibility of “limited nuclear war.”

treaty and options for bringing Russia back into compliance, none of which were perfect. But the United States’ exit from INF, even if justified by Russia’s violation, was not the only possible course of action, nor even a smart thing to do.

Ford may be right, as he argued in his speech, that the credibility of agreements requires a readiness to abandon agreements that are being violated. But that does not explain the Trump administration’s violation of the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Program of Action, with which Iran was in compliance, or its reluctance to extend the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START), which both Russia and the United States are implementing in full, but which is due to expire in less than a year unless extended by mutual agreement.

A Dangerous Void

Ford’s claim that the United States is pursuing new forms of arms control has the same credibility as most White House pronouncements these days. What is most embarrassing for those of us who took pride in seven decades of America’s global leadership in arms control, always setting the global security and risk reduction agenda, is that the United States today has no proposals on the table for new agreements that would reduce the risk of nuclear war, other than a vague and passive call for trilateral negotiations with Beijing and Moscow on nuclear arms control. Worse, a year after floating the idea, the administration has not even bothered to sketch out any possible incentive for China (whose nuclear arsenal is one-twentieth the size of the Russian and U.S. arsenals) to join in such a negotiation.

At the same time, President Trump implausibly pledges to make the United States “invulnerable to missile attack,” and his officials have refused to engage in negotiations on the topic of ballistic missile defense, the U.S. program that stokes Russian paranoia and that Vladimir Putin uses to justify his own pursuit of new and more dangerous weapons systems.

In both Moscow and Washington, military and strategic thinkers are again talking about the plausibility of “limited nuclear war” and are building the delivery systems and

In the longer term, it is important to rebuild the capacity of our diplomatic and military community to deal with these issues in a hardheaded way.

warheads that make first use of nuclear weapons (by either side) more credible and thus more likely. There are more potential flash points between NATO and Russian forces in Europe—and more provocative Russian behavior—that could cause an accident to escalate into an incident that becomes a conventional war that escalates to a nuclear war.

In an environment of aggressive cyber warfare by powers large and small, there is also a higher risk of a false alarm triggering a nuclear response, an outcome we escaped with minutes to spare at several points during the Cold War. And in surveying the personality and politics of the nine men who have their fingers on nuclear buttons, there is good reason to be concerned that any of them might put their personal ambitions ahead of the planet's security.

So what do we do?

Urgent Tasks

The most urgent task is renewal of the New START agreement before it expires on Feb. 5, 2021. This does not require a return to the treaty graveyard of the U.S. Senate, but only the signature of two presidents, which Putin has declared he is ready for without conditions. If no action is taken, we will have no numerical limits on U.S. and Russian deployed nuclear weapons for the first time in 50 years. We will also lose the notification and inspection provisions that give us insight into Russia's nuclear capabilities.

And we will touch off—gradually at first, and then rapidly—an open-ended nuclear arms race that will exceed in risk and expense what we experienced during the Cold War. It would be a race without winners, and unaffordable, as it would greatly increase the \$1.7 trillion already scheduled to be spent on rebuilding and expanding the U.S. nuclear arsenal over the next 30 years. (By the way, the president's budget proposal for Fiscal Year 2021 allocates more money to the nuclear weapons enterprise than to the entire diplomacy and development budget.)

In an election year, it is to be hoped that the president will recognize that there is no other foreign policy step he can take (particularly regarding Russia) that would be welcomed by

both Democrats and Republicans as much as an extension of New START. This could also kick-start a more intensive U.S.-Russian strategic stability dialogue, one that thoroughly explores the legitimate security concerns of both sides, with no topics excluded. (The three sessions of this dialogue held since 2017 have been brief, desultory encounters and have apparently not even agreed on an agenda for future work.) A New START extension would do far more than the administration's current rhetoric in making it possible to advance the praiseworthy goals the president has advocated but done nothing to move forward: addressing both new strategic weapons and nonstrategic nuclear weapons, and bringing China more fully into the nuclear risk reduction process.

Beyond that, the Department of State has initiated a multicountry dialogue on "Creating the Environment for Nuclear Disarmament" (CEND). This is a dialogue worth having, even if it is only a less-formal talk shop than the Geneva-based U.N. Conference on Disarmament, which is an organization that makes your local Department of Motor Vehicles office seem dynamic. But the United States also has to address the skepticism of most CEND participants that this is intended as a means to lessen international pressure for progress on nuclear arms control action while the United States modernizes and expands its nuclear arsenal. Washington must also be willing to listen to its allies, who unanimously support New START extension, and most of whom believe it is possible to respond to the demise of the INF Treaty by means other than reprising the Euromissile crisis of the 1980s.

In the longer term, it is important to rebuild the capacity of our diplomatic and military community to deal with these issues in a hardheaded way. With no genuine arms control negotiations for nearly 10 years, since conclusion of the New START treaty in 2010, we have few experts who have actually dealt with the Russians, particularly in the deliberately emaciated Department of State. Beyond the next round of negotiations, it is important that the U.S. educational system (with the support of the government) produce a new generation of experts in nuclear, Russian and Chinese affairs.

Discarding a 60-year history of agreements that have improved America's national security, saved us trillions of dollars, made it possible to invest in more effective means of defense and reduced a literally existential risk to the human race is a dangerous act of deliberate ideological blindness. In the current environment of great-power competition, there will have to be new approaches to arms control. They will not be found by rebranding "re-armament" as "arms control." ■

Restoring Nuclear Diplomacy

Urgent action is needed to put the lid on a new and costly global arms race.

■ BY JOSEPH CIRINCIONE

The Cold War is over, but the weapons remain. After decades of progress in reducing nuclear arsenals and nuclear threats, the global nuclear security enterprise is close to collapse. Urgent action is needed to save it, including building support for nuclear restraint among both government officials and the American public.

The threat is clear: a new arms race has begun. Each of the nine nuclear-armed nations is building new weapons. Some are replacing older weapons with new generations of missiles, bombers, submarines and warheads. Several (India, Pakistan, China and North Korea) are increasing their stockpiles. Some (the United States, Russia and China) are developing new types of attack systems, including “more usable” weapons.



BRIAN HUBBLE

The collapse of disarmament efforts has provoked strong international reaction.

All nuclear reductions have stopped. Nor are there any new negotiations for future reduction agreements. At best, we have vague talks about talks, or discussions of what conditions might be required before any nation could even consider reducing their nuclear stockpiles.

Worse, the security architecture constructed by many nations—and in the United States by both Republicans and Democrats—is being systematically destroyed. The United States and Russia have abandoned the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) negotiated by President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev—the treaty that began three decades of disarmament that reduced the global supply of nuclear weapons from more than 66,000 to under 13,500 today.

The last remaining reduction treaty, the 2010 New START agreement negotiated by Presidents Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev, will expire in February 2021. The Trump administration shows little interest in extending the accord. If New START dies, nuclear arsenals will be unconstrained for the first time in 50 years.



Joseph Cirincione is president of Ploughshares Fund, a foundation dedicated to eliminating the threat of nuclear weapons, and the author of Nuclear Nightmares: Securing the World Before It Is Too Late (2013), Bomb Scare: The History and Future of

Nuclear Weapons (2007) and Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Threats (2005).

He has worked on nuclear weapons policy in Washington for more than 35 years, serving previously as vice president for national security at the Center for American Progress, director for nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and senior associate at the Stimson Center.

He also worked for nine years as professional staff on the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services and Government Operations Committees. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He also teaches at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service.

Saving the Regime

The collapse of disarmament efforts has provoked strong international reaction. Many non-nuclear nations have issued pleas for the few nuclear-armed states to reconsider their programs and strategies. Other, more assertive actions include the construction of an alternative nuclear security architecture, one organized around a global ban on nuclear weapons, similar to the international bans on biological and chemical weapons and landmines.

On July 7, 2017, 122 nations voted at the United Nations to approve a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Popularly known as the Ban Treaty, this agreement has since been ratified by 35 nations as of the end of February. When it enjoys ratification by 50 nations, likely before or in 2021, the agreement will become international law.

The treaty is controversial. None of the nuclear-armed states have signed it, and several have come out in strong opposition. Some arms control advocates fear that it would undermine the bargain struck 50 years ago by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT): namely, that those with nuclear weapons would negotiate reductions, and those without these weapons would promise never to build them.

In truth, we need both the vision and practical next steps. When the “Ban Treaty” enters into force, it will provide a noble goal, but not all the steps for achieving that goal. More will be needed to restore nuclear diplomacy.

The First Step

It is still possible that President Donald J. Trump could bring America back to the business of reducing the nuclear threat, even though he ended reductions and led the U.S. withdrawal from the INF Treaty and the nuclear accord with Iran. After all, Ronald Reagan turned from the massive nuclear buildup of his first term to a second term where his INF Treaty broke the back of the nuclear arms race and began the 30 years of reductions we have enjoyed until the present moment.

President Trump will have a chance to execute such a shift when the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council meet at the United Nations in September in a meeting convened by Russia and announced at the end of February. This meeting could allow the administration to claim progress in involving China in reduction talks and, thus, finally agree to extending the New START Treaty. Trump officials have maintained that the existing treaty is so flawed that it is only worth extending if China becomes a party to the pact and it is extended to including nonstrategic weapons, as well. Although

the administration has not done much to advance either of these goals (perhaps because they are not practically achievable), the September meeting could combine with domestic political pressures to convince Trump to extend the treaty. That would be a critical and popular first step.

The treaty enjoys the support of U.S. military leadership because it limits Russian strategic nuclear forces and ensures compliance through robust inspections. General John Hyten, then commander of the U.S. Strategic Command, testified to Congress in March 2017 that he was “a big supporter” of the New START Treaty, and that “bilateral, verifiable arms control agreements are essential” in providing an effective deterrence structure. Admiral Charles Richards, who now leads the Strategic Command, testified on Feb. 27 that he, too, supports the treaty.

Global leaders would welcome the move. “Russia has indicated, at the highest levels, its willingness to do so,” explained former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov in a rare joint *New York Times* op-ed. “The United States and Russia can avoid a senseless and dangerous return to nuclear brinkmanship if they act soon. There is no reason to wait, and extending the treaty, known as New START, is the place to begin.” They were supported by a concurrent joint statement from 29 former foreign ministers who warned of a “rapidly deteriorating nuclear landscape and the increasing possibility of nuclear weapons being used either deliberately or through an unintended escalation.”

Stopping the Arms Race

The second step, either by Trump or the next U.S. president, is more difficult, though no less important: We must contain the massive new nuclear weapons programs now underway before they lock in another 40 years of nuclear brinkmanship. In the United States, these programs are the legacy of the Obama administration, which agreed to an \$88 billion “nuclear modernization” program to secure Republican backing of the New START Treaty in 2010.

There was then, and remains still, bipartisan support for the reasonable updating of older weapons and infrastructure. President Obama himself articulated this point when he declared in Prague in 2009 that “as long as these weapons exist, the United States will maintain a safe, secure and effective arsenal.”

However, there is no bipartisan consensus for an indefinite arms race. It was assumed that reasonable modernization programs would go hand-in-hand with continued arms control. Obama and Medvedev saw New START as a quick fix to preserve



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Nuclear diplomacy cannot be restored by traditional means alone. There must be a nonpartisan counter to the allure of defense contracts.

verification mechanisms and implement some small reductions while they negotiated a new treaty for truly deep cuts in the arsenals. Thus, steady reductions would allow them to maintain nuclear forces at safer and less expensive levels than before. That bargain has been broken. A combination of Republican political opposition, Russian recalcitrance and stiff resistance from inside the nuclear-industrial complex blocked further cuts. Arms control stopped, yet the contracts continued.

“Experts are suddenly talking less about the means for deterring nuclear conflict than about developing weapons that could be used for offensive purposes,” warn Albright and Ivanov. “Some have even embraced the folly that a nuclear war can be won.” The Russian deployment of shorter-range nuclear-capable missiles in Europe and U.S. deployment on strategic submarines of new “low-yield” nuclear warheads are cases in point.

The resources devoted to this new nuclear buildup are staggering. Nuclear-armed states will spend more than \$1 trillion this decade on nuclear weapons. The United States will spend the most, more than all the other nations combined. The Trump administration’s budget for Fiscal Year 2021 allocates more than \$50 billion for new weapons, more than at any time since the end of the Cold War. This is a small part of the \$2 trillion these weapons will cost American taxpayers over the next 25 years.

If these programs are not reined in soon, they may become unstoppable. Once contractors start “bending metal,” as my colleague William Hartung said recently, these programs become much harder to cancel. Defense contractors spread production across the country, creating political support for programs in the Pentagon and Congress.

Reorienting National Priorities

That is why the third step may be the most consequential. Nuclear diplomacy cannot be restored by traditional means alone. There must be a nonpartisan counter to the allure of defense contracts.

On June 12, 1982, one million people demonstrated in New York City’s Central Park, protesting the Cold War arms race. It was the largest political demonstration in American history; and, coupled with a nuclear freeze movement, it challenged the U.S. and Soviet leadership to reverse their nuclear buildups.

Although President Reagan resisted the anti-nuclear movement fiercely—at one time claiming it was the work of “foreign agents”—he soon understood that the political ground had shifted. It may have also allowed him to get in touch with his own deeply held feelings about abolishing nuclear weapons. He began declaring publicly that “a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought,” and pressed his Cabinet to find diplomatic openings with Moscow.

“If things get hotter and hotter, and arms control remains an issue,” Reagan told his secretary of State, George Shultz, in late 1983, “maybe I should go see [Soviet leader Yuri] Andropov and propose eliminating all nuclear weapons.” Two years later, he found a partner in Mikhail Gorbachev and by the end of the decade had powerfully reversed the nuclear arms race.

We cannot expect to replicate the 20th-century nuclear freeze movement. Instead, the challenge will be to fold this issue into the new, vibrant mass movements of the current era. It may be possible for arms control and disarmament advocates to partner with movements on climate action or health care, for example. These social changes will need massive government funding for new programs. The nuclear budget is one major source for those funds. And, as important as these other causes are, they cannot achieve their goals if nuclear catastrophe occurs. If these movements can connect and reinforce each other, awareness of how the issues intersect will grow, and Washington may again be convinced that effective diplomacy will pay domestic political dividends.

It may be that the COVID-19 pandemic will reorient national priorities, alerting us to the danger of ignoring growing catastrophic threats. There may be a new opening to restore nuclear diplomacy, to think anew and to offer clear, practical steps to prevent the worst from happening—before it is too late. ■

Arms Control Diplomacy

From the FSJ Archive



The Man Who Made Arms Control ‘Respectable’: An Interview with William G. Foster

William G. Foster was named in 1961 by President Kennedy to be the first Director of what is still the world’s only governmental agency of its kind, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. ... In this interview by a member

of his former staff in ACDA, Ambassador Foster takes a wide-ranging look at the past, the present, and the future of arms control.

... As it turned out, the business of arms control not only became respected, but respectable as well, thanks to the foresight and the courage of President John F. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy was not only deeply interested in the subject but was an enthusiastic supporter of the idea. With this kind of backing we managed to put together a team of practical men who were surely anything but dreamers.

Pretty soon, what had seemed to most people to be a sort of pastime began to attract the very real interest of the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and of course that of our landlord, the State Department. Some of the brightest minds in the fields of foreign affairs, defense, and science joined us. But most important of all, we had a law—the Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961—to help us get things done. And we had some difficult work to do, not only externally but I might say internally as well. ...

Now, people say the Soviets never live up to their agreements. But if you get agreements down in black and white, and if you have complete understanding of the nature of the problem and the method of dealing with it, mutuality of interest in preserving such agreements becomes almost automatic.

It has been my experience that where you do have that kind of understanding and have it directly committed, agreements do stand up. This has been true of the Antarctic Treaty, it is true of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, and it is true of the Outer Space Treaty. You must remember also, of course, that U.S. arms control policy requires that there be means for adequately verifying compliance with agreements.

—Nicholas Ruggieri, February 1971



The Prevention of Nuclear War in a World of Uncertainty

Let us admit that we are dealing in this field with arguments based on only plausibility, not experience. Many of these arguments can be constructed just as convincingly in their logical opposites. And since nuclear policy cannot possibly be based on

actual experience—let us hope and pray it never can—it tends to feed on itself. It gets no feedback from the real world, no empirical evidence of the incontrovertible kind that buttresses the physical and even the social sciences.

In this sense we are a ship sailing through the night guided only by the light at the prow. Because nuclear strategy cannot offer positive proof, I think it is more like a theology than a science. Hence, we run the risk that our “theologies,” ours and the Russians’, may not be in harmony. Sudden incompatibilities can develop in military thinking and could lead to catastrophe.

All the more reason, then, for us to keep our minds open and not plan the future by listening only to the echo of our old ideas.

—Fred Ikle, May 1974



The Essence of the Debate over SALT II

One of the most striking gaps in the analysis of those opposed to the [SALT II] treaty is any really systematic discussion of how the United States will in fact be better off if the treaty is rejected. Even if one accepts, for the sake of argument, that a tougher

bargain might have been struck with the Russians—a generally dubious proposition in itself—simply rejecting SALT as “inadequate,” or attaching major substantive amendments to the treaty that Moscow is bound to reject, would be virtually irrelevant to the “redressing” of the Soviet-American nuclear balance. The issue more specifically is how, without SALT II, that nuclear balance will be more advantageous to us by the end of 1985 when SALT II is scheduled to expire.

—Stephen Garrett, October 1979



Restarting START

Contrary to [President Ronald] Reagan's assertions, more nuclear weapons are not needed to serve as bargaining chips in START. More weapons would make it harder, not easier, to achieve mutual reductions. Soviet leader Yuri Andropov's call for renewal of detente in his hard-line

speech immediately following Leonid Brezhnev's death made it clear that the Soviet Union would respond to a U.S. arms build-up with a build-up of its own. Thus, the funding and deployment of more American weapon systems, such as the MX, Trident II, or ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles, will result in more Soviet arms. And, in an ever-spiraling process, more Soviet arms will in turn result in more U.S. arms.

Today, the United States already has thousands of nuclear weapons it could trade away without jeopardizing its security. And both sides could gain some bargaining leverage from the new and more deadly weapons still under development—a Soviet mobile ICBM, for example, or a U.S. sea-launched cruise missile—providing that leverage is used in negotiations before the weapons are deployed. It is only then that the U.S. or Soviet negotiator could offer to delay or cancel deployment or outline what conditions would lead to deployment.

The issue of nuclear weapons is at the center of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, and an agreement resulting in substantial reductions would have far reaching political effects. The Reagan administration should therefore introduce a new proposal on START.

—David Linebaugh and Alexander Peters, January 1983



Accepting Nuclear Weapons

Is there any reason to believe that the Soviets would not capitalize on the enormous military advantage that goes with first nuclear use?...

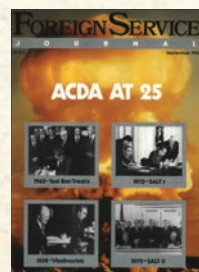
NATO'S central military problem is that it has opted out of the Nuclear Age, while the Soviets have unhesitatingly accepted it.

Neither Americans nor Europeans have been willing to contemplate nuclear weapons seriously as warfighting instruments. The Soviets always have. This fundamental doctrinal disparity has placed the alliance in an untenable position regarding realistically defending itself. The West's dilemma is that it will have to change its views and accept nuclear weapons to survive, but it believes it cannot survive by accepting them.

So long as this quandary persists, there is no way for NATO to

come up with a realistic defense. And perhaps the most dangerously unrealistic thing it can do is to concoct new conventional panaceas to calm down the increasing political discontent over an alliance that now seems headed for oblivion. If the West seriously wishes to defend itself, it will have to resolve its nuclear dilemma rather than displaying new conventional looks that ignore nuclear realities.

—Sam Cohen (inventor of the neutron bomb), September 1983



ACDA's Impact on Arms Control and Its Role in the Future

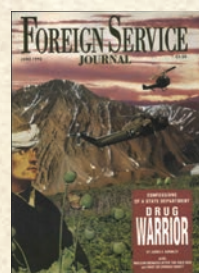
Kenneth L. Adelman: The success of arms control itself depends on the maintenance of American strength. Twenty-five years after the founding of ACDA [the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency], arms control is a far larger and more

complicated enterprise than it was in those early years, and in some ways a more difficult one. ... But 25 years after ACDA's start, the effort to achieve a real reduction in the nuclear danger has really just begun, and all of us are conscious that we have a long way to go.

George M. Seignious: To prosper in the bureaucratic fray and to keep the support of its constituency behind it, ACDA must seek to maintain momentum in the search for realistic arms-control solutions while protecting its flanks against charges that it is "soft."

In a similar vein, ACDA, in cooperation with other parts of government, should devote even greater effort to improving our verification capabilities. Greater confidence in compliance will strengthen ACDA's constituency and increase the viability of the arms-control process. In this regard, we should not only pursue aggressively refinements in our national means of verification but also put the Soviets to the test on their new-found interest in on-site inspection.

—Comments from ACDA directors, September 1986



Lowering the Nuclear Threshold: The Specter of North Korea

If the United States and other concerned governments conclude that North Korea is attempting to evade its commitments under the NPT or its pledges to South Korea not to acquire either nuclear weapons or reprocessing facilities, a decision will confront the world community more daunting by far than last year's decision to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. For to employ conventional

weapons to drive Iraq out of Kuwait would be a far more dangerous precedent than last year's decision to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. For to employ conventional

air strikes to preempt North Korean nuclear facilities—assuming most are known—will risk triggering another full-blown Korean War, one potentially far more destructive than in the early 1950s, when 4 million soldiers and civilians lost their lives.

Some military experts believe high-tech conventional weapons, rushed to the scene, would be sufficient to turn back an armored assault. But if South Korea appeared in danger of being overrun, would the United States resort to tactical nuclear weapons? That is hardly the vision of a New World Order that President [George H.W.] Bush had in mind in the afterglow of Desert Storm. But that is a real-world specter, which must be confronted and thought through.

—William Beecher, June 1992



Almost a Success Story

The transition from authoritarian to democratic structures, while having an important positive political impact, also has entailed a deterioration of control over nuclear material. ... Reflecting on a half century of living with nuclear weapons, it is remarkable that despite the broad

access to nuclear technology, there exist today only five declared nuclear weapon states, three nuclear-capable states and a few others whose nuclear intentions remain uncertain. Much of this can be explained by existence of a nuclear non-proliferation regime anchored on the NPT, leading states to conclude that their security interests are best served by abjuring nuclear weapons.

—Lawrence Scheinman, February 1998



Needed: A New Nuclear Contract

From the beginning of the nuclear era, the U.S. government recognized that in the arena of nuclear weapons, it has no permanent friends, only permanent interests. The United States opposed both British and French acquisition of nuclear weapons. Eisenhower had to deal with the

seductive logic of preventive war because it was clear that the Soviet Union, when it reached “atomic plenty,” would be able to inflict massive damage on the United States. Launching an attack on Chinese nuclear facilities, possibly in cahoots with the Soviet Union, was seriously discussed during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The Clinton administration gave thought to an attack on North Korean nuclear facilities.

Yet each American president decided against preventive war. Diplomacy, and time, eventually became the preferred tools of Washington policymakers from both parties in the effort to control proliferation.

—James Goodby, July-August 2007 Focus



A Nuclear Reductions Primer

The significance of the START Follow-on Treaty extends beyond the bilateral military relationship between the United States and Russia. The deep reductions that it envisions and the concomitant commitment to seek even deeper reductions in the future also respond to

international calls for demonstrated progress toward nuclear disarmament. That achievement is expected to enable the United States to lobby the international community more credibly and effectively to strengthen nonproliferation norms and hold violators of those norms accountable.

—Sally K. Horn, December 2009 Focus



What the Iran Nuclear Deal Says about Making Foreign Policy Today

Whether driven by ideology, money or both, the debate over the Iran nuclear issue marked a new low in relations between the Republican majorities in Congress and the Obama administration.

It also prompted a remarkable, perhaps unprecedented, level of involvement by groups outside of government. Think-tanks, political advocacy organizations, pro-Israel and religious groups, nonprofit associations, veterans’ groups, media outlets, arms control organizations and others weighed in on both sides of the debate. It was a foreign affairs food fight, with positions both for and against the agreement argued with great passion and intensity.

—Dennis Jett, October 2017

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

The Foreign Service Honor Roll

U.S. diplomats are on the front lines of America's engagement with the world. Here is the history of AFSA's work to pay tribute to the many who sacrificed their lives in the line of duty.

BY JOHN K. NALAND

Behind each of the 250 names inscribed on the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the Department of State's diplomatic entrance is the story of a colleague who made the ultimate sacrifice for our nation. This article does not recount those heroic, tragic or other inspirational stories; rather, it tells the story of the plaques themselves—their origin nearly a century ago, and the controversies in succeeding decades about who should be honored on them.

Origins

The U.S. Foreign Service was created on July 1, 1924, when the Rogers Act of May 24, 1924, took effect, merging the previously separate consular and diplomatic services. AFSA was founded one month later when the six-year-old American Consular Association disbanded, and its members joined with their diplomatic colleagues to form AFSA.



John K. Naland, a retired FSO, is in his second term as AFSA retiree vice president and is a member of the Awards and Plaques Committee. He has also served as AFSA president (two terms) and AFSA State vice president.

In January 1929, members of the young organization read in the *American Foreign Service Journal* (as this magazine was named until 1951) that the AFSA Executive Committee (the governing board of the day) had received a proposal to create an honor roll to be displayed at the Department of State. This would memorialize all American consular and diplomatic officers who had died under tragic or heroic circumstances since the founding of the republic. The proponent, whose name was not given, listed 17 names for inscription. The Executive Committee did not explicitly endorse the proposal, but did invite members to suggest additions or corrections.

Letters came rolling in, and four months later the *Journal* published 29 more names. It also issued an invitation for additional submissions, and in February 1932 published an updated and consolidated list containing 53 names.

Meanwhile, the Executive Committee took until March 1930 to appoint a committee to move forward on what they called the Memorial Tablet project. Its members were *Journal* Editor Augustus E. Ingram, Foreign Service Officer Pierre de Lagarde Boal and retired Consul General Horace Lee Washington.

Completion took another three years. First, AFSA had to obtain approval from Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson. Then Congress had to pass a joint resolution, signed by President Herbert Hoover, authorizing placement of the AFSA-owned memorial on government property. Next, AFSA

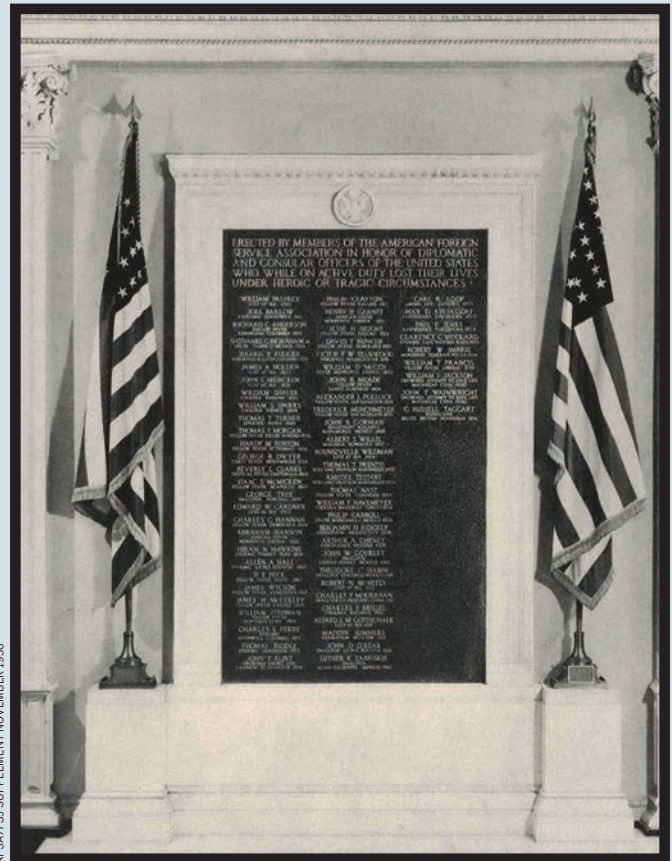
had to raise donations to cover the \$1,738.89 construction cost (around \$34,000 in today's dollars). Finally, after noted architect Waddy B. Wood designed a tablet of Virginia greenstone mounted in a framework of white Alabama marble, the U.S. Commission on Fine Arts approved the design.

As work progressed, the Executive Committee grappled with a question that would arise again and again: Whom, exactly, should the tablet honor? The committee discarded a proposal to honor all diplomatic and consular officers dying abroad, which would have included those whose deaths (such as by heart attack or during a pandemic like the 1918-1920 Spanish flu) were not due to the distinctive risks of overseas service. Instead, the committee settled on honoring those diplomatic and consular officers who died on active duty overseas “under heroic or tragic circumstances.”

That standard was vague, but the U.S. House of Representatives report that recommended placing the memorial on government property explained that it would honor those dying in natural disasters, from tropical diseases, during official travel and due to violence. Those criteria are apparent in the first 65 names inscribed on the plaque. Forty-two died of contagious diseases encountered overseas, such as yellow fever and malaria. Seven were lost at sea traveling to or from their post of assignment (the first listed name, William Palfrey, elected by the Continental Congress as consul in France, died in 1780, lost at sea en route to his post). Six died in natural disasters, such as earthquakes and hurricanes at post. Four died while attempting to save a life. Three were murdered—in Bogotá, in Tehran and in Andixcole (now Andasibe), Madagascar—while two died of “exhaustion.” Another, Joel Barlow, was caught up in the maelstrom of Napoleon’s 1812 retreat from Moscow, and died of pneumonia in the bitter cold of a Polish winter.

The Memorial Tablet’s unveiling took place on March 3, 1933, in the north entrance of the State, War and Navy Building (known today as the Eisenhower Executive Office Building) next to the White House. Secretary Stimson, who had donated the American flags and their brass bases that flanked the tablet, presided as 10 senators and congressmen looked on.

The tablet, said the Secretary, “should serve as a means of bringing home to the people of this country the fact that we have a Service in our Government devoted to peaceful intercourse between the nations and the assistance of our peaceful commerce which, nevertheless, may occasionally exact from its servants a sacrifice the same as that which we expect from our soldiers and our sailors.” The memorial’s second purpose, he said, is to “serve in the development in our present



AFSA/FSA/SUPPLEMENT NOVEMBER 1936

The AFSA Memorial Tablet was unveiled on March 3, 1933, with Secretary of State Henry Stimson presiding. This photo of the tablet appeared in the November 1936 photographic supplement of the *American Foreign Service Journal*.

Service—the successors of the men whose names are recorded here—of that same spirit of devotion and sacrifice which those men evidenced.”

Before the ceremony ended with a Navy bugler sounding “Taps,” Secretary Stimson noted that there were undoubtedly other American diplomats and consular officers who had died in the performance of their duties in distant lands. But the facts of their deaths “have not survived the thickening veil of time.” Indeed, later research has revealed many more such cases (see sidebar, p. 46).

Second Thoughts

As the 1930s progressed, new AFSA leaders interpreted the criteria for inscription differently. In 1938, the Executive Committee declined to add the name of a vice consul who had died of malaria in Colombia. In August of that year,

Parting the “Veil of Time” —Historical Names—

In 2007, Jason Vorderstrasse was an entry-level FSO serving in Hong Kong. When a colleague mentioned visiting a local cemetery where he had seen the grave of a U.S. diplomat whose name was not inscribed on the AFSA Memorial Plaques, Vorderstrasse was intrigued. He visited the cemetery, found the gravestone and conducted internet and archival research that established that Consul F. Russell Engdahl had died in 1942 while a prisoner of the Japanese military. Additional research identified two U.S. envoys who had died of disease in Macau in 1844. Vorderstrasse nominated all three for inscription on the plaques. Their names were added on Foreign Service Day 2009.

Vorderstrasse continued his research. In a March 2014 *Journal* essay, he reported documenting an additional 32 names of earlier diplomats and consular officers who died overseas due to tropical diseases, violence or accidents while in official transit.

By December 2019, the number of names Vorderstrasse documented had risen to 39, with nine additional historical names documented by other AFSA members. The AFSA Governing Board voted to add those 48 names “if and when funding is available” to install and inscribe additional marble plaques. For now, the names are memorialized on a virtual plaque on the AFSA website at afsa.org/memorial-plaques.

—J.K.N.

the *Journal* printed a full-page statement from Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who appeared to criticize that decision. Taking note of the tablet as “an appropriate and impressive reminder of what the work of the Service involves,” Hull said that the consul’s death “in the performance of his duties as a member of the Foreign Service ... deserves more notice than it has received.”

Despite the Secretary’s appeal and the original congressional intent in authorizing the memorial, AFSA Executive Committees in the late 1930s and early 1940s continued to reject candidates for inscription who died from tropical diseases and during official travel. They added only two names (one murdered and the other killed in an earthquake), reasoning that honoring those whose deaths were not “peculiarly” heroic or tragic “might tend to diminish the profound significance” of the memorial. During the 1940s AFSA began using the term “Memorial Plaque.”

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In 1946 the Executive Committee sought advice from AFSA’s membership on two proposed changes to the criteria. The first would expand eligibility beyond Foreign Service officers to include Foreign Service staff members (today’s Foreign Service specialists). This was prompted by passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, which accorded Americans working overseas in clerical and administrative positions full professional status as members of the U.S. Foreign Service. The second would explicitly exclude those who died abroad of tropical diseases (with exceptions in extraordinary cases) or of other causes that did not constitute “peculiarly heroic circumstances in the performance of acts abroad beyond and above the accepted high standard of duty in the Foreign Service.”

AFSA’s annual general meeting in 1948 “revealed considerable divergence of opinion,” the July 1948 *American Foreign Service Journal* reported, but adopted the two changes. In a 1949 report to members, AFSA noted that it had approved the inscription of only one of 15 names of Foreign Service members who had died abroad under tragic circumstances since 1942. After the State Department moved to new headquarters at 21st Street and Virginia Avenue NW in 1947, the plaque followed in 1954. Only six additional names had been inscribed since 1933. One was the first Foreign Service specialist on the plaque: Robert Lee Mikels, who died trying to save colleagues during a fire at Embassy Pusan in 1951. In 1961 the plaque was moved to its current location in the west end of the C Street lobby when the New State Extension completed today’s Harry S Truman Building. Open space remained for additional inscriptions.

The names of 39 colleagues killed in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia between 1965 and 1975 filled that open space, but only after a mysterious delay. Even as the death toll mounted in Southeast Asia, no inscriptions were made between 1963 and 1972. “The extended delay,” as the late David T. Jones recalled in the October 1999 *FSJ*, “engendered suspicions among FSOs that the department was attempting to con-

ceal the extent of its losses from a rank and file (and a larger public) increasingly skeptical of the purpose and value of the war effort.” It is also true, however, that AFSA had had to go through the steps required to erect a second plaque to hold all the names.

AFSA put up the second plaque in 1972 at the east end of the C Street lobby, and took that opportunity to revise the criteria to require “heroic or other inspirational circumstances” in place of “heroic or tragic circumstances.” The exchange of one set of vague criteria for another had little practical impact on subsequent inscriptions.

The new plaque responded to the scourge of war, but it was the scourge of terror that filled it. The addition in March 1973 of the names of two FSOs assassinated by terrorists in Sudan drew President Richard Nixon to become the first, and so far only, president to speak at the plaques. The next year, AFSA President Thomas Boyatt held the first of what would become annual memorial ceremonies at the plaque on Foreign Service Day.

After 1975, terrorism accounted for the deaths of most of those whose names were added to the plaque. By 1983, following the addition of 13 killed in the bombing of U.S. Embassy Beirut, the 11-year-old second plaque was nearly three-quarters filled.

CIA Employees on the AFSA Memorial Plaques

Of the 133 employees honored with stars on the Memorial Wall at CIA headquarters, the names of 93 have been publicly acknowledged, but often only years after their deaths. In more than 20 cases, persons later recognized by the agency as CIA employees were working under State Department cover at the time of their deaths and were inscribed (as State Department employees) on AFSA’s Memorial Plaques.

They include: Douglas Mackiernan (the first CIA officer killed in the line of duty, 1950); Barbara Robins (a CIA officer, and the first woman whose name was inscribed on the AFSA plaques, 1965); eight CIA officers killed in the 1984 bombing of Embassy Beirut; and Tyrone Woods and Glen Doherty, who were killed during the 2012 attack on U.S. government facilities in Benghazi.

—J.K.N.

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Changing Criteria

Before 1982, eligibility for inscription was limited to Foreign Service members, Marine security guards, U.S. military personnel assigned to the U.S. Agency for International Development in Vietnam and employees of the Central Intelligence Agency under State Department cover at the time of death (see the sidebar, this page). But after terrorists murdered Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ray, assistant army attaché at U.S. Embassy Paris, the AFSA Governing Board expanded the plaque criteria to include all Americans serving under chief-of-mission authority.

In making that change, it is unclear if the Governing Board considered the fact that, since World War II, American citizen staffing at U.S. embassies had shifted from being mostly Foreign Service to being mostly employees of other agencies. Thus, only 16 of the 43 names added to the AFSA plaques during the remainder of the 1980s were members of the Foreign Service. Those 43 names filled the remaining spaces on the second plaque in 1988, and the roll of honor spilled over to four side panels installed in 1985.

During the 1990s, victims of terrorism continued to account for most additions to the plaque. Eight names were inscribed in 1998 following the bombing of U.S. Embassy Nairobi. In 1996 many AFSA members objected to adding political appointee Ronald Brown’s name after his death on an overseas trip, but the AFSA Governing Board did so judging that as secretary of the Department of Commerce, Brown qualified as the head of a Foreign Service agency.

As the new millennium began, AFSA had accumulated numerous plaque nominations for Foreign Service members who had died in the line of duty overseas. These nominations would have met the original 1933 criteria for inscription, but did not meet the criteria adopted in 1948. Pressure built from former colleagues to honor them nonetheless, and in 2001 the Governing Board restored authorization for personnel who died overseas “in the line of duty.” AFSA invited members to suggest qualifying cases, and that resulted in the addition of 29 names in three years, all State Department or USAID employees with dates of death ranging from 1959 to 2000.

Other Memorials

The AFSA Memorial Plaques are not the only memorials displayed at the State Department. In the C Street lobby there are also individual plaques honoring: Foreign Service Nationals killed in the line of duty; Foreign Service family members who died overseas; U.S. Information Agency employees killed between 1950 and 1998, before the agency dissolved in 1999; federal employees who died in an airplane crash during a Department of Commerce trade mission in Croatia in 1996; employees and family members killed in the 1998 attacks on Embassies Nairobi and Dar es Salaam; diplomatic couriers; and military service members killed in the 1980 Iran hostage rescue attempt.

And State's 21st Street lobby has a memorial to Americans and foreign nationals who died supporting the department's criminal justice and rule of law assistance programs overseas.

Elsewhere, at USAID headquarters in the Reagan Building in Washington, D.C., the agency's Memorial Wall contains the names of Foreign Service officers and other employees who died overseas in the line of duty.

—J.K.N.

AFSA President Barbara Stephenson (at podium), with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo (far left), addresses Foreign Service colleagues and family members of the deceased at the ceremony on May 4, 2018.



BOB BURGESS

AFSA/JOAQUIN SOSA

Iraq and Afghanistan

The next major change in plaque criteria took place in 2006. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan had dramatically increased the number of American civilian employees in harm's way overseas. In war-zone Iraq, for example, FSOs led dozens of Provincial Reconstruction Teams on which Foreign Service members were a small minority. The AFSA Governing Board became concerned that members of the Foreign Service could, in time, become a small minority of those honored on the plaques. Were that to happen, it would undermine the two purposes articulated by Secretary Stimson in 1933: to increase public appreciation for the sacrifices of the Foreign Service, and to inspire a spirit of sacrifice in future generations of Foreign Service members.

The Governing Board also noted that many agencies or employee groups representing other federal employees

who work at embassies—including defense attachés, Marine security

(Inset) At the May 2, 2014, Memorial Ceremony, AFSA honors those who lost their lives while on active duty.

guards, Drug Enforcement Administration agents and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents—have their own memorial walls. Indeed, within sight of the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the C Street lobby are nearly a dozen other memorials (see sidebar, opposite page).

So the Governing Board reversed the 1982 criteria and limited inscription to “members of the Foreign Service and to U.S. citizen direct-hire employees of the five foreign affairs agencies serving the government abroad.” Exceptions could be made only in “compelling circumstances.”

But world events soon prompted yet another revision. In 2007, civilians in a variety of employment categories from the foreign affairs agencies surged into Iraq, with staffing peaking in 2010. And between 2009 and 2012, civilian employees surged into Afghanistan, many of them temporary hires on non-Foreign Service appointments. The Governing Board became concerned such individuals might come to dominate plaque inscriptions; and, in fact, five of the seven names

added to the plaques from Iraq in this period were not Foreign Service members. In 2011 the Governing Board limited inscription to members of the Foreign Service, with other employees considered only in “exceptional or heroic circumstances.” In 2014, the Governing Board eliminated all exceptions.

Today and Tomorrow

As of this writing, the AFSA Memorial Plaques contain 250 names. Forty-eight additional “historical” names have been approved for inscription. The two original plaques and three side panels are full, and space remains on the fourth side panel for just eight names. While we can hope that no new names will need to be inscribed for many years, history suggests otherwise. AFSA is currently coordinating with the Department of State’s Bureau of Administration with the goal of adding additional plaque space in time for the annual AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony in May 2021. ■

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THE UNLUCKY CONSUL Thomas Prentis *and the* 1902 Martinique Disaster

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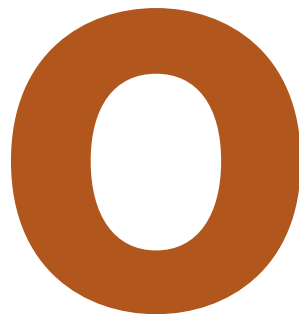
In 1902, the worst volcanic disaster of the 20th century (and so far, the 21st) took the lives of U.S. Consul Thomas Prentis and his family on a Caribbean island.

BY WILLIAM BENT



William “Bill” Bent is a Senior Foreign Service officer currently serving as the deputy consular chief in San Salvador. Previously, he was consul general to Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean. Other overseas tours include Kabul, Santo Domingo, Kingston and Prague.

He is a graduate of the National War College, Class of 2015.



On May 8, 1902, on the Caribbean island of Martinique, Mt. Pelée erupted, killing more than 30,000 people in the city of St. Pierre within minutes. It was a devastating event, notable as the worst volcanic disaster of the 20th century (and so far, the 21st).

When one thinks of volcanoes, images of smoke and oozing molten lava come to mind. But what doomed the city of St. Pierre was something unfamiliar to scientists at that time: pyroclastic flow. A pyroclastic flow, composed of hot gases, ash and rock, erupts from the volcano with tremendous power and speed, flattening and burning everything in its path. When the end finally came, it must have been an agonizing, horrific death for those in the flow’s destructive path.

The warning signs—fumes, smoke, rockslides, lava—were there for weeks. In April, Clara “Louisa” Prentis, wife of U.S. Consul Thomas Prentis, wrote a letter to her sister in Massachusetts, describing how the whole population of the city was on alert, fearing that Mt. Pelée “had taken into its heart to burst forth and destroy the whole island.” Mrs. Prentis had a



Here is where U.S. Consulate St. Pierre was located before its destruction in the 1902 eruption.

(Inset) Plaques in memory of Consul Thomas Prentis (top) and his family and Vice Consul Amédée Testart (bottom) on the exterior wall of Mémorial de la Catastrophe de 1902 – Musée Frank A. Perret, the volcanological museum in St. Pierre.



close-up view of the events unfolding, as the rear windows of her residence faced Mt. Pelée, looming just four miles away. Unfortunately, the location of the U.S. consulate and the failure to evacuate in time would doom the entire family—Consul and Mrs. Prentis, and their young daughters, Louise Lydia and Christiana Hazel—as well as Vice Consul Amédée Testart.

Given the magnitude of the event, it is interesting that most people outside Martinique have never heard of the eruption of Mt. Pelée and the destruction of St. Pierre. Indeed, it was a somewhat random Google search—I was looking for “consuls in the Caribbean” as part of my interest in consular history—that led me to Thomas Prentis and, thus, the eruption of the volcano. At the time, I was serving as consul general to Barbados, and the island of Martinique was within my area of responsibility. My interest thus piqued, I set out to learn more about Prentis, his life and his fate.

No Stranger to Bad Luck

Thomas Prentis was born in 1844 in Michigan, but his family soon relocated to Vermont where Thomas lived the simple life of a farm boy. Later, after the Civil War, he was engaged in the hotel business. At some point, possibly due to the business

and civic connections he forged as a hotel manager, he earned the support of Senator George Edmunds (R-Vt.), who helped him secure his first appointment as consul, in December 1871, to Mahé in the Seychelle Islands. Prentis remained in the Seychelles for nine years,

marrying Louisa Frye, the daughter of an American sea captain, there. Prentis was later transferred to Port Louis, Mauritius, where he served for 14 years.

Thomas Prentis was no stranger to bad luck, if two incidents befalling him during two separate home leaves are any indication. The first occurred in August 1877. On leave from his position in the Seychelles, Prentis traveled with his family to Waitsfield, Vermont, to visit his father. Their arrival caused quite a scene, because they brought with them a servant and

Mrs. Prentis had a close-up view of the events unfolding, as the rear windows of her residence faced Mt. Pelée, looming just four miles away.

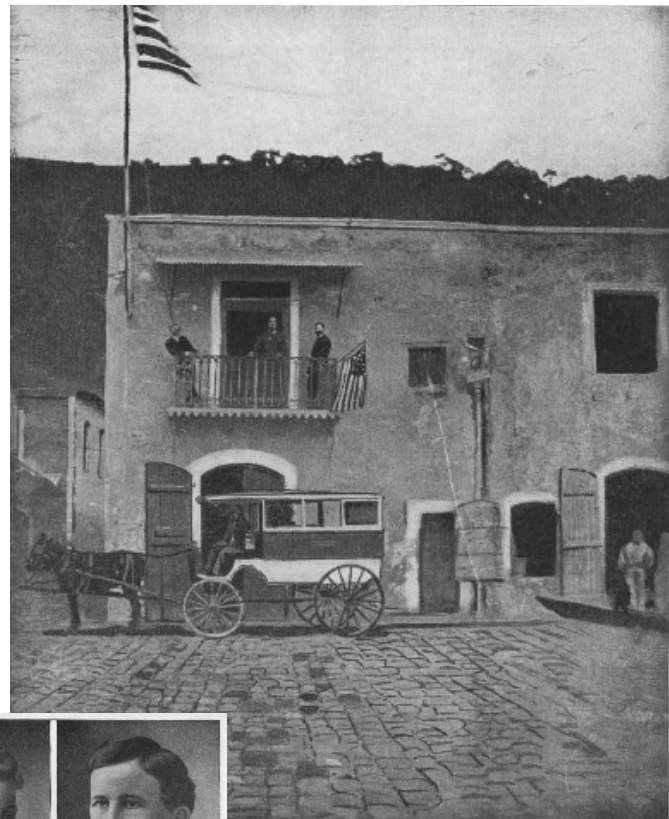
a considerable amount of treasure acquired during their travels. According to the Aug. 22, 1877, edition of the *Argus & Patriot*, “their costly goods and baggage fairly surprised the neighbors ... as they were unloaded in front of his father’s residence from the extra wagon that brought them into the valley. Among the goods were 100 silk parasols, a large number of silk dress patterns, 200 canes cut from different kinds of wood that grew upon the Island, [and] also numerous curiosities of various kinds.”

During their stay, the consul and his wife attended church and “outshone all in elegance and style of dress.” According to the now-defunct Vermont newspaper, Mr. Prentis explained that his wealth derived from his wife, the “daughter of a millionaire, who had given them \$8,000 to make their trip.” It is possible that Louisa’s father, the ship captain, had amassed such wealth from commercial dealings in the Seychelles.

In retrospect, perhaps Prentis should have forgone the ostentatious displays, however, and kept a lower profile. Instead, his presence in Vermont drew the attention of one Mrs. Sarah Thayer, a widow of about 35 years of age, whom the papers described as of small means, who worked for a living and who was highly esteemed in the community and of fine appearance. She also, apparently, had a long memory and held a grudge.

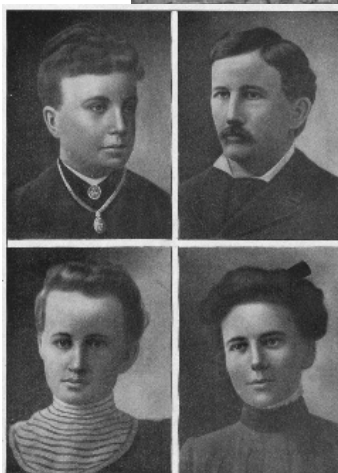
It seems that prior to departing in 1871 for his assignment in the Seychelles, Prentis had made certain promises to Mrs. Thayer; or, at the least, Mrs. Thayer had an understanding that there was an arrangement. In any event, Mrs. Thayer filed suit, claiming \$5,000 in damages for breach of promise. Prentis was arrested; and when his father refused to bail him out, he turned to his brother and two friends for the money.

No doubt anxious to settle the matter so that he could resume his consular duties, he eventually came to an agreement with Mrs. Thayer, and the suit was dismissed. One account has



COMPLETE STORY OF THE MARTINIQUE AND ST. VINCENT HORRORS, 1902

The U.S. consulate in Martinique in about 1900.



COMPLETE STORY OF THE MARTINIQUE AND ST. VINCENT HORRORS, 1902

Consul Thomas Prentis, his wife and their two daughters all perished in the 1902 eruption of Mt. Pelée.

Prentis paying the aggrieved widow \$1,000; but another, in the *Argus & Patriot* of Dec. 12, 1877, disputes this, stating that although Prentis called on Mrs. Thayer, the discontinuance of the suit “was entirely voluntary upon the part of Mrs. Thayer,” and no money was paid. The official court record indicates that the suit was “discontinued, without cost.”

The other incident occurred in December 1884, while Prentis was on leave from his assignment in Port Louis, Mauritius. During a visit to New York City, he engaged in a pub crawl and, according to *The New York Times*, eventually ended up in a dive bar on Front Street. After downing several drinks, he met four young men who regaled him with tales of the city and offered to show him around the metropolis. As the evening wore on, the hapless consul became quite inebriated, and his new friends took advantage of his condition, relieving Prentis of a gold watch and chain, \$67 in cash and a solitaire pin. There is no honor among thieves, however, and a quarrel ensued over the plunder, resulting in the death by stabbing of one of them. Some of the stolen property was later found on one Thomas Tobin, a newsboy.

The Posting to Martinique

Mr. Prentis' posting to Martinique was borne out of a bureaucratic muddle within the context of the old patronage system that governed consular appointments. In 1900 Prentis was serving in Rouen, France, when, for reasons that are unclear, he began to seek another assignment, this time in a tropical setting. It is possible that health reasons were a factor. Prentis had a heart condition, which he had developed while in active military service in the Union Army during the Civil War. He had served as a sharpshooter with the 2nd Regiment out of Vermont. Although the exact nature of his heart condition is lost to history, its effects were enough to merit his discharge, on health grounds, from the U.S. Army in September 1864.

In any event, Prentis was seeking a change, and had a powerful ally in Massachusetts Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who began actively lobbying Secretary of State John Hay on his constituent's behalf. What followed was an interesting correspondence—documented in the September 1954 issue of *The New England Quarterly*—between Lodge and Hay as the latter diligently tried to secure a posting for Prentis. Hay first offered Iquique; but when he subsequently informed Lodge that the city was in faraway Chile (and not in Mexico, as the senator first believed), and that the “fees are so very little better than Rouen that the increase would, I should think, not compensate for the expenses of the journey and the remoteness of the place,” Lodge advised Prentis against pursuing the assignment.

On May 1, 1900, Hay informed Lodge that the president would nominate Prentis for Batavia, Java, instead. After a brief respite in America, Prentis departed for Batavia on August 14, 1900, via France, where he reportedly attended the Paris Exposition. At some point in the journey, he was joined by an adult son, also named Thomas, who would accompany him to Batavia and take a position there with the Standard Oil Company. But there was a mix-up: Secretary Hay was not aware of it, but President McKinley had already appointed another man—a Mr. Rairden—as consul to Batavia.

On learning of this, the Secretary transferred Prentis to Martinique, without seeing fit to alert Senator Lodge. Lodge was understandably upset when he eventually learned of the turn of events, but Secretary Hay assured him that Martinique “is a much better place than Batavia in all respects, and I did not dream it would be objectionable to Mr. Prentis or his friends ... and certainly see no hardship in giving Mr. Prentis the promotion, whether you call it a promotion from Batavia with a salary of \$1,000, or a promotion from Rouen with no



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Mr. Prentis' posting to Martinique was borne out of a bureaucratic muddle within the context of the old patronage system that governed consular appointments.

salary at all. It was so clearly to his advantage that I did not see the necessity of referring the matter to you.”

Senator Lodge's concerns over the hardship caused Mr. Prentis were eventually assuaged when Hay agreed to cover the consul's travel expenses from Batavia to Martinique. And thus a bureaucratic snafu changed the destiny of our star-crossed consul, placing him in the path of volcanic destruction.

Disaster Strikes

Martinique had been one of the first places where the young United States established a consular presence. On June 4, 1790, President George Washington named Fulwar Skipwith as consul to the island. More than a century later, at the time of Prentis' appointment, the French island was still an important commercial hub in the Caribbean, and the city of St. Pierre was considered “the Paris of the Antilles.” Ernest Zebrowski, who wrote one of the definitive accounts of the Martinique disaster in his book, *The Last Days of St. Pierre: The Volcanic Disaster That Claimed Thirty Thousand Lives* (Rutgers University Press, 2002), describes the city as the “gem of the West Indies” and discusses the significant American financial interest in the various commercial enterprises in the city, which included, of course, rum and sugar. (The United States closed its consulate in Martinique in 1993, establishing instead a consular agency whose consular agent reports to Bridgetown, Barbados.)

In the weeks preceding the ultimate cataclysmic eruption, Mt. Pelée had issued warning signs. Why didn't the Prentis family depart when they could? They surely were aware that the volcano posed a danger. On May 3, Mrs. Prentis wrote again to her sister, describing the smell of sulphur in the air, the fire and lava emitting from the volcano. “Everybody is afraid,” she wrote, but later on in the letter reveals that her husband assured her there was no immediate danger and that a ship was in the har-

bor that could whisk them to safety should the situation deteriorate further.

It is probable that Prentis thought they would have time in such a scenario because, like others, he was unfamiliar with the rapid, devastating effects of a pyroclastic surge. In another excellent book about the tragedy, *La Catastrophe: The Eruption of Mount Pelée, the Worst Volcanic Disaster of the 20th Century* (Oxford University Press, 2002), Alwyn Scarth reveals how the population of St. Pierre had a vague memory of previous “puny eruptions” that had resulted in minimal damage. These eruptions, writes Scarth, “induced a false sense of security

in the minds of the people of Martinique.”

According to contemporary newspaper reports, the United States dispatched two ships, the cruiser *Cincinnati* and the naval tug *Potomac*, to assist with relief efforts. And on May 20, 1902, crews from the two U.S. warships along with personnel from the British cruiser *Indefatigable*, came ashore to recover the remains of Prentis, which had been discovered in the ruins of the U.S. consulate. Unfortunately, the remains of his wife and daughters were not found, or were so badly burned as to be beyond recognition. Bearing silver coffins, the crews also were in search of the body of James Japp, the British consul.

Ernest Zebrowski Jr. offers a vivid account of the rescue mission, which was conducted as Mt. Pelée continued to belch out smoke and ash to such an extent that it imperiled the brave



COMPLETE STORY OF THE MARTINIQUE AND ST. VINCENT HORRORS, 1902

The ruins of the U.S. consulate following the 1902 eruption.

rescuers. Both bodies were recovered, but in a mad scramble back to the ships as loud booms and fire emanated from the volcano, Japp's body was "unceremoniously" dropped, never to be recovered. The crews managed to get Prentis' coffin aboard the *Potomac*, which then made haste to escape the smoke and ash. According to contemporary newspaper reports, Thomas Prentis' body was transported to Fort-de-France where, on May 22, a funeral took place, with the commander of the *Cincinnati* officiating. He was buried "under an acacia tree" in a cemetery located "back of Fort-de-France."

I had the opportunity during my tour in the Eastern Caribbean to go to Martinique, and during two visits there I made inquiries into the whereabouts of Consul Prentis' grave. Our consular agent, Leah McGaw, and I searched the main cemetery in the capital and submitted requests to the French government seeking information, all to no avail. I also contacted some of Prentis' ancestors via Ancestry.com, none of whom knew where exactly he was buried.

It is possible that the rescue mission and recovery of Prentis' remains never happened. Recently, colleagues working on the Consular Affairs History Project put me in contact with Dr. Sébastien Perrot-Minnot, a professor at the University of the French West Indies in Martinique, who has researched the disaster and written about the history of the U.S. diplomatic and consular presence on the island. He brought to my attention this message that Louis H. Aymé, U.S. consul in Guadeloupe and acting U.S. consul in Martinique in May and June 1902, sent to the Department of State, on July 21, 1902: "It is a matter of deep regret to me that I could not succeed in rescuing the remains of our late consul nor any of the archives of the consulate. All were buried under many feet of volcanic mud and ejecta."

And so, it seems, ends the quest for our unlucky colleague, Consul Thomas Prentis. His name is engraved, along with his vice consul, Amédée Testart, on the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the State Department lobby. ■



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Pictured: the recipients of AFSA's 2019 awards for constructive dissent, exemplary performance and lifetime contributions to American diplomacy.



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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

AFSA and COVID-19

In these extremely challenging times, AFSA wants to convey to all our members how proud we are of the work you are doing at your posts and missions worldwide to cope with the effects of the coronavirus pandemic.

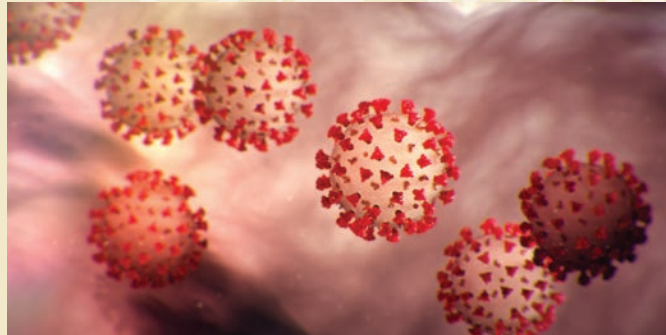
We will do all that we can to make certain our members, both domestic and overseas, get the best information on what to do in this trying time. You can visit afsa.org/coronavirus for government and media resources about COVID-19.

The presence of Foreign Service members around the world increases knowledge of host-country conditions, enables greater coordination and stands as a symbol of America's commitment to global engagement.

AFSA leadership has met with State MED and bureau front offices to get a better read on plans for addressing disruptions caused by the virus and for disseminating information on a timely basis.

AFSA raised concerns from our members on a number of issues, ranging from tripwires for evacuation and telework rules to help for evacuees in finding suitable work and assurance that the latest information and best practices are available. AFSA continues to urge State management to provide guidance and up-to-date information to employees.

AFSA initiated a telework strategy for staff starting



CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION

March 16, with laptops and voice communication forwarding capability, which ensures that those who need to contact AFSA staff can do so with no break in service. You can always reach us at member@afsa.org or check www.afsa.org/staff to contact each staff member directly.

Work-Life Balance

We are all facing the consequences of the outbreak of the new coronavirus.

Many posts are on authorized or ordered departure. Task forces have been stood up across the government, and our colleagues at our respective agencies are working hard to balance achievement of mission with the safety and security of our staff.

In the District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia region and much of the country, as well as at most posts, schools are closed for the rest of the school year. Our members have been struggling to balance professional obligations with personal

needs to care for children, elderly loved ones and themselves while also engaging in their communities to help those in need.

AFSA has called on the leadership of the foreign affairs agencies to fully support their staff at this unprecedented time and to clearly and unambiguously require all supervisors to provide members of the U.S. Foreign Service with the administrative leave necessary to fulfill their personal needs and professional duties.

The group Balancing Act, with support from AFSA and others, submitted a letter requesting adjustments to leave eligibility due to the burden of managing full-time work hours in conjunction with childcare. On April 2, the State Department authorized 20 hours of admin leave per pay period, retroactive from February 16, for childcare, elder dependent care and local shelter-in-place needed as a result of the pandemic.

Please reach out to

CALENDAR

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the AFSA headquarters building is closed and all in-person events have been canceled, postponed or moved to an online forum until further notice. As the situation continues to evolve, please check www.afsa.org for the most up-to-date information.

May 1
**AFSA Memorial Ceremony
POSTPONED UNTIL
FURTHER NOTICE**

May 15
**Deadline: Nomination
for AFSA Dissent and
Performance Awards
EXTENDED TO JUNE 1**

May 20
12-2 p.m.
**AFSA Governing
Board Meeting**

AFSA and let us know your concerns and suggestions. We will take them to the leadership of our agencies. Your service matters, to our country and to the world.

If you cannot get the attention of senior leaders on an urgent question or issue, contact AFSA President Eric Rubin or the appropriate AFSA agency vice presidents, and we will add our voices.

For those of you who have less critical questions that you can't get answered, contact AFSA Labor Management staff at afsa@state.gov. We will run interference. That is why we are here. ■



Working for You During This Trying Time

In this unsettling time of social distancing, AFSA has been proud to help our members, both overseas and domestic, cope with the unprecedented demands made on all of us by the new coronavirus disease, COVID-19.

I want to share with you some of the requests for help that we have received and the actions we have taken.

As of this writing (in late March), some of these issues have already been resolved, while new ones are arising. As always, we will continue to represent the interests of our members to department leadership and be responsive to you.

Medical/Safety Concerns. Our crack Labor-Management team has assisted members with a myriad of medical/safety issues, such as concerns about adequate protective supplies (e.g., face masks, gloves, hand sanitizer) for members who deal with the public, especially visa officers; which office safety procedures must be followed in the event an employee shows flu-like symptoms; and getting approval for use of local clinics abroad to test for COVID-19.

Of course, your first move should be to check with your medical practitioner at post or your bureau's EX office. But if your problem or concern is not resolved, we are always here to help, in a confidential manner, if need be. AFSA has an excellent relationship with

MED and can get answers.

Child Care, Elder Care and Telework. Many members have been concerned about balancing teleworking with having to use annual leave, or go on leave without pay, to take care of children or elderly relatives. This is especially true because schools have been closed and day care/nannies are largely unavailable.

At the urging of AFSA and others, the department rolled out a policy to make work hours more flexible for working parents. You can find the policy at afsa.org/coronavirus-covid-19.

This has helped, but as we made clear in an AFSA net message (bit.ly/afsa-wlb), too many of our colleagues were facing untenable choices: caring for loved ones; using leave (often scant for parents of newborns and junior staff) or borrowing leave from others; or simply not working—a particularly worrisome option in these times.

We were thus very happy to see the department officially adopt on April 2 a policy to provide 20 hours of administrative leave per pay period to employees for dependent care, retroactive to February 16. We hope that all of AFSA's member agencies, including the Foreign Commercial Service and the Foreign Agricultural Service, will follow suit.

New Hires Need to Be Paid. We have received anxious requests for help from

new hires—both incoming officers and specialists—who have been told that orientation classes scheduled to start soon have been postponed, but nothing has been said to them about their paychecks, health care or other benefits.

Many of these future Foreign Service (and AFSA) members have moved spouses, children and belongings across the country or from overseas to begin their new careers. We have engaged with the Bureau of Global Talent Management and senior department leadership to argue that these new employees must be paid.

We have also suggested that perhaps orientation classes can be done by distance learning or some other creative approach that does not shut down the intake process completely.

The department has recognized this problem and has taken some action—such as offering to send letters to previous employers—and that's a step in the right direction. However, the money has already been budgeted, and the right thing to do is to pay these people from the start.

Help for Those in Long-Term Training. We have heard from members who are at the end of their long-term training and are ready to deploy overseas, but are at the 25-percent tail end of the lodging per diem allowance.

Now that normal transfers have been disrupted,

these members might have to stay put for a number of months and consequently will continue to be out-of-pocket in high-cost lodging. They could probably move, but in this unprecedented environment, does that make sense?

We have asked department leadership to find a way to help these members stay where they are without having to dip into their savings.

EER Season Flexibility. At State, we all know that GEMS, the system designed to move your Employee Evaluation Report through the various stages of the process, is not user-friendly in the best of circumstances.

Combine that with trying to access GEMS through the various remote access variants of the department's Global OpenNet (GO) system, and it really makes things tough.

In response, and again at our urging, the department has extended the EER deadline by two weeks, to May 29.

We will continue to push the department to surge its IT staff so that as the busy EER season gets underway, solutions to remote access questions can be provided in a timely fashion.

Please continue to let us know how we can help at member@afsa.org or (202) 647-8160. No question or concern is too big or too small for us to handle.

Stay safe and healthy! ■



Achieving Transparent Promotions by Promoting Transparency

Each USAID Foreign Service officer has unique stories, experiences and accomplishments—these are part of what makes our career choice extremely rewarding. But throughout our varied careers and postings, we all undergo the excitement and stress that comes with promotion season.

Fortunately, FSOs are becoming more comfortable with USAID's still-new promotion system. USAID's Office of Human Capital and Talent Management has continued to roll out training sessions and hold webinars, and has built a helpful intranet website with myriad resources.

One critical area where the agency must do more is in providing information—to the public and to FSOs—on promotion data.

"Why?"

I'm glad you asked.

USAID is a trailblazer in program data transparency and has been a leader in making its program data sets, assessments, evaluations and budget information accessible, discoverable and usable.

Well-known data sites include the Foreign Aid Explorer (<https://explorer.usaid.gov>), the Development Experience Clearinghouse (<https://dec.usaid.gov/dec/home/Default.aspx>) and www.foreignassistance.gov.

Making program data publicly available is critical, because as the agency notes in its development data fact sheet, open data fuels entrepreneurship, innovation, scientific discovery and enhanced development outcomes.

Open data contributes to improved design and implementation of development programs, while reducing expensive and duplicative data collection efforts. I believe the agency and the public would reap similar benefits from promotion data transparency.

"Like what?"

I'm glad you asked.

Accessible, usable and robust promotion data would help agency leadership, staff and the taxpayer better understand the history and structure of USAID's Foreign Service, including demographics and trends.

A common and accessible data set would also provide the basis for informed discussions critical to effective operations at any modern institution.

The agency's ongoing efforts toward strategic workforce planning would benefit from accessible promotion data, helping forecast future promotion opportunities and recruitment needs. But there are countless other applications and uses, as well.

"Such as?"

Accessible, usable and robust promotion data would help agency leadership, staff and the taxpayer better understand the history and structure of USAID's Foreign Service, including demographics and trends.

I'm glad you asked.

Data alone may not produce definitive answers to questions by itself, but robust data (always protecting personally identifiable information) can provide entry points allowing all stakeholders to ask tough questions and engage with one another in a transparent and well-informed manner on issues such as these:

- How do different backstops fare in the promotion process? Are there trends that suggest advantages or concerns?
- How do promotions break out by diversity at varying levels—is there some inherent bias in the promotion system?
- Do presidential/Administrator initiatives in certain technical areas have an impact on promotions?
- What is the average time-in-class by backstop this year? Last year? Over the past five years?
- I'm interested in joining the Foreign Service: What do promotions look like over

time in the different USAID FS career paths?

- What does the data suggest about promotions and location? Everyone says it's hard to get promoted from Washington. Is that really the case? Are Critical Priority Countries better for promotions?

The agency must have the commitment and capacity to produce, publish and respect data. We need to integrate agency-internal data into how we operate—how we recruit, achieve equity, maintain career paths, offer professional development opportunities, retain staff and shore up morale.

We promote transparency in our efforts to help countries progress along the journey to self-reliance. Let's model good behavior with our promotion data. ■



Resilience

When I was a young U.S. Army cavalry officer 40 years ago, my squadron commander told me that “enlisted men have morale, but officers don’t—we suck it up and deal with it.”

Later, in the Foreign Service, I encountered a similar fiction during hardship assignments, where a common refrain was “what doesn’t kill you, makes you stronger.”

Those assertions are wrong, of course. Everyone has morale. Defined by the dictionary as the “mental and emotional condition of an individual or group with

regard to tasks at hand,” good or bad morale affects our productivity, accomplishments and happiness.

The capacity to maintain, or regain, good morale in the face of difficulties or disappointments is called resilience. In recent years, the Foreign Service Institute has inserted suggestions into numerous courses on how to be more resilient. We retirees could benefit from those insights if we encounter health, financial or other setbacks as time passes.

One group of resilience skills falls in the category of active problem-solving.

Suggestions include focusing only on what is under your control, putting minor disappointments in perspective, understanding that you control your reaction to events, asking for help when needed and knowing when to walk away or try Plan B.

Another group of resilience skills comes under the heading of taking care of yourself. Suggestions include improving your sleep routine, exercising to reduce stress, being mindful of your feelings, resting your brain when needed and taking time out to regain perspective.

Additional resilience skills include maintaining relationships with people whom you can trust and rely on, avoiding negativity, maintaining realistic optimism, focusing on core values that motivate and guide you, and finding activities that give meaning and purpose to your life.

So if you encounter difficulties or disappointments, you might try some of these resilience strategies.

And keep in mind the words of Nelson Mandela: “Do not judge me by my successes, judge me by how many times I fell down and got back up.” ■

AFSA Event: Long-Term Care Insurance Alternatives

On Feb. 26, AFSA hosted a presentation by Greg Klingler, director of wealth management at the Government Employees’ Benefit Association, about long-term care insurance alternatives.

Long-term care insurance may be one of the most poorly understood pillars in retirement planning. It is also evolving. Mr. Klingler’s presentation covered various options for long-term care to help identify which may be the best for you. The presentation focused on little-known alternatives outside of the Federal Long Term Care Insurance Program.

Originally founded by National Security Agency employees in 1957, GEBA is a nonprofit employee benefit association serving federal employees and their families.

AFSA members may view a video of the event at afsa.org/video. ■



Greg Klingler, director of wealth management at the Government Employees’ Benefit Association, speaks with AFSA members on Feb. 26 about long-term care insurance alternatives.

Teaching International Affairs: AFSA Networking Event

On Feb. 27, AFSA hosted a networking happy hour centered on a favorite post-Foreign Service profession—teaching. We brought together Foreign Service personnel who have transitioned from their government careers to teaching international affairs and the art of diplomacy to compare best practices.

The event also provided an opportunity for aspiring teachers among AFSA's membership to meet and learn from FSOs who have already made a successful transition, as well as other professors from area universities.

It can be quite challenging to enter academia as a diplomatic practitioner, especially without a Ph.D. That's a subject Ambassador (ret.)



Ambassador (ret.) Barbara Bodine, director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, discusses teaching options for Foreign Service personnel.

Barbara Bodine addressed with specificity and humor drawing on her considerable experience at Georgetown University as director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

AFSA member-teachers have also reported that it

can be a heavy lift to design curricula from scratch. This networking event gave space for the Foreign Service's considerable brain trust to make connections to exchange ideas, tips and advice and to answer questions from the next generation of FSO teachers.

For further information about teaching as a former (or current) Foreign Service member, see AFSA's webpage "Sharing Wisdom (And Curricula!) About Teaching Diplomacy, International Affairs, and Other Associated Topics" at www.afsa.org/teaching-diplomacy.

This webpage contains a wealth of information, including sample syllabi and other helpful documents and resources.

AFSA welcomes additions from our teacher-members and the opportunity to post your syllabi or other resource documents. Please contact

Dolores Brown at brown@afsa.org with submissions.

Also, visit www.afsa.org/teaching-diplomacy-today to read the January-February 2020 *Foreign Service Journal* cover story, "Teaching Diplomacy Today: Post-Foreign Service Opportunities in Academia."

AFSA considers this initiative not only a valuable service to members, but also a significant step in building broad understanding of diplomacy and its importance to the security and prosperity of the United States, a critical part of AFSA's mission.

A post-Foreign Service career in education is one way to expand understanding of the role diplomats play in advancing U.S. strategic interests and assisting U.S. citizens and companies around the world. It is also a wonderful way to help inspire the next generation of the Foreign Service. ■



Participants mingle at the Teaching International Affairs networking event.

AFSA Welcomes Incoming LNA Class



AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Julie Nutter (back right) speaks with members of the 20th LNA class.



AFSA State Vice President Tom Yazdgerdi (back right) talks with members of the 20th LNA class on March 10 at AFSA headquarters in Washington, D.C.

On March 10, AFSA welcomed 34 members of the 20th LNA (limited noncareer appointees) class to its headquarters in Washington, D.C., for a luncheon and overview of AFSA's role in supporting members of the Foreign Service.

The class represents Consular Fellows recruited

for their language skills, Consular Affairs–Appointment Eligible Family Members and Civil Service Limited Noncareer Appointees.

Members of the class include former members of the U.S. Armed Forces, former Peace Corps Volunteers and former employees of various government agencies.

Individual class members can boast of many accomplishments, including:

- Playing one year of baseball in the Peruvian major leagues.
- Hiking a remote section of the Great Wall of China.
- Sailing across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.
- Climbing Ben Nevis, the

highest peak in the United Kingdom.

- Flying across the Atlantic twice in the same day, on the same plane.
- Learning Catalan by listening to soccer matches on the radio.
- Flying airplanes as a teenager.
- Spending a total of three years living on the ocean.

AFSA State Vice President Tom Yazdgerdi hosted the luncheon. Former Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Janice Jacobs, AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Julie Nutter and AFSA Coordinator of Member Relations and Events Ashley Baine were table hosts.

Twenty members of the class chose to join AFSA.

Welcome to the Foreign Service! ■



AFSA Governing Board Meeting, March 18, 2020

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic and social-distancing recommendations, the AFSA Governing Board on March 18 met via teleconference, for the first time in its history.

The board made the following decisions, which will need to be ratified in person at the next possible Governing Board meeting, according to AFSA bylaws.

Recognizing Impeachment Witnesses: The board approved the retiree vice president's proposal to authorize \$5,000 for a luncheon to recognize State Department witnesses in the impeachment hearings.

Foreign Service Grievance Board: The board authorized supporting reappointment of Frank Almaguer, Charles Caron, David Clark and Lino Gutierrez to the FSGB.

The board also approved the retiree vice president's

recommendation to support the appointment of two (non-FS) Foreign Service Grievance Board members. The board approved the retiree vice president's recommendation regarding supporting the appointment of two Foreign Service annuitants to the FSGB.

Awards and Plaques Committee: The board adopted the Awards and Plaques Committee recommendation for the 2020 Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award recipient.

Legal Defense Fund: The board approved the Legal Defense Fund Committee recommendation regarding final payment of \$36,000 to a Foreign Service member's attorneys for legal services in 2019 related to impeachment proceedings. ■

Foreign Service Journal Chooses New Printer

The Foreign Service Journal has joined forces with a new printer, Sheridan.

On Feb. 25, FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman and Managing Editor Kathryn Owens traveled to Hanover, N.H., to tour one of the company's three plant locations—Sheridan New Hampshire—where *FSJ* issues will now print.

AFSA President Eric Rubin, in New Hampshire for speaking events at Dartmouth College, was able to join them for the tour of the plant and meeting with printer representatives.

Begun in 1793 as part of Dartmouth College, the printer became a separate entity known as Dartmouth Press in 1843 and then became Dartmouth Printing Company in 1938. In 1998 it

was purchased by Sheridan Group.

Over its long history, Sheridan has expanded its scope from college publications to short- to medium-run magazines such as the *Journal*.

"A publication like ours is Sheridan's sweet spot, and with its fine reputation for quality printing and customer service, Sheridan seems like an excellent fit for what we do," Ms. Owens said.

Sheridan Sales Representative Emily Fullerton agrees: "We are so proud to print such an important and prestigious publication for the American Foreign Service Association. We look forward to working with *The Foreign Service Journal* well into the future."

Sheridan employees working at each location in the plant walked the group through the complete production process, starting in prepress where, among other things, the printing plates are custom-made.

Winding through the large (and loud) warehouse full of various types of machinery, the group ended at the bindery, where the loose pages are bound together into the finished product—and where it was exciting to see stacks of AFSA News pages ready for this last stage.

We were able to leave the plant with bound and ready-to-mail copies of the March *Journal*, hot off the presses. ■



AFSA President Eric Rubin and FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman with AFSA News pages at the Sheridan plant during production of the March *Journal*.



FSJ Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman (left), Managing Editor Kathryn Owens and Sheridan Account Manager Dale Ricker, surrounded by rolls of paper.



FSJ Managing Editor Kathryn Owens (left), Editor-in-Chief Shawn Dorman (right) and Sheridan Sales Representative Emily Fullerton in the press department at the plant.

Outreach to Students, Professors and the AFSA Community

On Feb. 24 and 25, AFSA President Eric Rubin appeared at Dartmouth College's John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding for a packed schedule of visits with students, faculty, staff and the local community.

Ambassador Rubin met with postdoctoral fellows and undergraduate students in international relations courses. He also spoke with the student editorial board of *World Outlook*, Dartmouth's undergraduate journal of international affairs, which publishes two editions a year and maintains a blog and podcast for discussion of current international issues.

Amb. Rubin was also interviewed for "The Outlook," the podcast produced by the *World Outlook* student staff, about the role of the Foreign Service and careers in foreign affairs.

In addition to classroom visits and conversations with students and faculty, Amb. Rubin gave a talk on "The Future of American Diplomacy" to an audience of students and members of the community, including several Foreign Service retirees. He was introduced by Director of the Dickey Center Daniel Benjamin, who joined Amb. Rubin for the Q&A following the talk.

On March 5, in Washington, Amb. Rubin hosted his first webinar with AFSA retiree members settled

across the United States and the world. The webinar format is intended to offer a virtual town hall for the AFSA president to share the work AFSA is doing in support of our membership and the Foreign Service as a whole.

Amb. Rubin provided an update on AFSA's advocacy work on Capitol Hill and with our member agency leadership, upcoming outreach initiatives and AFSA's response to current events affecting members.

Participants were invited to ask questions. AFSA aims to schedule webinars with Amb. Rubin quarterly and invites all retired members to join the conversation.

Also in March, Amb. Rubin spoke at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo. The event provided an opportunity for AFSA to engage with students and faculty on the role of the Foreign Service as the platform for U.S. global engagement. ■



AFSA President Eric Rubin speaks on Feb. 24 to a class of Dartmouth College students.

LARS BLACKMORE



AFSA President Eric Rubin participates in a roundtable with Dartmouth College students.

LARS BLACKMORE

NEWS BRIEF

CONTINUOUS DOMESTIC SERVICE: SIX-YEAR RULE ELIMINATED

AFSA was pleased to see the recent change in the assignment rules that did away with the six-year limit on service in the United States.

This will provide more flexibility for those who, for example, may need to take care of elderly parents, or who want to see their children through high school.

The eight-year limit remains in place because it is enshrined in Section 504 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which also encourages the assignment of a member of the Foreign Service to duty in the United States at least once every 15 years.

Please see 20 STATE 27828 for more information on this welcome change. ■

BOOK NOTES:
Modern Diplomacy in Practice



Jeremi Suri (left) and Robert Hutchings discuss their new book, *Modern Diplomacy in Practice*, on Feb. 21 at AFSA headquarters.

On Feb. 21, AFSA welcomed professors Robert Hutchings and Jeremi Suri of the University of Texas at Austin for a discussion of their new book, *Modern Diplomacy in Practice*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

AFSA Director of Professional Policy Issues Julie Nutter moderated the conversation.

The book lays out, by country, a study of the world's 10 largest diplomatic

services. It surveys how Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States conduct their diplomacy through a professional career Foreign Service, drawing out best practices.

Chapters cover the distinctive histories and cultures of each of the countries' diplomatic services, their changing role in the making of foreign policy and their preparations for the new challenges of the 21st century.

Robert Hutchings is professor and former dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. His combined academic and diplomatic career

included service as chairman of the National Intelligence Council, director for Europe with the National Security Council and special adviser to the Secretary of State, with the rank of ambassador. He is the author and editor of six books.

Jeremi Suri holds the Mack Brown Distinguished Chair for Leadership in Global Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, where he is professor in the Department of History and the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. Professor Suri is the author and editor of nine books on history, international relations and political leadership, and he hosts a weekly podcast, "This Is Democracy." ■

AFSA Meets with Representative Fitzpatrick



AFSA President Eric Rubin (left), AFSA State Vice President Tom Yazdgerdi (third from left) and AFSA USAID Vice President Jason Singer (right) meet with Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick (R-Pa.) on Feb. 28 in the Longworth House Office Building in Washington, D.C., to discuss Fiscal Year 2021 appropriations.

AFSA Voter Registration Guide



Tuesday, November 3, 2020 is the next federal Election Day. Visit AFSA's website at afsa.org/afsa-voter-registration-guide for a voter registration guide that makes it easier for you and your family to register to vote.

The guide includes voter registration deadlines for all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and U.S. territories, as well as information on requesting absentee ballots.

If you would like to check on your registration status, visit vote411.org or nationalvoterregistrationday.org. ■

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ANNOUNCEMENT

2020 CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS: CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2020 constructive dissent awards. The AFSA awards ceremony will take place in October; nominations will be accepted until June 1. If you are not sure about what qualifies as dissent, please read AFSA's guidance at www.afsa.org/dissent.

We welcome nominations for the four constructive dissent awards:

- The W. Averell Harriman Award for entry-level Foreign Service officers.
- The William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level Foreign Service officers.
- The Christian A. Herter Award for Senior Foreign Service officers.
- The F. Allen 'Tex' Harris Award for Foreign Service specialists.

Neither nominators nor nominees need be members of AFSA. Any member of the Foreign Service at any agency (State, USAID, FCS, FAS, APHIS or USAGM) is eligible.

The Foreign Service adds tremendous value every time we advise with precision about what will work and what won't work—in the local context at our posts, as well as in our institution more broadly. Indeed, dissent is part of the precepts for tenure and promotion in the Foreign Service.

Whether it's a senior officer disagreeing with immigration policy, an entry-level officer suggesting policy alternatives on free trade or a Foreign Service specialist diligently fighting to protect medical shipment via the pouch, these awards single out the best of us for a deserved moment in the spotlight.

We all know colleagues who have stepped up and made us proud by offering alternatives or new thinking. These are the individuals we want to honor for their courage and creativity.

We need your help: Please take the time to nominate these deserving friends and colleagues.

For additional information and nomination forms, please visit www.afsa.org/dissent or contact AFSA Awards and Scholarships Manager Theo Horn at horn@afsa.org or (202) 719-9705. ■

LARGER THAN LIFE

F. Allen “Tex” Harris 1938-2020



One would not expect a 6’7” former basketball player to fit the stereotype of a mild-mannered diplomat, and “Tex” (as Franklyn Allen Harris was universally known) most assuredly did not. Although he was a firm believer in the power of persuasion, throughout his 35-year Foreign

Service career Tex stood ready to use his impressive intellect, imposing bulk and booming voice to defend the oppressed and speak truth to power.

“Today a nation is judged by how it treats its own citizens, establishing a new norm in modern diplomacy,” Tex Harris declared in 2013, as he received an award from the United Nations Association for “the use of diplomacy to advance human rights.” An unforgettable mentor as well as a role model for many of those who fought to make President Jimmy Carter’s human rights revolution a reality, Harris will be remembered as

a real hero, especially at this particularly troubled time abroad for American democracy and leadership.

Tex Harris was still engaged in that lifelong mission on multiple fronts when he died on Feb. 23 at a hospital in Fairfax County, Virginia. He was 81. Survivors include his wife of 53 years, the former Jeanie Roeder, of McLean, Va.; three children, Scott Harris of McLean, Julie Harris of Falls Church, Va., and Clark Harris of Los Angeles, Calif.; and two grandsons.

Fighting the Good Fight

Franklyn Allen Harris was born on May 13, 1938, in Glendale, California, and grew up in Dallas, where he was an all-state basketball player in high school. His father was a businessman, and his mother had been a model and sales clerk.

After graduating from Princeton University in 1960, Mr. Harris used funds intended for a car purchase to travel around the world for almost three years, meeting a number of diplomats in his journeys. After graduating from law school at the University of Texas, he joined the Foreign Service in 1965.

Tex first served in Caracas, then spent most of the next decade in Washington, D.C., in various positions. But the most famous example of his legendary tenacity came in Argentina, at the height of that country’s “dirty war.”

A group of military leaders had seized control of the government in 1976 after the chaotic two-year presidency of Isabel Perón. President Gerald Ford’s administration initially



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



AFSA President Eric Rubin (left) presents F. Allen “Tex” Harris with the AFSA Achievement and Contributions to the Association Award at the AFSA Awards Ceremony on Oct. 16, 2019.

applauded the junta for the anticommunist stability it purported to represent, but the embassy soon learned of widespread, systematic efforts to stifle dissent through kidnappings, torture and killings.

In October 1977, shortly after Tex arrived in Buenos Aires, the political counselor asked him to pursue what was then a brand-new facet of diplomatic tradecraft: human rights reporting. Tex readily agreed—on the condition that the embassy relax its long-standing restrictions on entry by private Argentines, so that he could interview anyone who wanted to discuss the disappearance (and presumed death) of a relative, friend or colleague.

Tex then printed up business cards and went to Buenos Aires’ central square to hand them out. He worked closely with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the renowned advocates for “los desaparecidos,” and invited its members to visit him at the embassy.

“What I did in Argentina was to open the doors and, for the first time, to talk to the people,” Tex told Bill Moyers in a 1984 “Frontline” interview on PBS. As he explained, “This was not an ad hoc, spur-of-the-moment vigilante group, but a concerted program of the military government to eliminate entire groups of people that they deemed to be subversives in their society. There

were thousands of people who disappeared without a trace, without a murmur, just a picture on their mother’s dresser.”

Within a few weeks, scores of Argentines were flooding into the embassy daily to report missing loved ones. Tex singlehandedly documented the disappearances of 15,000 people, even as the United States was still characterizing the phenomenon as a mysterious by-product of the right-wing militias’ struggle with left-wing terrorists. In truth, as the stacks of notecards Tex compiled would prove, Argentina’s military leaders had what he called “a clear intention to exterminate” anyone who opposed them. Even children and babies were seized from parents deemed to be dissidents.

At first, U.S. Ambassador Raul Castro and the entire embassy staff applauded Tex’s detailed reporting. And President Jimmy Carter’s administration began signaling its growing disapproval of the junta—one of the first cases of a U.S. president basing critical diplomatic decisions on how a foreign government treated its own citizens.

But as bilateral relations chilled, Tex came under increasing pressure, both from the front office and the Argentine government, to stop dwelling on the thousands of victims and put a positive spin on developments.

Instead, he went public, regularly appearing with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo at their demonstrations against the regime. When the embassy stopped transmitting his cables, Tex used airmails, memoranda of conversation and formal-informal letters—none of which required front office clearance—to convey his findings and recommendations to State via classified pouch.

One of his reports resulted in the cancellation of a U.S. government loan guarantee worth hundreds of millions of dollars to an American corporation that was to supply turbine manufacturing technology to a front corporation owned by the Argentine Navy—which was carrying out much of the torture and killing. (Embassy Buenos Aires had not previously reported that affiliation to Washington.)

His courageous role during that period has been profiled on TV, in print, online and in AFSA’s 2003 edition of *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, and has been cited by AFSA and others as a prime example of what professional diplomacy can accomplish in the face of internal opposition.

Tex knew that his performance evaluations would suffer as

a result of what his supervisors regarded as insubordination, but he was sanguine about never becoming an ambassador. He was identified for selection-out based on a claim that he was not producing enough reporting—even as the embassy refused to disseminate his cables—but an independent review overturned that finding.

In 1984, AFSA presented Tex with the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent by a Mid-Level Officer for the “courage, strength of character and dedication to the Foreign Service” he demonstrated in Buenos Aires. The award specified that Harris displayed not only “physical courage” in the face of credible threats to his and his family’s lives, but “bureaucratic courage to stand up for what was right despite unnecessary obstacles placed in his way.”

And in 1993, with the benefit of 15 years of historical hindsight, the State Department conferred the Distinguished Honor Award on Tex for his reporting from Argentina. The damage was done, however. Although his Foreign Service career would last another 20 years after Buenos Aires, it was effectively stalled.

His commitment to truth-telling continued during a detail to the Environmental Protection Agency in the early 1980s. Tex was the first person Anne Gorsuch, President Ronald Reagan’s Environmental Protection Agency administrator, fired for his efforts as head of the International Activities Office to ban chlorofluorocarbons, which were destroying atmospheric ozone.

Overseas, he served in Durban and Melbourne, his final posting, where he was consul general. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1999.

From Young Turk to “Mr. AFSA”

In announcing his passing, AFSA rightly hailed Tex Harris as “one of the most consequential individuals in the history of the association, and a man who defined the term ‘larger than life.’”

Over the past 50 years, Tex made enormous contributions to AFSA and the Foreign Service. In 1969 he joined with fellow “Young Turks” Lannon Walker, Charles Bray, Herman “Hank” Cohen and others to ensure that American diplomats had a clear voice in establishing the standards for their profession, and that AFSA was an institution that would defend both the Service and its members.

As an attorney, Tex was AFSA’s in-house counsel in the early to mid-1970s. He went on to serve as vice president for the State Department constituency on the Governing Board from 1973 to 1976, during which time he worked with William Harrop and Thomas Boyatt to turn AFSA into an effective union representing all Foreign Service employees. He was instrumental in drafting

Tex Harris, one of the most consequential individuals in AFSA’s history, showed what professional diplomacy can accomplish in the face of internal and external opposition.

and negotiating the core labor-management agreements in the foreign affairs agencies, and was one of the four drafters of the 1976 legislation that led to the Foreign Service grievance system.

He served two terms as AFSA president, from 1993 to 1997, fighting against reductions in force at USAID, government shutdowns, the appointment of unqualified political ambassadors and major management abuses (such as classifying diplomatic security protective detail agents as “managers” to avoid payment of millions of dollars of overtime). He succeeded in gaining significant benefit increases for service overseas.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1999, Tex continued his close involvement with AFSA. In 2000, he was instrumental in the creation of the F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award for Constructive Dissent by a Foreign Service Specialist, to bring the same recognition to specialists for their intellectual courage as the association had been giving Foreign Service officers for more than three decades. The criteria for the Harris Award are phrased in a way that define his life and legacy: “To take an unpopular stand, to go out on a limb, or to stick his/her neck out in a way that involves some risk.”

The AFSA membership elected Tex to multiple terms in the 2000s and 2010s as secretary and as a retiree representative—enabling him to continue contributing to setting AFSA’s agenda and policies.

Continuing to Make a Difference

For many years, Tex ran a one-man listserv, “AFSATEX,” and was active in several of AFSA’s sister organizations that work to advance the interests of the Foreign Service. He served several terms on the board of directors of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, and produced the ADST video/podcast series *Tales of American Diplomacy*, which screened its first “TAD Talk” episode on C-Span in November 2019. Tex was also the host of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Maryland and D.C. until his death.

In 1993, with the benefit of 15 years of historical hindsight, the State Department conferred the Distinguished Honor Award on Tex for his reporting from Argentina.

Widely referred to as “Mr. AFSA,” Tex also remained in contact with scores of retired Foreign Service colleagues from the last 50 years—sharing information and connecting them with other colleagues to discuss major issues facing today’s Foreign Service. He was also an active member of the group of former AFSA presidents who advise AFSA and other Foreign Service groups.

In October 2019, AFSA presented Tex with its Award for Achievement and Contributions to the Association, celebrating his half-century of tireless support of AFSA and the career Foreign

Service. During the ceremony he gave a typically rousing speech, which had the audience cheering him loudly. It was Tex at his best, and the honor was well deserved.

In recent years, Tex had turned his focus to climate change and climate diplomacy, arguing that the Foreign Service has a critical role in combating global warming under the voluntary National Determined Commitments regime established in the Paris Accords.

“The U.S. Foreign Service will be called on to meet its greatest challenge since the Cold War in convincing elites and general publics in more than 200 nations to ‘ratchet up’ their national voluntary cuts in fossil fuel usage to save the planet from further overheating,” he said. “We have probably already lost the coral reefs, much of the Arctic ice and low-lying areas of Alexandria, Miami Beach and Lower Manhattan to global warming. American diplomacy must lead the way to protect the planet from major damage.”

Never one to shy away from big ideas and actions to match, Tex Harris remained true to himself until the very end. ■

Remembrances

Integrity, Compassion, Loyalty

Tex was my oldest, best Foreign Service friend. Almost 52 years ago I was temporarily detailed from within the Economic Bureau to the front office to serve as a staff assistant with Tex. We worked hand in glove and quickly bonded, a bond that grew every time we were both in Washington and became even tighter after we retired. Our career experiences were sufficiently similar—serving mostly in the developing world, with the exception being Australia for both of us. I even had a brief time on the AFSA Governing Board when he was president.

When I reflect on why our friendship prospered, I also ask myself what made him an iconic figure in our professional diplomacy, touching and earning the respect of hundreds. His uncommon values and virtues stand out: integrity, loyalty, intellectual curiosity, compassion and genuine love of people. What for others might have been despairing frustration with bureaucracy or incurable indifference was for Tex a challenge to persuade and co-opt. Whether in difficult places or in leadership of AFSA, Tex was



During Orvis fishing trip on the Shenandoah River with Clyde Taylor, April 2000.



Tex with daughter Julie, and Clyde and Ginny Taylor, at a Redskins game, October 2000.

exemplary in dominating an issue, identifying options and mustering support for success. I never knew him to walk away from a problem or be first to leave the negotiating table.

Tex loved to recall actions of our colleagues, the more outrageous the better, which made for memorable lunches. And he was fun. Once, we went fishing at Great Falls, at least that was the goal. As we headed for the riverbank, I constantly “lost” Tex as he “met a new friend” on the trail, exchanging business cards, of course. I had landed a nice bass when he caught up, and heard him out about a new friend who had a factory making pressed wood, which he would later visit. I was about to release my fish when Tex grabbed it for dinner, despite my warning that it had enough mercury to show temperature.

The other fishing story is from the Orvis Fly-Fishing School in Luray. I prize a picture of Tex, in waders, his Texas hat and whatever else came out of his amazing wardrobe, coming toward the guides and me. They just stared at him in disbelief before joining my uncontrollable laughter. Yes, he was a nice version of the abominable snowman, all 6’7” of him. I already miss him so very much.

—Clyde D. Taylor

The Advocate

We miss him already.

F. Allen “Tex” Harris had presence, was a giant intellectually, as well as physically, and possessed crystalline integrity. He was a good-humored, relentless and effective advocate for human rights, the environment and the Foreign Service. His efforts invariably made a difference. He was also an outstanding human being and colleague, and a true friend.

We first met in 1971, just as AFSA was gearing up to become the bargaining agent for FS employees, pursuant to President Nixon’s E. O. 11491, which established a new framework for government labor relations.

It was an exciting time. Tex had been a leading figure in the

AFSA campaign along with Bill Harrop, Tom Boyatt and Hank Cohen, among others. Winning the representation election by a solid margin, they had recast AFSA. Tex later served as AFSA president and held other positions over the years, coming to epitomize the organization for many of its members.

Retirement brought no slowdown in his activism. He continued to work for AFSA, undertook speaking engagements, ran a D.C.-area foreign policy forum, continued his advocacy for human rights (most notably with Jimmy Carter), and supported the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, establishing its video program. But his true love, apart from dear Jeanie and the kids, was his computer “nest” from which he directed information (and occasional action) and internet threads on topical issues, national and international. He was tireless and irreplaceable. AFSATEX1 is now silent, but he will not be forgotten.

—Jack Binns

Serving AFSA

I first met Tex in person in 2008 to talk about my running for AFSA president. We connected initially over our common love of the Foreign Service and professional diplomacy, and over the years, his love of AFSA, which I came to share. His sincerity and deep AFSA experience made him a persuasive advocate and played a role in my decision to run back then. His energetic support was key to my election.

You could count on Tex to speak his mind, even when—and especially when—he knew what he had to say would probably not be welcomed. That’s one of the reasons his participation on any team was so valuable.

Over the next decade we shared many conversations and many hours at meetings, meals and events. We became friends, allies and comrades in the context of the Foreign Service, AFSA, dissent, and later, ADST and capturing the legacy of American post-World War II diplomacy through the oral histories of its frontline practitioners. Recently, Tex partnered with ADST on his “Tales of American Diplomacy” project—one that brought together his love of new technology and of the Foreign Service. It’s a project we are determined to carry on in his honor.

Tex’s moral courage, integrity and ubiquitous advocacy for just causes, never for himself, inspire us all and earned him widespread recognition as a diplomat who made a difference in many lives. He was a true champion. He will be deeply missed and long remembered.

—Susan Johnson



Tom Boyatt and Tex Harris pose for a snapshot while working Capitol Hill.

The Happy Warrior

It is very hard for me to visualize a world without Tex. For 50 years we battled together to secure an AFSA victory in union elections to represent all Foreign Service personnel; to structure an employee-management system enabling us to negotiate “personnel policies and procedures” with the foreign affairs agencies; and to establish an independent grievance system to provide for individual challenges to administrative decisions before an impartial judge.

Tex Harris was a huge (physically and operationally) presence in all of these struggles, but in achieving a grievance system enshrined in statute his heroic efforts became legendary.

This is a Foreign Service tale that needs to be retold every generation. It also serves as a metaphor for all of those qualities that made Tex the unique tribune of the people that he was.

The drive for a grievance system was sparked by an individual case. In the late 1960s Charles Thomas, a rising star in the Foreign Service, was suddenly selected out without an annuity. No one would explain to him, or later to his widow, Cynthia, how this could have happened. The total opacity of the Foreign Service rating and promotion system was fiercely defended by State management.

Distraught over his treatment and his inability to support his family, Charles Thomas took his own life. His widow, with two small children to support, was in a desperate situation. She needed a champion.

Tex, in his capacity as an AFSA officer, became that champion. He was personally offended by the injustice done to Charles Thomas and his family, and equally offended by the system that enabled such treatment. He was determined to remedy the individual and institutional situations.

For seven years, beginning in 1969, Tex fought for the legislative enactment of a grievance system for the Foreign Service. As a passionate leader, he conceived how such a system would function, helped draft the details and built a coalition headed by Indiana Senator Birch Bayh (Charles Thomas was a constituent). Tex was relentless and maintained his optimism while treating his opponents without any personal malice.

Finally, in 1976 it all came together. Cynthia Thomas prevailed in her lawsuit against the State Department and herself became an FSO. The department, reacting to the sunshine on its record created by Tex and others, admitted that due to “clerical error,” the personnel folder on the wrong Charles Thomas had been sent to the Selection Board that ended Thomas’ career. The Bayh bill creating a grievance system for the Foreign Service was passed by both houses, signed by President Gerald Ford and subsequently incorporated into the Foreign Service Act of 1980 as Chapter 11.

Later in the very good year of 1976, White House Chief of Staff Don Rumsfeld arranged for President Ford to send a letter to Cynthia apologizing for what the system had done to her husband and the family, and expressing the hope that an improved system would prevent such things in the future. Charles Thomas was posthumously reinstated in the Foreign Service at the rank

he previously held, and his family received the appropriate survivor annuity. (Kudos to John Naland for discovering this lovely story while researching presidential libraries.)

So let us think for a moment about how this vignette illustrates what we have lost with the passing of Tex. Gone is an implacable foe of all forms of injustice, a happy warrior who fought for his beliefs without malice toward opponents, a constant friend, a passionate Foreign Service leader who loved the Service and every member thereof, a 6’7”, 350-pound Texan who was all heart.

Our consolation is that Tex’s achievements will live on in our hearts and in the clan memories of the Foreign Service of the United States. We shall not see his like again soon.

—Thomas D. Boyatt



In 1993, Tex Harris was elected for his first term as president of AFSA, heading the new Governing Board that took office on July 15.

The End of Apartheid

Tex and I first met in 1972 when I was the Congo desk officer in the Bureau of African Affairs, and he was on the board of AFSA working to make the association eligible to become the Foreign Service's collective bargaining unit. Since I had both training and experience as a labor attaché, he asked me to organize a "Members' Interests Committee," which I did.

Our work was essentially to field incoming correspondence from AFSA members who requested help with problems related to working conditions abroad. As a result, we were able to help quite a few members and establish a list of areas requiring reform through eventual negotiations with management. For example, we were able to persuade management to include kindergarten in the overseas educational allowance. We also arranged for an increase in international personal effects weight allowance for secretarial and communications personnel.

Tex was vigorous in support of these improvements in working conditions in his dialogue with management.

Later, when I was senior director for Africa on the National Security Council staff (1986-1987), Tex was the U.S. consul general in Durban, South Africa. The minority-rule apartheid system was still in force, with full racial segregation and discrimination 24/7. During my visits to Durban, I saw the unique Tex Harris style that drew intellectuals from all of the races to come together



Tex Harris, back center, with Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, following a meeting with the senator on Capitol Hill in 2007. From left: AFSA USAID VP Francisco Zamora, AFSA Executive Director Ian Houston, Harris, Lugar, and Ambassadors (ret.) Thomas Boyatt and Willard "Bill" DePree.

at his dinner table for frank discussions. I fully believe that Tex played an important role in bringing the younger generation of white South Africans to understand that the apartheid system was doomed to fail economically, and that it had to end for the greater good of the nation.

In the whites-only election of 1989, the new president, F.W. de Klerk, made the momentous decision to begin negotiations to transition from apartheid to democratic majority rule. De Klerk told me in confidence he was planning to do this in Durban after Tex brought us together.

Our final collaboration took place from 1989 to 1993 when I was assistant secretary of State for Africa. Tex was my director for regional affairs, a job that took him into a variety of sectors. After we decided to start promoting democracy in Africa, I asked USAID/Africa if it could plan to finance relevant programs in selected African countries. The USAID office replied that it did economic development, not democracy. Tex did some investigating and found that USAID had been doing major democracy promotion projects in Latin America since the 1930s. As a result, USAID agreed to do similar projects in sub-Saharan Africa.

Tex had two qualities that made him an invaluable colleague. He was always determined to do what was right and morally justified, and he had the courage to stand up for his principles. Secondly, he never gave up. He kept pushing until he achieved the objective. And he did all that serious work while maintaining a fabulous sense of humor.

And on Saturdays, we played touch football.

—Herman J. "Hank" Cohen



Tex Harris, Tom Boyatt, Lois Roth and Hank Cohen testify at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, March 12, 1974.

Help Honor Tex Harris

Please help AFSA perpetuate one of the signature legacies of this giant of our profession by donating to permanently endow the Tex Harris Award for Constructive Dissent by a Foreign Service Specialist.

Tex championed the creation of this award in 1999 at a time when AFSA dissent awards honored only Foreign Service officers. Since then, 14 specialists have been recognized. Funding for the \$4,000 cash award is currently taken from the general AFSA budget; but in memory of Tex, AFSA seeks to raise funds to permanently endow the award.

With a generous seed donation of \$10,000 from the

Nelson B. Delavan Foundation, thanks to Ambassador (ret.) William Harrop and Mrs. Ann Delavan Harrop, AFSA hopes to raise an additional \$50,000 so that this important award can be funded in perpetuity. Toward that goal, the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia have pledged \$1,000 and the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Maryland and Washington, D.C., pledged \$500.

We hope AFSA members and retiree groups will join us to support a fitting living memorial to our friend Tex.

To donate, please go to www.afsa.org/donate or send a check ("Tex Harris Award" on memo line) to AFSA, c/o Tex Harris Award, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037.

Larger Than Life

His many friends would say, "Tex is bigger than life," thinking of his ebullience, good nature and unselfish consideration for others more than of his great, prepossessing physical stature. He cared deeply about people, most particularly, of course, the people of the Foreign Service, but really *all* people. This identification with humanity led to his now-celebrated achievements in Buenos Aires—a performance bold and career-threatening at the time, but later appreciated as a vindication of Jimmy Carter's vision of American responsibility for global human rights.

Tex was an activist for human rights throughout his life, as well as for the Foreign Service.

He was a competent lawyer and a passionate, persuasive advocate. These were significant assets as AFSA struggled to shape the executive order that would determine the relationship of the Department of State to its Foreign Service employees. Once, as chairman of AFSA, I was meeting with Under Secretary for Management Bill Macomber to hash out a critical issue. Finally, Macomber said, "OK, I'll agree with your position—but on condition you *not* send Tex Harris over here again to argue with us. It is too exhausting."

Lannon Walker, leader of the "Young Turk" reform movement that changed AFSA and the Foreign Service forever, once said of



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

F. Allen "Tex" Harris, State Department, in the 1980s.

Tex: "There is not a substantive bone in that great body." He meant that Tex was concerned with the welfare, family support, fair treatment, career ladder and effectiveness of America's professional diplomats more than the foreign policy they conducted. That, in fact, is AFSA's mandate, although the rest of us were more involved in policy issues aside from our AFSA responsibilities.

Tex wanted all points of view to be heard on every question. He wanted everyone to be informed and engaged, to have a say. First of all a communicator, he maintained an active email listserv with scores of recipients. Once

in a while his admirable support of comprehensive democracy could prove awkward for negotiations or decision-making, and his colleagues on the AFSA Governing Board would worry about including Tex in the gestation of a sensitive issue not yet ripe for general debate. Anything Tex knew was soon available to the world.

The most loyal, patient and thoughtful friend imaginable throughout his too-short life, optimistic, considerate, warm-hearted. If you were interested in gossip or bad-mouthing of others, of anyone, Tex was not your man.

I loved Tex Harris and am not reconciled to losing him.

—William Harrop

A Constant Inspiring Presence

Tex was a Foreign Service guardian. Ever-present, he was AFSA, and AFSA was Tex. I remember well sitting in the tiny closet of a classified reading room at Embassy Bishkek in 1993, reading cables and finding the missives from AFSA President Tex Harris to be most enjoyable. I don't remember what he said, but his messages made me feel like I was part of something bigger than myself, bigger than my post.

Later, throughout my time with *The Foreign Service Journal*, Tex was there too, as a cheerleader for the Service and for the *Journal*, always concerned about some new injustice and always advocating for the members of the Foreign Service. He appreciated and valued the magazine in a way few others have. I am forever grateful for his support and understanding.

When I last spoke with him, in the middle of the October 2019 reception after he'd received AFSA's Award for Achievement and Contributions to the Association, we had a great talk about the Speaking Out column he was going to write on climate change for an upcoming issue of the *Journal*. Although he won't be writing that article, the spirit of his commitment to making the world a better and more equitable place will live on in the *Journal*, in AFSA and all who knew him.

—Shawn Dorman

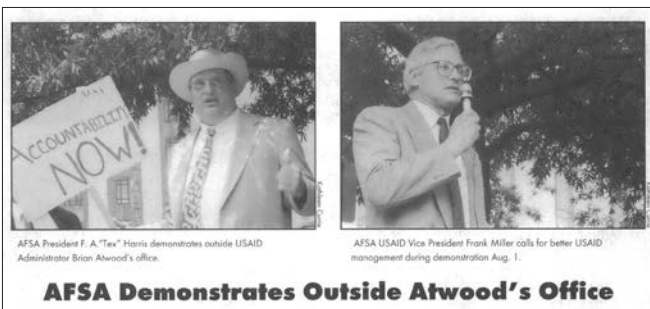
Onward

Tex sent me at least 1,000 emails over the 21 years since I first joined the AFSA Governing Board. The last was sent at 9:16 a.m. on the day of his sudden illness and death. Typically, it was not an action request for me, but rather an information copy about a Foreign Service issue that he wanted others to be aware of. That was vintage Tex. He was always working to share information and bring people together toward a common goal.

As the first two-term AFSA president (1993-1997), Tex sent almost weekly reports to the field via State Department telegram to keep members informed about AFSA's advocacy on their behalf. His messages often revealed some ill-conceived personnel policy being considered by State or USAID. If agency management persisted in pursuing that policy, they could be assured of reading about it a few days later in the *Washington Post's* "In the Loop" government gossip column. Everyone knew where the *Post* got that information.

I was honored to serve with Tex on several AFSA Governing Boards. He cared deeply about diplomacy and the career Foreign Service. It is fitting that the last words of his last email to me were "Onward, Tex."

—John Naland



During his second term as AFSA president, in August 1996, Tex Harris (at left) led a demonstration outside USAID Administrator Brian Atwood's office to demand "better management" at the agency, where reductions-in-force (RIFs) were decimating Foreign Service ranks. AFSA USAID VP Frank Miller is at right.

Joining the Bray Board

I was shocked to hear that Tex Harris died less than two weeks after enjoying an email exchange with him that called up memories of our work together in 1970, when I recruited him to an open spot on Charlie Bray's AFSA Governing Board so that he could help us win the Foreign Service vote turning AFSA into a union to protect our rights.

Tex went to work wholeheartedly, a firm support for AFSA over all this time, including his presidency. Although we had been out of touch for years, we picked up a couple of weeks ago, before I wrote this remembrance, where we had left off. I recalled his characteristic gushing warmth as he described his continuing contact and friendship with our mutual AFSA friends. We discovered that we were both alumni of Princeton, and he said he would meet me there at the 70th reunion of my class in 2022. Although he has gone, his memory will long be cherished.

—George Lambrakis

Australia Days

I was a second-tour officer when Tex Harris arrived in Melbourne as our new consul general. "I'm an ideas guy," he told us. "Most of my ideas will be bad but a few will be good, and it's your job to tell me the difference."

I took him up on his offer and was tasked straightaway with raising our public diplomacy game. Tex was fond of U.S. Navy ship visits—we put Australia's top leaders on aircraft carriers and American sailors to work on neighborhood projects.

His enthusiasm was infectious. I remember writing a cable on Australia's rural-urban divide; it was probably noticed by one bored desk officer and an analyst or two in INR, but Tex heaped so much praise on it I felt like George Kennan. When I screwed up, he didn't hesitate to tell me that either, and I was always better for it.

HONOR A COLLEAGUE

Nominations for AFSA's 2020 Constructive Dissent and Exemplary Performance Awards Are Now Being Accepted.

DISSENT AWARDS

The W. Averell Harriman Award
for an Entry-Level Foreign Service Officer

The William R. Rivkin Award
for a Mid-Level Foreign Service Officer

The Christian A. Herter Award
for a Senior Foreign Service Officer

The F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award
for a Foreign Service Specialist

PERFORMANCE AWARDS

The Mark Palmer Award
for the Advancement of Democracy

The Nelson B. Delavan Award
for a Foreign Service Office
Management Specialist

The M. Juanita Guess Award
for a Community Liaison
Office Coordinator

The Avis Bohlen Award
for an Eligible Family Member

The Post Rep of the Year Award
for an Outstanding AFSA Post Representative

MORE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE
AT WWW.AFSA.ORG/AWARDS.
THE DEADLINE FOR NOMINATIONS
IS JUNE 1, 2020.

Questions? Contact Theo Horn, Awards & Scholarships Manager, at horn@afsa.org or (202) 719-9705.



Tex and his wife, Jeanie, in 1982 in Washington, D.C.

In a way, Tex was too big for little Melbourne—too big for anywhere maybe—but the Australians couldn't get enough of him. And neither, I think, could the rest of the world. Everything about Tex was big—his handshake, his laugh, his ideas and his heart. He was the opposite of typical, as American as they come, and truly one of a kind.

—Jim DeHart

Remembering Tex in South America

Memories about Tex Harris surfaced often during a cruise I just completed around South America.

There was the square in Buenos Aires where women still commemorate each Thursday those family members who disappeared under the Argentine junta. Fearlessly, Tex took the physical and bureaucratic risks needed to expose these atrocities.

In Lima, memories of Tex were heightened with the news that former U.N. Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar had died. To cope with war and famine in Africa's Greater Horn, 1984-85, State Refugee Bureau leadership intervened with de Cuéllar to launch the U.N. Organization for Emergency Operations in Africa, described later as "The U.N.'s Finest Hour." But it took Tex Harris, head of the bureau's emergency unit, tirelessly mentoring and facilitating from alongside the U.N. field effort, to enable it to clinch that extraordinary title.

That was vintage Tex, bigger than life, typically in the toughest humanitarian arenas, and forever now in our hearts.

—Arthur E. "Gene" Dewey

Outsized Loss

What a loss!

Everything about Tex was outsized. His energy and enthusiasm; his outlook and optimism; his spirit and voice; his vision and influence; his interests and engagement; his height and girth; and his heart (hard to believe that gave out); even his walker was Texas-sized. And his passing means that the hole in all of our lives will be equally outsized. ■

—Thomas "Ted" E. McNamara

Editor's note: The January-February FSJ included an obituary for Mr. Warren Carl Putman with his name spelled incorrectly. We regret the error and are republishing the corrected obituary here.

■ **Warren Carl Putman**, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer with USAID, passed away on July 21 of cardiac failure at his farm, Hawk's Ridge, in West Virginia.

Mr. Putman was born in Woodhaven, N.Y., on Dec. 24, 1925. He went to high school in Lambertville, N.J. At 17, he joined the Navy to become a pilot but was told there were enough pilots in the program. Instead, he was sent to Williams College in Massachusetts to become an officer.

Impatient to join World War II, he decided to get himself expelled by breaking windows. The Navy then sent him to submarine school in New London, Conn. About to board a train to begin his deployment to the Pacific, he and a couple other mates were selected to spend the rest of the war selling war bonds on the recently captured German submarine, the U505.

He received an honorable discharge from the Navy Submarine Service in 1946. Mr. Putman's memorabilia from his time on the U505 were donated to the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago, where the submarine is housed.

Returning to civilian life, Mr. Putman earned a bachelor's degree in agriculture and animal husbandry at Rutgers University in 1950. Following graduation, he used his GI Bill benefits to attend the Sorbonne in Paris for a year and to travel extensively around Europe. In Europe, he observed the Marshall Plan in action, fueling his interest in international development.

Mr. Putman served with USAID twice,

from 1962 to 1965 (St. Lucia and South Korea) and from 1979 to 1986 (Somalia and Washington, D.C.).

During his overseas career, he also worked for several USAID contractors. He took time off twice to run his own businesses, including Ramier Estate in St. Lucia where he raised tropical flowers, vegetables, tree crops, forage and sheep.

He continued consulting after retirement. In 1995, he moved to a farm in rural West Virginia where he bred and sold Boykin spaniels.

Mr. Putman was an avid hunter, deep sea fisherman, skier and sailor. Friends say he was a great storyteller. Some of his tales can be found in his self-published book, *Put's Tales*.

One of Mr. Putman's more memorable experiences was a 10-day trek on foot across northern Tanzania when he helped a Maasai pal move a herd of cattle. He traveled with only water, a local "thimbo" and a rifle.

Mr. Putman's wife of 42 years, Patricia, who accompanied him on all his long-term assignments, died in 1994. Since 1995 he has been with Dorothy Carlson, who survives him.

He is also survived by a son, Duncan (and his wife Jeanette Dickerson-Putman) of Keuka Park, N.Y.; two daughters: Diana, an FSO with USAID (and her husband Adam Messer) of Carlisle, Pa., and Alexandra of Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; three granddaughters: Kristen Corl, Bridget Laubacker and Clarissa Messer; and one great-granddaughter, Claire Corl.

■ **Floyd Hagopian**, 75, a retired information management officer and the spouse of retired Office Management Specialist Patti Hagopian, died on Jan. 1 in Sebastian, Fla., after a relatively brief battle with aggressive lymphoma.

Mr. Hagopian was born in Skow-

hegan, Maine. He served in the Navy in Asmara, Eritrea, and then joined the Foreign Service in the 1960s as a communicator. He worked overseas for 30 years, in London, Djakarta (now Jakarta), Moscow, Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), Bangui, Niamey, Bonn, Abidjan, Kinshasa and Pretoria.

Mr. Hagopian contributed to training a new generation of information management specialists, first as instructor and then as branch chief, at the Warrenton Training Center in Virginia. He retired out of Asmara, returning full circle to where he had started overseas in the Navy.

After retiring, Mr. Hagopian continued for another 15 years in the Foreign Service accompanying his wife, Patti Hagopian, on her tours in Mbabane, Asunción, Lilongwe, Tokyo, Tashkent, Ouagadougou and Yaoundé.

At these posts, Mr. Hagopian served variously as a community liaison officer, general services assistant, facilities maintenance assistant, security escort and information management assistant.

He was an avid softball, tennis, dart and card player. He played in numerous international softball tournaments and while retired in Florida spent four mornings a week playing softball. He especially enjoyed pitching. In Florida leagues, he was often "designated runner," and his speed gave him the nickname "Hurricane Floyd."

Friends remember Mr. Hagopian for his easygoing manner and great sense of humor.

He is survived by his wife, Patti, their two daughters, and his brother and sister.

■ **Samuel Charles Keiter**, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Jan. 8 at Buckingham's Choice, a retirement community in Adamstown, Md., where he had lived for the past 20 years.

Mr. Keiter was born in March 1931, at the hospital of the University of Chicago, where his father, an ordained Lutheran minister, was completing his Ph.D. in education.

In 1936 the family moved to Oneonta, N.Y., where his father had become a professor at Hartwick College. Mr. Keiter attended Oneonta High School, graduating in 1948 as valedictorian.

Mr. Keiter graduated from Carleton College in Minnesota in 1952 with a degree in government and international relations. He then spent a year in Denmark as a Fulbright scholar. He earned a master's degree in Middle East studies at the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.

As a Ford Foundation Fellow based in Cairo from 1955 to 1956, he traveled from Tehran to Casablanca, making stops in Israel and Sudan. A high point was two weeks spent with an Egyptian family in a village near Luxor.

In 1957 Mr. Keiter became a Foreign Service officer with the State Department. He was also drafted into the U.S. Army, where he served for two years in the Carolinas and Georgia as an economic specialist before taking up his position with the State Department.

His Foreign Service career was divided almost evenly between Washington and overseas posts. He spent four years as an economic officer in Tunisia, and three years as principal officer of the U.S. consulate in Bayda, Libya—near the Greek ruins at Cyrene—where King Idris was building a new capital.

Mr. Keiter served as the embassy's contact with the foreign ministry and interpreter for the U.S. ambassador's meetings with the king, who avoided Tripoli, the existing capital. Shortly before Col. Gaddafi seized power in September 1969, Mr. Keiter left Libya. As he had pre-

dicted, the Eastern province (Cyrenaican) tribes did not rise up to protect King Idris, who went into exile in Egypt.

After three years in the Office of Southern African Affairs in Washington, Mr. Keiter was assigned to Burundi as deputy chief of mission. He arrived shortly after a massacre of the majority, but less powerful, Hutu by Tutsis. Following the massacre, the United States provided food aid in Burundi, particularly for mother/child clinics.

Catholic Relief Services, responsible for distribution of the food aid, sent nurse Dolores Deveau to Burundi to visit the clinics and make sure the food was being used appropriately. She and Mr. Keiter married in April 1975.

That year, he was assigned to the State Department's Office of Aviation. From 1977 to 1981 he was the U.S. civil aviation attaché in London.

After a year at what was then the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, he returned to the Office of Aviation, becoming chief of the Aviation Negotiations Division. He headed several negotiation teams, including one to Moscow that reestablished direct flights between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In 1986 Mr. Keiter retired from the Foreign Service and joined Kurth and Co., an aviation consulting company that focused on economic issues. While the company tackled many issues, its primary focus was helping U.S. airports attract more air service.

Mr. Keiter retired from Kurth and Co. in 1999, and the couple moved to Buckingham's Choice retirement community near Frederick, Md., in 2000. There Mr. Keiter was active in the residents' association for 14 years. He was also active in the Maryland Continuing Care Residents Association.

An avid player of bridge and tennis,

Mr. Keiter won trophies in both. He loved to sing. His children remember that he sang them a song every night at bedtime when they were small, and he resumed singing in barbershop quartets and other groups in retirement.

In addition to his wife, Dolores, Mr. Keiter leaves three children, Deborah Keiter Moore (and husband Chris), Timothy S. Keiter (and wife Kay) and Christopher F. Keiter (and wife Betsy), all of Maine; seven grandchildren; one great-grandson; sisters Margaret Wales, Mary McCarty and Miriam Solloway (and husband Fred); and many nieces and nephews.

■ **Richard Chris Lundberg, 74**, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Jan. 9 in Vienna, Va.

Born on Oct. 12, 1945, Mr. Lundberg graduated from Queens College in New York with a bachelor's degree in history and a master's degree in education.

He became a junior high and middle school teacher in New York City in 1968. After nine years, his desire to help make a difference in the world, plus his love of travel and languages, drove him to change careers. He joined the U.S. Foreign Service with the United States Information Agency and, later, the Department of State.

Mr. Lundberg's overseas career took him to five countries. He began as a junior officer in Warsaw in 1978 and next served as the branch public affairs officer in Poznan.

For a history major, Poznan was a memorable assignment because it encompassed the time of traditional communist rule, the rise of Solidarity, the threat of Soviet invasion and the imposition of martial law.

His next assignments were also exciting and challenging in their own way.

Mr. Lundberg went on to Helsinki as an assistant cultural affairs officer, and then to post-Ceausescu Bucharest as information officer. He also served as public affairs officer in Reykjavík and Tallinn.

Mr. Lundberg's overseas postings were interspersed with Washington assignments. Those included program officer for the U.S. Speakers Program in Eastern Europe, office director of the U.S. Society and Values Office and, in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the Bureau of International Information Programs.

He also served as a Congressional (Pearson) Fellow with the Bureau of Human Resources and, later, as a career development officer. He retired in 2005.

Mr. Lundberg's talent for learning the language of each country enabled him to have close personal relationships with all his contacts. His ability as a writer also earned him many accolades throughout his career.

Friends and family remember him for his kindness, sense of humor, loving personality, honesty, intellect and integrity.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Salvation Army and the World Wildlife Fund in Mr. Lundberg's memory. Condolence messages may be sent to Angelina Lundberg, 2434 McClintic Ct., Vienna VA 22180.

Mr. Lundberg is survived by his wife of almost 50 years, Ann. He had many relatives living in Fredonia, Jamestown and Buffalo, N.Y. More loved ones are scattered across the United States—in California, Delaware, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas and Virginia.

■ **Mary Ann Lundy**, 81, a Foreign Service spouse for 34 years, died of a massive stroke on Jan. 8 at Goodwin House Bailey's Crossroads, in Falls Church, Va.

Mrs. Lundy was born in Atlanta, Ga., on July 11, 1938, and grew up mostly in Athens, Ga. She moved to the Washington, D.C., area in 1955 and graduated from American University, cum laude, in 1959 with a major in history.

In April 1960 she married FSO Walter A. Lundy and was employed by the CIA for a year and a half until departing for her husband's first overseas assignment in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

Early in 1965, she and her two small children were evacuated with other dependents from Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), the Lundys' second assignment. Subsequently, the family served overseas in New Delhi, Tehran and Seoul.

Mrs. Lundy taught English as a second language to Korean college students in Seoul. In Washington, she also taught ESL, worked in the admissions office at Marymount University and was employed by USAID for several years as an analyst. She was a resident of Arlington, Va., until moving to Goodwin House in early 2017.

Mrs. Lundy is survived by her husband; three children, Lois Leinkram, Charles Lundy and Susan Kampschror, all of whom live in the Northern Virginia suburbs; and eight grandchildren. At the time of her death, two great-grandchildren were on the way.

■ **Richard Lee Podol**, 91, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer with USAID, died peacefully on Feb. 19 at his home in Herndon, Va., after a long illness complicated by Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Podol was born on July 10, 1928, in Chicago, Ill. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees and a Ph.D. from the University of Iowa. In 1950 he was drafted into the U.S. Army and served in Korea during the war.

In January 1961 Mr. Podol's first assignment with USAID took him to Ankara, where he met his future wife, Betty, who was also employed by USAID. The couple was married in Ankara in 1962, and their two children were born there.

During his 29-year diplomatic career, Mr. Podol served in Turkey, Nepal, India, Bangladesh and Tanzania, and was mission director in Zaire and Uganda. He retired from USAID in 1989 with the Senior Foreign Service rank of Minister Counselor.

After retirement, he and his wife lived for four months in Prague, teaching English to Czech military officers.

Mr. and Mrs. Podol both had a love of travel. They considered themselves fortunate to have visited all 50 U.S. states, almost 130 countries and the seven continents.

A lifelong Chicago Cubs fan, Mr. Podol and his wife watched all three World Series games at Wrigley Field in 2016. He coached Little League wherever he lived and took two of his teams to their European World Series.

After retirement, he delighted in playing softball with the Northern Virginia Senior Softball League for 13 years.

Mr. Podol is survived by his wife of 57 years, Betty; daughter Beth in El Paso, Texas; and son Edward, wife Claudia and grandchildren Emma and Eric in Scottsdale, Ariz.

■ **Patricia Anne Saunders Sills**, 92, a Foreign Service secretary to six ambassadors, died on March 13. She lived in Heritage Park in Sacramento, Calif.

Ms. Saunders was born in Rochester, N.Y., on Jan. 2, 1927, the third of three children by Charles and Catherine Murray Saunders. She attended Our Lady of

Mercy High School and then Bryant and Stratton College.

In 1951 she joined the Foreign Service and served as personal secretary to six ambassadors, with postings in Egypt, Mexico, France, Belgium, Portugal and Washington, D.C.

When she retired in 1977, Ms. Saunders returned to Rochester and cared for her parents until their deaths in 1986. She became a close friend of Rochelle Kashtan, who owned a small shop in Rochester where Ms. Saunders worked for several years.

In 1989 she relocated to Sacramento to be near her brother, Murray A. Saunders, and his wife, Doris. There, she worked for the law firm of Jean McEvoy.

In 2004 she retired and married widower Thomas Allen Sills, and they lived in the North Natomas community of Heritage Park. Mr. Sills died in 2010.

Ms. Sills is survived by her stepfamily: Ed and Wynette Sills; Catherine Sills; Rosemarie and Pike Oliver; Sara and Jim Kersting; Katelyn, Jessica and Andrew Sills; Blake and Paul Oliver; Thomas Oliver; as well as nieces Barbara (Kate Tucker) Laney, Sharon (Rick) Schnell and Debra (Marshall) Brown; and nephew Mark (Ann) Saunders and several great-nieces and great-nephews.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Sacramento Food Bank or a charity of your choice.

■ **George Twohie**, 86, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer of Reston, Va., died on Dec. 3, 2019.

Born in New York City on March 4, 1932, he was the son of the late George Edward Twohie and Evelyn Rose Twohie and stepmother Caroline Twohie.

A veteran of the U.S. Army, Mr. Twohie enjoyed a 36-year career as a Foreign Service officer. After retiring with the rank of

Minister Counselor, he continued to consult and provide his diplomatic services for an additional 20 years.

Mr. Twohie served his country with postings to Belgium, Libya, Iran, Turkey, Cameroon, Nepal, Vietnam, Malaysia, Germany and France, as well as Washington, D.C.

Friends remember that his greatest joy was his family, on whom he bestowed unconditional love, guidance, laughter, kindness, adventure and travel.

Mr. Twohie is survived by his wife of 62 years, Sandra DePaoli Twohie; daughters Alexa Twohie O'Flynn, Andrea D. Twohie (Ron Franks) and Anne-Marie D. Twohie; grandchildren Shane, Makenzy, Declan, Luca, Silvio and Alessandra; and a great-grandson, Avram.

■ **Katherine Marguerite White**, 93, a retired Foreign Service officer, died in Phoenix, Ariz., on March 12, from natural causes.

Ms. White, who was born in Hertford, N.C., in 1926, was the middle child of Irvin and Katherine Winslow White. After her parents' early deaths, she lived with her grandfather and an aunt until she graduated from Perquimans County High School.

She studied commerce and mathematics at East Carolina University in Greenville, N.C., and began her career with Continental Life Insurance in Richmond, Va. Later, she moved to Pittsburgh, Pa., to join Gulf Oil, and then to Tucson, Ariz., where she worked at Valley National Bank (now Chase).

Ms. White joined the Foreign Service in 1962 as a personnel assistant and later as a personnel officer. She was posted to Tegucigalpa, Tokyo, Montevideo, Quito, Mexico City, Madrid, Kingston and Brasilia.

She also had several tours of duty

with the Bureau of Personnel in Washington, D.C. During her tours, she took up horseback riding and ikebana, the Japanese art of flower arrangement.

Family members recall that they loved to visit her, and that she was the consummate hostess. She entertained them with stories of astronauts, diplomats and other people she had met. She introduced family and friends to many foods and cultures.

Ms. White also loved coming home to Tucson. After one of her early tours, she said that she simply had to visit Disneyland and the Grand Canyon before she saw any more of the world. On a whim, the family decided to join her.

When she retired from the Foreign Service in 1985, she moved to Tucson to be near her sister and brother-in-law, Fran and Del Mickey. There, she purchased her first home, played golf and bridge with friends, watched opera and spent time with family.

Ms. White was preceded in death by her sister, Frances, and brother-in-law, Delbert Mickey, and a nephew, Dr. J. Randolph White.

She is survived by her brother, Dr. Irvin L. White (Dr. Mary Hamilton) of Omaha, Neb.; nephew David (Diane) White of Tulsa, Okla.; nieces Katherine (James) Tune of Seattle, Wash.; Debra (James) Larson of Phoenix, Ariz.; and many grandnieces and grandnephews. ■



If you would like us to include an obituary in In Memory, please send text to journal@afsa.org.

Be sure to include the date, place and cause of death, as well as details of the individual's Foreign Service career. Please place the name of the AFSA member to be memorialized in the subject line of your email.

Axis Diplomats Held in Style

Such Splendid Prisons: Diplomatic Detainment in America during World War II

Harvey Solomon, Potomac Books/University of Nebraska Press, 2020, \$34.95/hardcover, eBook available, 360 pages.

REVIEWED BY PETER F. SPALDING

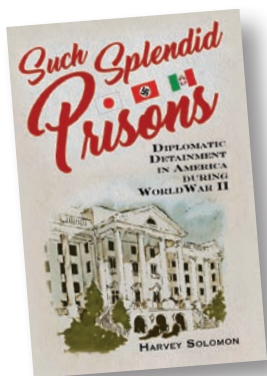
It is not every day that a significant piece of neglected World War II diplomacy comes to light, but it has done so in *Such Splendid Prisons*.

Through prodigious research, engaging, at times humorous, prose, and unique photographs, Harvey Solomon brings to life the fascinating—but largely forgotten—history of the detainment of hundreds of Axis diplomats in the immediate aftermath of the Dec. 7, 1941, bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Scores of Japanese, German, Italian and other Axis country diplomats, along with their wives, children, mission staff and personal servants, were rounded up and summarily dispatched under guard on trains from Union Station in Washington, D.C., to the poshest of resorts, including the Greenbrier Hotel in West Virginia, the Homestead Hotel in Virginia and the Grove Park Inn in North Carolina.

Later in the war, there would be two more stages. After Operation Torch in November 1942, the Vichy French would be sent to Hotel Hershey; and Japanese diplomats captured in Germany in May 1945 would be brought to the Bedford Springs Hotel in Pennsylvania, safely ensconced when the atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

Not surprisingly, most Americans couldn't comprehend why detainment in



exclusive resorts was favored over incarceration in military prisons for the “Japs and Nazi thugs” who became hated enemies overnight.

This detainment, however, represented a brave, brazen attempt

by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to improve the lot of our own diplomats and their families suddenly stranded in countries with whom we were at war. While managing this detainment, federal officials were also undertaking delicate negotiations with neutral countries such as Switzerland, Spain and Sweden to repatriate U.S. diplomats trapped abroad.

Another reason for the president's quick decision: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was on his way across the U-boat infested North Atlantic aboard the HMS *Duke of York* for an unannounced White House parley, and FDR wanted the Axis diplomats out of their embassies before he arrived.

One particular by-product of this undertaking was a new practice that's still in effect today. On the night of Dec. 7, 1941, shortly after the bombing, a State Department official requested that a security agent be assigned to accompany Secretary Cordell Hull to the emergency Cabinet meeting at the White House.

“The agent meets him at his residence, the Wardman Park Hotel, and Hull acquiesces,” writes Solomon. “The next morning the agent again accompanies Hull to his office, marking the beginning of the Secretary of State's protective detail that exists to this day.”

The final act of the first stage of this drama saw the American diplomats detained in Germany, Japan and Italy

descend the gangplanks of Swedish ocean liners onto neutral wharves in Lisbon and Lourenço Marques. Then their Axis counterparts boarded the same ships, trading luxurious living in America for uncertainty in their war-ravaged countries.

As with many fine histories, *Such Splendid Prisons* often reads like a good novel with unexpected twists and turns, and a diverse cast of characters to highlight the collective experience of hundreds of Axis detainees.

There is, for instance, the suave, movie-star-handsome acting German Ambassador Hans Thomsen (his father was born in Norway, which accounts for his Scandinavian last name) and his beautiful, eccentric wife, Bébé, whose love of pets went so far as importing from Germany a squirrel that she'd have perched on her shoulder during social functions.

Others were sophisticated Japanese journalist Masuo Kato, a graduate of the University of Chicago and suspected spy, and an interracial couple who had been longtime targets of the FBI: the Tennessean Gwen Terasaki and Japanese diplomat Hidenari Terasaki who, unbeknownst to his wife, was the head of Japanese intelligence in the United States.

The youngest detainee profiled is lively college coed Hildegard “Hildy” von Boetticher, daughter of German Military Attaché Friedrich von Boetticher. A graduate of the Sidwell Friends School, Hildy was a college senior in Virginia at the time of Pearl Harbor.

Her older brother, institutionalized near Baltimore for treatment of schizophrenia, could have been shot or hanged in accordance with Nazi purity laws had he been forced to return to Germany. His father asked Attorney General Francis Biddle to intervene, and in the end, FDR allowed the boy to remain in the United States under the proviso that all costs for his treatment

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FS Side Notes

Reviewer Peter Spalding tells us that his maternal grandfather, Edgar Prochnik, was the Austrian minister to the United States at the time of the *Anschluss* and declined the invitation of the German ambassador to return to Nazi-occupied Austria.

Prochnik later taught a seminar on European diplomatic history at Georgetown University. Spalding once asked a student how he liked the seminar. The student replied, “Oh, we love it. Instead of an exam, Prochnik gives a cocktail party!” It was a different time.



Another retired FSO, Marc E. Nicholson, shared thoughts on *Such Splendid Prisons* after attending a talk on the book at Politics and Prose in Washington, D.C. He currently resides in the district, two blocks from the former home of Nazi Germany’s military attaché in Washington, who figures prominently in the book.

Nicholson reports that author Harvey Solomon said he found the online archives of past *FSJ* editions from the 1930s and 1940s very helpful to his research. The *FSJ* is cited at various points in the book.

and stay be borne by a trust fund set up by the Boetticher family.

Solomon provides a vivid picture of life at the Greenbrier, in particular, where prime activities included gourmet dining at ritzy restaurants (food included, alcohol extra), shopping in its high-end stores and even ordering from mail-order catalogues since the detainees continued to be paid their salaries. The Swiss liaison once brought a suitcase containing \$35,000 (the equivalent of \$545,000 today) to distribute. In addition to the Greenbrier’s exten-

sive collection of memos and memorabilia overseen by the on-staff historian, Dr. Robert Conte, the colorful descriptions of the detainees’ lives rely on materials from the National Archives, Library of Congress and other repositories in the United States, Germany and Japan.

One tantalizing tidbit concerned Japanese Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura, who ordered his staff to request only minimal meals in the dining room to show camaraderie with their countrymen at home suffering from wartime food shortages. Meanwhile, he was having extravagant meals delivered by room service to his deluxe suite.

Some detainees didn’t acknowledge the decadence at all. In an especially humorous incident, two German detainees once appeared for dinner wearing sweaters. Reminded of Greenbrier’s strict jacket-and-tie dress code by an elderly headwaiter, one detainee said, “What the hell are you talking about? This is just a concentration camp anyway.”

The headwaiter replied, “Maybe a concentration camp, all right—but deluxe.”

Readers of *Such Splendid Prisons* get an intriguing view of how FDR, the State Department, FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and intelligence agencies worked in unison and under tremendous pressure to bring our diplomats safely home from wartorn countries while concurrently having former allies turned wartime enemies returned to their countries.

All in all, it’s a fascinating lesson in how diplomacy is meant to function and should enthrall American history buffs, current and retired U.S. diplomats, and employees of the FBI and CIA whose predecessors played such crucial roles in this daring operation. ■

Peter F. Spalding is a retired Senior Foreign Service officer.



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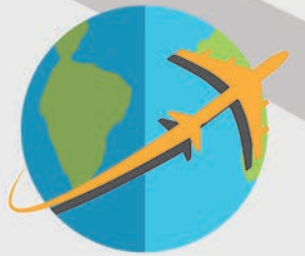


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Y2K, What Y2K?

BY LIAN VON WANTOCH

Last year, when driving my mother's 2000 Volkswagen New Beetle, I remembered we used to refer to it affectionately as the Y2K Bug. I had not thought about Y2K itself for, well, almost 20 years.

The other Y2K bug was a huge issue in 1999. Would we be catapulted back to 1900 because computers that had been programmed to read dates as two digits rather than four switched from 99 to 00? Would the arteries of commerce and communications seize up? Would there be another Chernobyl nuclear meltdown, or would embassy staff freeze to death in cold postings?

As a first-tour officer in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago—and post's Y2K coordinator—I found that all those risks of the end of the world seemed pretty far away. What was the worst that could happen? That we would be stuck on a tropical island?

We assessed there would be no more than the usual water and power outages. Civil unrest also seemed unlikely in a country that was so straitlaced that it still had a law on its books forbidding swearing on the stage (as our American Citizen Services officer learned when an American rapper was arrested partway through his performance and deported).

But because I was on a consular/political rotation, with a six-week stint as general services officer, I had the oppor-

tunity to participate in all our preparations for Armageddon.

In the consular section, we alerted travelers to bring extra prescriptions and cash (or traveler's checks) while also reporting to Washington that we expected the usual influx of visitors at Christmastime. We had demonstrated during the 1990 coup attempt that our warden system could work without telephones. After all, Trinidad is only 30 miles wide at its center and about 50 miles long.

Meanwhile, visa applicants took advantage of the Y2K preoccupation. Instead of saying they had no demonstrable savings to fund their purported vacation because they found the air conditioning in banks unhealthy or were participating in the *sou-sou*, a popular informal saving scheme, they now claimed it was owing to fears their money would be lost during Y2K if they kept it in a bank.

In the political section, it was a bit of an uphill battle to get the government to take the Y2K issue seriously. Critical infrastructure in Trinidad and Tobago was generally not dependent on computers. Water, when it flowed at all, did so by gravity. Power generation was from low-tech gas



A carnival sound truck approaches the U.S. embassy. All Saints Anglican Church, adjacent to the embassy, is on the right.

and steam turbines, the newest of which dated from 1985. Police and fire services had only just acquired computers.

In contrast, the private sector, especially banking, was well prepared. They chivied the national telecom company to test its equipment.

One of my most iconic Y2K memories was of overseeing the delivery of fuel drums to supplement our embassy tank, which at full capacity would only keep the generator running for a fraction of the 30 days the State Department mandated.

The battered truck entered the compound. Without fanfare, the driver and his assistant unhooked the side of the truck, threw a couple old tires under the opening, and proceeded to roll the drums off the end to bounce on the tires and tumble to the curb, where our GSO employees fetched them.

Flabbergasted, I grabbed the GSO digital camera to record the delivery—and document it in case of damage. These were the first digital photos I ever took, and the camera was the size of a paper-



Lian von Wantoch joined the Foreign Service in 1998. In addition to Port of Spain, she has served in Washington, D.C., and in St. Petersburg, London, Sarajevo, Kabul and Wellington. She is currently an inspector at the Office of Inspector General. The views expressed in this article are the author's, and not necessarily those of the U.S. government.



The Drop (a), The Bounce (b) and The Roll (c)—the fuel delivery process in Port of Spain as the U.S. embassy prepared for Y2K in August 1999.

back book and at least twice as heavy.

Finally, the last day of the millennium arrived: 12/31/1999. I needed to be at the embassy, together with a driver to make sure I got there; a communicator to transmit our post-apocalypse status; and, of course, on Post One the Marine security guard who had drawn the short straw.

I left a boisterous “old year’s night” fete and arrived at the embassy in my purple ball gown with 20 minutes to spare. The Marine and I climbed through the window in the deputy chief

of mission’s office onto the embassy roof to await the end of the world.

Midnight came and went. Nothing happened. Fireworks blossomed across the city, and we could hear the strains of a hymn through the open doors of the church next door.

Inside the embassy, the only incorrect date was the one on the program we were supposed to use to confirm that we were still there. I called the ambassador at his party to report that “all was well”—and get his clearance for our terse cable response.

Then it took the communicator three tries to get the cable system to read the response accurately once I had printed it out in ALL CAPS OCR FONT, which always transmogrified number 1s into letter Ls despite our best efforts.

Though Y2K was anticlimactic, two months later, at the height of carnival, the power did go out—all across Port of Spain. Darkness descended, but the music played on unabated from generator-driven sound trucks. All was well in Trinidad and Tobago. ■

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During a Nile River cruise in March 2019, I had the opportunity to get a bird's-eye view of the ancient wonders of Luxor, Egypt. Before dawn, after tea and cakes and a safety briefing aboard the felucca that ferried us across to the west bank of the Nile, we got into Captain Bob's hot air balloon and ascended just as it was starting to get light. As the sun continued to rise, we floated over the temples and burial grounds of pharaohs, drifting with the wind over the Valleys of the Kings and Queens, the mortuary temples of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, the Karnak temple complex, the temple of Queen Hatshepsut and the mighty Nile River. ■

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Lori B. John is an office management specialist in Dublin. She joined the Foreign Service in 2017 and has served previously in Pretoria and Baghdad. She took this photo with a Google Pixel phone.



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